METROPOLITAN
BOROUGH OF WOOLWICH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES.
Richard de Lucy, Justiciar of England, planning his foundation of Lesnes Abbey 1178.
PLUMSTEAD
LIBRARY.
GEORGE BAKER DEL. 1926

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

942.066/068

A COLLECTION OF SCARCE and VALUABLE TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the late Lord *SOMMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. III.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum et inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COOK & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCXLVIII.

Cornell University

THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Legion's Memorial Page 1
An honeſt Commoner's Speech 11
A modeſt Apology for the Loyal Proteſtant Subjects of King *James*, who deſire his Reſtauration, without Prejudice to our Religion, Law or Liberties: In Anſwer to the Pretences of the *French* Invaſion examined. In a Letter to a Friend 19
The Pretences of the *French* Invaſion examined, for the Information of the People of *England* 54
The falſe Steps of the Miniſtry after the Revolution: Shewing that the Lenity and Moderation of that Government was the Occaſion of all the Factions which have ſince endangered the Conſtitution: With ſome Reflections on the Licenſe of the Pulpit and Preſs. In a Letter to my Lord ———. 1714. 63
A Letter to a Biſhop concerning the preſent Settlement and the new Oaths 79
Gloria Cambriæ: Or the Speech of a bold *Briton* in Parliament againſt a *Dutch* Prince of *Wales*. 1702. 98
The exorbitant Grants of *William* III. examined and queſtioned: Shewing the Nature of Grants in ſucceſſive and elective Monarchies: And proving by Law and Hiſtory, that Crown Lands are inalienable; that Reſumptions were common all the World over: And likewiſe ſhewing, that where a Prince has no hereditary Title he can make no hereditary Right: And that Kings ſet up by Parliament can diſpoſe of no Lands but with Conſent of Parliament: Which renders *William* the IIId's Grants totally void. 1703. 106
Legion's New Paper: Being a ſecond Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late Houſe of Commons; with *Legion*'s Humble Addreſs to his Majeſty. By *T.G.* Gent. 1702. 114
Legion's Addreſs to his Majeſty 121
Legion's Humble Addreſs to the Lords. 1703. 124
The humble Repreſentation of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, preſented to her Majeſty on *Tueſday* the 18th Day of *January*, 1703. And her Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer thereunto 128
The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the Queen 135
A chronological Account of the Life of *Pythagoras*, and of other famous Men his Co-temporaries: With an Epiſtle to the Reverend Dr. *Bently* about *Porphyry*'s and *Iamblicus*'s Lives of *Pythagoras*. By the Right Reverend Father in God *William* Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* 1699. 139
Some Obſervations upon the keeping the 30th of *January* and 29th of *May*. By *G. G.* 1694. 172
The natural Hiſtory of Superſtition 206
The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, paſſed in the Convocation *July* 21, 1683, againſt certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society 223
A new Catechiſm; with Dr. *Hickes*'s 39 Articles:

Articles: With a Preface relating to the true Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, both in Church and State 228

The true Cauſe of all our Miſeries diſcovered in their viſible Effects: As I find it (to my great Satisfaction) moſt manifeſt in the *Layman's Religion*, lately publiſhed. Licenſed *October* 1, 1690. 254

The *Jacobite* Principles vindicated: In anſwer to a Letter ſent to the Author. By *Charlwood Lawton*, Eſq; 264

Certamen utriuſque Eccleſiæ: Or, a Liſt of all the eminent Writers of Controverſy, *Catholics* and *Proteſtants*, ſince the Reformation, *&c.* 287

The preſent Caſe Stated: Or the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy no Badges of Slavery. 1689. 304

Declaration of Lord *Petre* upon his Death, touching the Plot 321

The loyal Speech of *George Plaxton*, A.M. Miniſter of *Sheriff-Hales*, in *Shropſhire*, ſpoken at *Shifnal*, in the ſame County, upon the Proclamation of his ſacred Majeſty King *James* II. 322

Proceedings of the Lords on ſtating the public Accounts of the Kingdom 324

The Naked Truth: Or, The True State of the primitive Church. By an humble Moderator. [*Herbert Croft*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, as verily ſuppoſed] 329

A poetical Meditation: Wherein the Uſefulneſs, Excellency, and ſeveral Perfections of Holy Scripture are briefly hinted. By *J. C.* 389

A modeſt Vindication of *Oliver Cromwell* from the unjuſt Accuſations of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, in his Memoirs. Together with ſome Obſervations on the Memoirs in general. 1648. 393

A Liſt of the Names of the Perſons returned to ſerve in Parliament in the Year 1656 for the ſeveral Counties and Corporations within the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging 421

A Reply to the new Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty. 1687. 427

An Apology for Roman Catholics. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament 1703. 430

Reaſons for Taxing the Public Funds. 1716. 440

A *French* Conqueſt neither deſireable nor practicable. Dedicated to the King of *England* 441

Great-Britain's juſt Complaint for her late Meaſures, preſent Sufferings, and the future Miſeries ſhe is expoſed to 466

The People of *England*'s Grievances offer'd to be inquired into, and redreſs'd by their Repreſentatives in Parliament. By Sir *James Montgomery* 519

An Argument for Self-Defence. Written about the Year 1687: Never before publiſhed; and now offer'd to the Conſideration of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple* 525

Remarks upon the preſent Confederacy, and late Revolution in *England*, &c. 1693. 533

The Hiſtory of Reſiſtance, as practiſed by the Church of *England:* In which 'tis proved, from moſt authentic Records, that in every Reign ſince the Reformation of Religion, the ſaid Church hath aided and aſſiſted, juſtified and approved of ſuch Subjects as have defended themſelves againſt the Oppreſſions of their tyrannical, though natural Prince. Written upon occaſion of Mr. *Agate*'s Sermon at *Exeter* on the 30th of *January*; and in Defence of the late Revolution, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. By *John Withers*. 1710--572

A Letter concerning Allegiance. Written by the Lord Biſhop of *London* to a Clergyman in *Eſſex*, preſently after the Revolution. To which are added, ſome Queries, occaſioned by the late Addreſs of his Lordſhip and the Clergy of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. 1710. 595

The Earl of *Sunderland*'s Letter to a Friend in the Country, plainly diſcovering the Deſign of the *Romiſh* Party, and others, for the ſubverting of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom 602

Michael Servetus *de Circulatione Sanguinis* 606

A

COLLECTION

OF

TRACTS.

Mr. S——R.

THE incloſed Memorial you are charged with, in the Behalf of many Thouſands of the good People of England.

There is neither Popiſh, Jacobite, Seditious, Court, *or* Party Intereſt *concern'd in it; but Honeſty and Truth.*

You are commanded by Two Hundred Thouſand Engliſhmen, *to deliver it to the* H——e *of* C——s, *and to inform them that it is no Banter, but ſerious Truth; and a ſerious Regard to it is expected; nothing but Juſtice, and their Duty is required, and it is required by them who have both a Right to require, and Power to compel,* viz. *the People of* England.

We could have come to the Houſe, ſtrong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any Tumults, not deſiring to embroil, but to ſave our native Country.

If you refuſe to communicate it to them, you will find cauſe in a ſhort Time to repent it.

To R——t H——y, *Eſq; S——r to the* H——e *of* C——s, Theſe.

The MEMORIAL.

To the K——s, C——s, and B——s in P——t Aſſembled.

A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of——— in Behalf of themſelves, and many Thouſands of the good People of *England.*

Gentlemen,

IT were to be wiſhed you were Men of that Temper, and poſſeſſed of ſo much Honour, as to bear with the Truth, tho' it be againſt you; eſpecially from us who have ſo much Right to tell it you; but ſince, even Petitions to you from your Maſters, (for ſuch are the People who choſe you) are ſo haughtily,

haughtily received, as with the committing the Authors to illegal Cuſtody ; you muſt give us leave to give you this fair Notice of your Miſbehaviour, without expoſing our Names.

If you think fit to rectify your Errors, you will do well, and poſſibly may hear no more of us ; but if not, aſſure yourſelves the Nation will not long hide their Reſentments. And tho' there are no ſtated Proceeding to bring you to your Duty, yet the great Law of Reaſon, ſays, and all Nations allow, that whatever Power is above Law, its burthenſome and tyrannical ; and may be reduced by *Extrajudicial* Methods : You are not above the People's Reſentments, they that made you Members, may reduce you to the ſame Rank from whence they choſe you ; and may give you a Taſte of their abuſed Kindneſs, in Terms you may not be pleaſed with.

When the People of *England* aſſembled in Convention, preſented the Crown to his preſent Majeſty, they annexed a Declaration of the Rights of the People, in which was expreſſed what was illegal and arbitrary in the former Reign, and what was claimed as of Right to be done by ſucceeding Kings of *England*.

In like Manner, here follows, Gentlemen, a ſhort Abridgment of the Nation's Grievances, and of your illegal and unwarrantable Practices ; and a Claim of Right which we make in the Name of ourſelves, and ſuch of the good People of *England*, as are juſtly alarm'd at your Proceedings.

I. To raiſe Funds for Money, and declare by borrowing Clauſes, that whoſoever advances Money on thoſe Funds, ſhall be re-imburſed out of the next Aids, if the Funds fall ſhort ; and then give ſubſequent Funds, without transferring the Deficiency of the Former, is a horrible Cheat on the Subject who lent the Money ; a Breach of public Faith, and deſtructive to the Honour and Credit of Parliaments.

II. To impriſon Men who are not your own Members, by no Proceedings but a Vote of your Houſe, and to continue them in Cuſtody, *ſine Die*, is illegal ; a notorious Breach of the Liberty of the People ; ſitting up a diſpenſing Power in the Houſe of Commons, which your Fathers never pretended to, bidding defiance to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which is the Bulwark of perſonal Liberty, deſtructive of the Laws, and betraying the Truſt repoſed in you. *The King at the ſame Time, being obliged to ask you leave to contiuue in Cuſtody the horrid Aſſaſſinators of his Perſon.*

III. Committing to cuſtody thoſe Gentlemen, who at the Command of the People (whoſe Servants you are) and in a peaceable Way, to put you in mind of your Duty, is illegal and injurious ; deſtructive of the Subject's Liberty of petitioning for Redreſs of Grievances, which has by all Parliaments before you been acknowledged to be their undoubted Right.

IV. Voting a Petition from the Gentlemen of *Kent* inſolent, is ridiculous and impertinent, becauſe the Freeholders of *England* are your Superiors ; and is a Contradiction in itſelf, and a Contempt of the *Engliſh* Freedom, and contrary to the Nature of Parliamentary Power.

V. Voting People guilty of Bribery and ill Practices, and committing them as aforeſaid, without Bail, and then upon Submiſſion, and kneeling to your Houſe, diſcharging them ; exacting exorbitant Fees by your Officers is illegal, betraying the Juſtice of the Nation, ſelling the Liberty of the Subject, encouraging

couraging the Extortion and Villainy of Jailors and Officers; and discontinuing the legal Prosecutions of Offenders, in the ordinary Course of Law.

VI. Prosecuting the Crime of Bribery, in some to serve a Party, and then proceed no further, tho' Proof lay before you, is partial and unjust; and a Scandal upon the Honour of Parliaments.

VII. Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to *Europe*, because it gave so much of the *Spanish* Dominions to the *French*, and not concern yourselves to prevent their taking Possession of it all. Deserting the *Dutch*, when the *French* are at their Doors, till it be almost too late to help them, is unjust to our Treaties, and unkind to our Confederates, dishonourable to the *English* Nation, and shew you very negligent of the Safety of *England*, and of our Protestant Neighbours.

VIII. Ordering immediate Hearings to trifling Petitions, to please Parties in Elections; and *postpone* the Petition of a Widow, for the Blood of her murthered Daughter, without giving it a Reading, is an illegal Delay of Justice, dishonourable to the public Justice of the Nation.

IX. Addressing the King to displace his Friends upon bare Surmises, before a legal Tryal or Article proved, is illegal, and inverting the Law, and making Execution go before Judgment; contrary to the true Sense of the Law, which esteems every Man a good Man till something appears to the contrary.

X. Delaying Proceedings upon capital Impeachments, to blast the Reputation of the Persons, without proving the Fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive of the Liberty of *Englishmen*, a Delay of Justice and a Reproach to Parliaments.

XI. Suffering saucy and indecent Reproaches upon his Majesty's Person, to be publicly made in your House, particularly by that impudent Scandal of Parliaments, *J——n H——w*, without shewing such Resentments as you ought to do, the said *J——n H——w*, saying openly, 'that his Majesty had made a felonius 'Treaty to rob his Neighbours, insinuating that the Partition Treaty (which was every way as just as blowing up one Man's House to save anothers,) 'was a Combination of the King, to rob the Crown of *Spain* of its Due.' This is making a *Billinsgate* of the House, and setting up to *bully* your Sovereign, contrary to the Intent and Meaning of that Freedom of Speech, which you claim as a Right, is scandalous to Parliament, undutiful and unmannerly, and a Reproach to the whole Nation.

XII. Your S——r exacting the exorbitant Rate of Ten Pounds *per Diem*, for the V——s, and giving the Printer encouragment to raise it on the People, by selling them at Four-Pence *per* Sheet, is an illegal and arbitrary Exaction, dishonourable to the *House*, and burthensome to the *People*.

XIII. Neglecting still to pay the Nation's Debts, compounding for Interest, and *postponing* Petitions, is illegal, dishonourable and destructive of the public Faith.

XIV. Publicly neglecting the great Work of *Reformation of Manners*, tho' often pressed to it by the King, to the great Dishonour of God, and Encouragment of Vice, is a Neglect of your Duty, and Abuse of the Trust reposed in you by God, his Majesty, and the People.

XV. Being scandalously vicious yourselves, both in your Morals and Religion; lewd in Life, and erroneous in Doctrine, having public Blasphemers and

impudent Denyers of the Divinity of our Saviour among you, and ſuffering them unreproved and unpuniſhed, to the infinite Regret of all good Chriſtians, and the juſt Abhorrence of the whole Nation.

Wherefore, in the ſaid Proſpect of the impending Ruin of our native Country, while Parliaments (which ought to be the Security and Defence of our Laws and Conſtitution) betray their Truſt, and abuſe the People whom they ſhould protect: And no other way being left us, but *that Force* which we are very loath to make uſe of, that Poſterity may know we did not inſenſibly fall under the Tyrany of a prevailing Party, We do hereby claim and declare,

1. That it is the undoubted Right of the People of *England*, in caſe their Repreſentatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their Duty, and the People's Intereſt, to inform them of their Diſlike, diſown their Actions, and to direct them to ſuch Things as they think fit, either by Petition, Addreſs, Propoſal, Memorial, or any other peaceable Way.

2. That the *Houſe of Commons*, ſeparately and otherwiſe than by Bill legally paſſed into an Act, have no legal Power to ſuſpend or diſpenſe with the Laws of the Land, any more than the King has by his Prerogative.

3. That the *Houſe of Commons* have no legal Power to impriſon any Perſon, or commit them to Cuſtody of Serjeants, or otherwiſe (their own Members except) but ought to addreſs the King, to cauſe any Perſon, on good Grounds, to be apprehended; which Perſon ſo apprehended, ought to have the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be fairly brought to Tryal, by due Courſe of Law.

4. That if the *Houſe of Commons*, in Breach of the Laws and Liberties of the People, do betray the Truſt repoſed in them, and act negligently or arbitrarily and illegally, it is the undoubted Right of the People of *England* to call them to an Account for the ſame, and by Convention, Aſſembly or Force, may proceed againſt them as Traitors and Betrayers of their Country.

Theſe Things we think proper to declare, as the unqueſtioned Right of the People of *England*, whom you ſerve, and in Purſuance of that Right, (avoiding the Ceremony of petitioning our Inferiors, for ſuch you are by your preſent Circumſtances, as the Perſon *ſent* is leſs than the *Sender.*) We do publicly Proteſt againſt all your foreſaid illegal Actions, and in the Name of ourſelves, and of all the good People of *England*, do require and demand

1. That all the Publick juſt Debts of the Nation be forthwith paid and diſcharged.

2. That all Perſons *illegally impriſoned*, as aforeſaid, be either immediately diſcharged, or admitted to Bail, as by Law they ought to be; and the Liberty of the Subject recognized and reſtored.

3. That *J——n H——w* aforeſaid, be obliged to ask his Majeſty Pardon for his vile Reflections, or be immediately expelled the Houſe.

4. That the growing Power of *France* be taken into Conſideration; the Succeſſion of the Emperor to the Crown of *Spain* ſupported, our *Proteſtant* Neighbours protected, as the true Intereſt of *England*, and the *Proteſtant Religion* requires.

5. That the *French* King be obliged to quit *Flanders*, or that his Majeſty be addreſſed to declare War againſt him.

6.

6. That *ſuitable Supplies* be granted to his Majeſty, for the puting all theſe neceſſary Things in Execution, and that care be taken, that ſuch Taxes as are raiſed, may be more equally aſſeſſed and collected, and ſcandalous Deficiences prevented.

7. That the *Thanks of the Houſe* may be given to thoſe Gentlemen, who ſo gallantly appeared in the Behalf of their Country, with the *Kentiſh* Petition, and have been ſo ſcandalouſly uſed for it.

Thus, *Gentlemen*, you have your Duty laid before you, which it is hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Reſentments of an *injur'd Nation*; *for Engliſhmen* are no more to be Slaves to *Parliaments*, than to a King.

Our Name is Legion, and we are many.

POSTSCRIPT.

If you require to have this Memorial ſigned with our Names, it ſhall be done on your firſt Orders, and perſonally preſented.

I.

YE True-Born *Engliſhmen* proceed,
Our trifling Crimes detect,
Let the Poor ſtarve, Religion bleed,
The *Dutch* be damn'd, the *French* ſucceed,
And all by your Neglect.

II.

Your Actions all the World diſguſt,
The *French* are only glad,
Your Friends your Honeſty diſtruſt,
And while you think you're Wiſe and Juſt,
The Nation thinks you Mad.

III

Are theſe the Ways your Wiſdom takes,
To raiſe our Reputation;
To quarrel at a few Miſtakes,
Whilſt *France* its own Advantage makes,
And laughs at all the Nation.

IV.

You are the People who of old,
The Nation's Troops diſbanded,
And now you ſhould your Friends uphold,
Your Friends and you are bought and ſold,
As always was intended.

V.

V.

There's none but Fools in Time to come,
Will truſt the *Engliſh* Nation;
For if they do, they know their Doom,
That we'll be falling out at Home,
And baulk their Expectation.

VI.

You are the Nation's grand Defence,
Againſt illegal Power,
And yet againſt both Law and Senſe,
And ſometimes too without Pretence,
You ſend Folks to the *Tower*.

VII.

Some Lords your Anger have incurr'd,
For Treaty of Partition,
But if you'll take the Nation's Word,
Moſt People think it was Abſurd,
And Empty of Diſcretion.

VIII.

For if that Treaty as 'tis fam'd,
Gave Part of *Spain* to *Gaul*,
Why ſhould thoſe Gentlemen be blam'd,
When you yourſelves are not aſham'd,
To let them take it all.

IX.

Bribes and ill Practices you found,
And ſome few felt you Power,
But ſoon you run yourſelves a-ground
For had you puſh'd the Matter round,
You all had gone to th' *Tower*.

X.

Some Reformation hath from you,
In vain been long expected,
But when you ſhou'd the Buſineſs do,
Your private Quarrels you purſue,
And th' Nation lies neglected.

XI.

Long has the Kingdom borne the Weight
Of your deficient Funds,
Parliamentary public Cheat,
Pray where's the Difference of that
And plundering with Dragoons.

XII.

Are you the People that complain
Of arbitrary Power?
Then ſhew the Nation if you can,
Where Kings have been ſince Kings began,
Such Tyrants as you are.

XIII.

When Kings with Right and Law diſpenſe,
And ſet up Power deſpotic,
It has been counted Law and Senſe,
To take up Arms againſt our Prince,
And call in Aids exotic.

XIV.

But you, altho' your Powers depend
On every Plowman's Vote,
Beyond the Law that Power extend,
To ruin thoſe you ſhould defend,
And ſell the Power you bought.

XV.

The King Religion did commend
To you his *Law-Explainers*,
We know not what you may intend,
Nor how you ſhould Religion mend,
Unleſs you will your Manners.

XVI.

Your are the Nations darling Sons,
The Abſtract of the Mob,
For City-Knights and wealthy Clowns,
Stock-Jobbers, Stateſmen and Buffoons,
You may defy the Globe.

XVII.

Toland inſults the Holy-Ghoſt,
Brib'd *S——r* Bribes accuſes,
Good-Manners and Religion's loſt,
The King who was your Lord of Hoſt,
The Raſcal *H——w* abuſes.

XVIII.

Your Stateſman *G——lle* with Intent
To cultivate with Care,
The Dignity of Parliament,
Plies cloſely at the dancing Tent,
And manages *May-Fair*.

XIX.

XIX.

The true-born Hero's Diligence
For publick Good appears,
There he refines his Wit and Senſe,
That the next Day in our Defence
May fill Committee Chairs.

XX.

The Limitation of the Crown
Is your immediate Care,
If your *wiſe Articles* go down,
Your Power will be ſo lawleſs grown,
'Tis no Matter who's the Heir.

XXI.

Did we for this depoſe our Prince,
And Liberty aſſume,
That you ſhould with our Laws diſpenſe,
Commit Mankind without Offence,
And govern in his Room?

XXII.

You ſhou'd find out ſome other Word
To give the Crowns *Accepter*,
To call him King wou'd be abſurd,
For tho' he'll ſeem to wear the Sword,
'Tis you have got the Sceptre.

XXIII.

And now your Wrath is ſmoking hot
Againſt the *Kent* Petition,
No Man alive can tell for what,
But telling Truths which pleas'd you not,
And taxing your Diſcretion.

XXIV.

If you thoſe Gentlemen detain
By your unbounded Power,
'Tis hop'd you'll never more complain
Of Biſhops in King *James*'s Reign,
Sent blindly to the *Tower*.

XXV.

A ſtrange Memorial too there came,
Your Members to affront,
Which told you Truths you dare not name,
And ſo the Paper ſcap'd the Flame,
Or elſe it had been burnt.

XXVI.

Some ſaid the Language was ſevere,
And into Paſſion flew;
Some too began to curſe and ſwear,
And call'd the Author *Mutineer*,
But all Men ſaid 'twas true.

XXVII.

But oh! the Conſternation now
In which you all appear!
'Tis plain from whence your Terrors flew,
For had your Guilt been leſs you knew,
So would have been your Fear.

XXVIII.

In fifteen Articles you're told
You have our Rights betray'd,
Banter'd the Nation, bought and ſold
The Liberties you ſhou'd uphold;
No wonder you're afraid.

XXIX.

And now to make yourſelves appear
The more impertinent,
A wiſe Addreſs you do prepare,
To have his Majeſty take Care
Rebellion to prevent.

XXX.

No doubt his Majeſty will pleaſe
To take your Cauſe in hand,
Beſides, the Work is done with Eaſe,
Full *ſeven thouſand Men* he has
The Nation to defend.

XXXI.

One hundred thouſand Heroes more
Do our *Train'd-Bands* compoſe,
If foreign Forces ſhou'd come o'er,
Plant them and you upon the Shore,
How bravely you'd oppoſe.

XXXII.

Then bluſh ye Senators to ſee
How all Men ſtand diſmay'd,
The Nation ſhou'd ſo patient be,
To bear with all your Villany,
And ſee themſelves betray'd.

XXXIII.

It was our Freedom to defend,
That *We the People* choſe you,
And *We the People* do pretend
Our Power of chuſing may extend
To puniſh and depoſe you.

XXXIV.

For ſince in vain our Hopes and Fears,
Petitions too are vain,
No Remedy but this appears,
To pull the Houſe about your Ears,
And ſend you Home again.

XXXV.

Theſe are the Nation's Diſcontents,
The Cauſes are too true,
The Ploughman now his Choice repents,
For tho' he values Parliaments,
He's out of Love with *you*.

XXXVI.

When to be choſe with Caps in hand
You courted every Voice,
You were our Servants at Command,
By which it ſeems you underſtand,
Until we made our Choice.

XXXVII.

XXXVII.

If that be true, we let you know
Upon that very ſcore,
You'd beſt your preſent Hours beſtow
In all the Miſchiefs you can do,
For we'll ne'er chuſe you more.

An honeſt Commoner's Speech.

WHERE the King ends his Speech, I will begin mine. Since his Majeſty himſelf tells us, *That we have ſuch an Opportunity now to ſettle the future Quiet and Proſperity of theſe Kingdoms, and all* Europe, *as we can never hope to ſee again.* We ought, I think, to believe him, and apply it the beſt we can to a common Safety. Give me leave, therefore, to ſay, and preſs you, by all that is dear to you; your Liberties, your Honour, your Poſterity, that having but one Throw more for your Lives, for your All; you trifle not, you miſtake not, you miſuſe not this Opportunity. *Charity begins at Home*; it is a ſenſible Proverb, and never more ſeaſonable; and to inſtruct ourſelves the beſt we can, allow me to look back a little into former Reigns.

The Struggle that has been in theſe Kingdoms ſince the latter end of King *James* the Firſt's Time, between the Court and Country Party, cannot, I am ſure it ought not, to be unknown to any Member that has the Honour of ſitting in Parliament; for nothing is more inſtructive and accompliſhing to the Perſons that compoſe it. We ſhall find an Endeavour in the Court to grow upon the Rights and Privileges of the People, and a moſt flattering Clergy ever ready to ſtamp all theſe Attempts, under the Banner of *Prerogative*, with their *Jure Divino*. I will not run into their Hiſtory, that of the *Star-Chamber* ſhall prevent me; to be had at every Bookſeller's; there cannot be a worſe, nor a truer. It leads me to pity Kings, and excuſe them; for their Errors of their Government are rarely their own, they ſee and hear by other Men's Eyes and Ears; and as they are intereſted, Kings are abuſed, and royal Authority diſhonourably employed. It has been the Endeavour, as well as Duty, of the ſovereign Council of this Kingdom to give a Check to theſe Abuſes, by repreſenting freely to their Kings the Law, the Conſtitutions, what they may and may not do, what is his, and what is theirs, their Conſiſtency and Dependency, and the dangerous Conſequence of their adhering to ſuch Counſels, and perſiſting in thoſe Courſes. And to the Honour of the Conſtitution, and Wiſdom of our Parliaments, be it ſpoken, thoſe Kings have left the faireſt Characters to their Names, that have lived beſt with their Parliaments; and you will find that they have been the ableſt and valianteſt of our Princes, that have ſeen them oftenеſt, and followed their Advice moſt; but three great Opportunities

we have loſt, which I will but hint at, that you may increaſe your Zeal, by remembring them to improve this only one that is left us, by which to retrieve the Loſs of them, and ſave all.

The Firſt was, the Conceſſions of King *Charles* I. to the nineteen Propoſitions preſented to him in the Iſle of *Wight*, by the Parliament, 1647, which the King himſelf aſſures us were not the Conſtraint, but Illumination of his Afflictions; for, after a Series of Succeſſes againſt him, the Houſes only prayed their ancient Rights of him, that though perſonally in their Power, they deſired ever to be under his legal Authority, and abhorred to be thought to have their King at their Mercy, but that they only redeemed him from the ill Counſel of mercileſs and mercenary Men. This Opportunity was loſt by the Interruption of their own victorious Army, which influenced by a few ſuperior Officers that found not their Account by the Peace, had always the Means and Methods to diſcontent their Followers againſt their Maſters, and ſo turned their Swords upon thoſe that paid them, and from that time fought for their Leaders, rather than their Country; though in this the Men were poſſibly outwitted and abuſed. The ill Conſequences of this Overſight, or rather Violence, were many and terrible. Firſt, that the King's tragical Death, not only a Diſhonour to the Nation, but a beheading of the Government; a prepoſterous diſabling of the Conſtitution, as well as an unlawful Action. Secondly, From this ſprung new Wars with *Scotland*, and all over this Kingdom, in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Wales* and *Lancaſhire*, eſpecially at *Dunbar*, *Preſton* and *Worceſter*; and though the Veins that were opened afreſh upon this ſad Occaſion, bled freely and largely every where, and put all Parts of the Kingdom into Mourning, more periſhing in two Years of this ſecond Civil War, than in the ſeven Years of the firſt; yet the fataleſt Part of the Buſineſs, was the Baniſhment of the young Princes; for when they were compelled to ſeek their Bread among Strangers, they learned their Cuſtoms, and ſucked in, with foreign Air, outlandiſh Principles; and this naturally led them to diſlike the Government, as well as the People of their own Country; which very Conſideration has ſometimes obliged me to make Allowances in my own Reflections, upon the Conduct of the Brothers, who perhaps were more unhappy than faulty, and much of that owing to us ourſelves. I will cloſe this Remark with ſaying, We had ſaved our King, our Allegiance, our Honour, our Blood and Treaſure, and a better Thing, our Government, if we had improved the Iſle of *Wight* Opportunity. But ſome will ſay, this was not the Act of the Kingdom, but of a few ambitious Men; true, but the Conſequences were as bad; and for that Reaſon let us have a Care of *victorious Armies*, and their *ambitious Leaders*, while they are in our Power; there is, at leaſt, that Inſtruction in it. But our next Inſtance ſhall be of an Opportunity as extravagantly loſt, and with a Sort of univerſal Neglect, if not Conſent; and that was the Reſtoration of his Son King *Charles* II. For he that would have married *Lambert*'s Daughter, and returned upon almoſt Republican Principles, would certainly have thought it Duty and Religion to have ſubmitted to, and performed his Royal Father's Commiſſions to the Privileges of the People, and Power of Parliaments; but this Opportunity was ſlipt too; our Extremes were ſo great in Love and Hatred, that we could not find in our Hearts to obſerve any Mean for the real Good of Prince and People: We

would

would be debauched in ſpight to the Preciſeneſs of the Party we hated, and the King ſhould return unconditional, that we might be even with them for their unmonarchical Principles. It was *Rebellion* now to fight by his Authority againſt his Perſon, and *Treaſon* to diſtinguiſh his politick, from his perſonal Capacity; and *Parliaments* themſelves might be diſloyal, for we were told, *That our Kings being Sovereigns, they had no Superior but God; and their People, neither collectively, nor repreſentatively, could ſo much as put the leaſt Reſtraint upon the Perſon of their King, and that ſuch Attempts were Treaſon within the* 25 Ed. III. and much more, to alter the ancient Frame of the Government. But about 66, being awakened out of our Exceſſes of Joy and Revenge, by the Nature of Things, we repented too late; and after 78, we would have given half our Eſtates, and as much of our Blood too, for ſuch an Opportunity as what we had ſo prodigally and irrecoverably loſt.

This falſe Step we hoped to retrieve by the Bill of *Excluſion*, but that became abortive as it deſerved; for it was purely perſonal in its Regards, loving one Man more than Liberty, and hating another Man more than Slavery; and miſerable is that People, whoſe Security is more from the Temperof the Magiſtrate, than the Conſtitution of the Government. The next greateſt Opportunity of all, was at the *Election* of this King. He ſeems not to have come for a Crown, but our Safety; to ſecure the Succeſſion, rather than obtain the Poſſeſſion: Doubtleſs we ſurprized him with the Tender of it, and as one unable to reſiſt our Love, after he had overcome our Fears, he ſubmitted to the *Burthen of a Crown*, to preſerve what he had procured for us; *A Deliverance from our Jealouſies of Popery and a deſpotick Power.* To do what we ſhould have done in thoſe former Occaſions, had been to ſave us indeed; but we loſt our Memory now in our Joys, as we had done before; I will not ſay our Wits, and leſs our Morals; but that we ſhould miſs of the beſt Part of the End of our ſending for him, and his coming, has ſomething in it ſo reproachful to our Underſtandings or Integrity, that it is never to be wiped off, but by improving this Opportunity now in our Hands, and which, the King tells us, is like to be the laſt: And ſince it may be the laſt time alſo that I may have the Honour of ſpeaking to you, at leaſt ſo ſolemnly, give me leave to uſe all the Freedom of an *Engliſhman*, and take every thing in good Part, as it is meant in the greateſt Good-will; for whatever be the Succeſs, I ſhall have the Satisfaction of having cleared my Conſcience; that if the Authors of our Safety come hereafter to prove the Means of our Deſtruction, the World and Poſterity ſhall know I had no hand in the Tragedy.

That which I call the preſent Opportunity, is taking the Advantage of the Neceſſity of Affairs, to ſettle the Government upon its true Baſis, and ſupply whatever we find defective. If this yet wants an Explanation, then, I ſay, *Let us not give a Penny of Money till we are ſafe at Home*; let us be out of Danger from being the worſe for Victory; let us know what is ours, how we ſhall keep it, and what we have in future to truſt to. As the King tells us, *We muſt ſink under the great Power of* France, if, in this Seſſion, we make not Proviſion for a vigorous Oppoſition to *France*; ſo I tell you, unleſs you ſecure yourſelves againſt the very Succeſſes you hope for, your Proviſions may be the Means of your own Ruin, inſtead of Safety. The King is a Stranger to our Conſtitution,

ſtitution, and was nearer to the Crown in Blood, than to our Government in his Education. He is very able in Military Affairs, and the Civil too, of the Place he took his Breeding in, and has better Knowledge in foreign Affairs than we have; but in *Engliſh* Buſineſs it is no Diſhonour to him to be told his Relation to us, the Nature of it, and what is fit for him to do; and who ſhould, or who can do it, with that Freedom and Authority, that we may and ought to do? And the rather, becauſe we ſee how much he is influenced by ill or weak Men, that are the mere Creatures of Power; ſome ſtained in their Credit, or Beggars; others covetous, and that have ſecond Broods to provide for; ſome voluptuous and prodigal; a vaſt Number of *Foreigners*, that wait both for Fortunes and Title upon the Concluſion of this War; enough to move a Conqueror to aſk, or take more Power, than is for the Safety of our Conſtitution to ſuffer. I cannot forget that I have read *Cæſar*'s Story; what he did with his victorious Army when he returned Home, and have ſeen ſomething to the ſame Purpoſe in our own Country. The World has very few *Solons*, *Dions* and *Scipios* in it; and to be very free with you, as the Time and Caſe obliges me, there are ſome Paſſages, I have obſerved, ſince the Revolution with no little Regret; the Employment of unpopular and ungrateful Men; the laying by the moſt zealous Men in the Change, and as able as any Body to ſerve; the Preſſing in the Houſe by Miniſters; the Interruption of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, though the Liberty of it be declared a fundamental Right; Practices upon Evidences, even to Blood, by Promiſes and Threats, which are Boots and Bribes in the upright Senſe of this Government; the general Complaint of ſober Men, *Scotchmen*, of the Violation of the Conditions upon which they preſented the King with the Crown of *Scotland*; and the *wracking* of an *Engliſhman* there, againſt the Laws of that Kingdom, as well as of this; and, it is ſaid, by particular Orders from hence; laſt of all, the Danger and Scandal of our Adminiſtration in general, by the Employment of incompetent Perſons, ſuch as are ſuſpected of Falſeneſs, or that are of known Inſufficiency; as often as any free, or good Thing is propoſed, they oppoſe it in pretence of upholding the Monarchy; and, as with this, they flatter the moſt dangerous and weak Part of this King; ſo if he comes to fail, they recommend themſelves to King *James*, if he or his Son ſucceed, with the Merits of ſupporting the Crown againſt a Commonwealth: For theſe Reaſons I am led to ſay, if this be the laſt Opportunity for the King to be victorious, it may be the laſt Opportunity for us to be free. The former Princes wanted not good Qualities, and were acceſſible upon all Occaſions, and extremely civil, as if they had a Mind to live well with their People; but they had not Power to reſiſt the evil Influences of ſome Men about them. And though this King ſhews great Magnanimity in the Field, he is conquered daily in the Cabinet; and by whom, pray, more than by him, that in the worſt of Times, was the worſt of Tools? and to the eternal Infamy of this Government, is endured at the Head of Affairs in a War againſt *France*, that was, by the Commons of *England*, impeached upon Letters under his own Hand of a treacherous Negociation with *France*; nor is this the blackeſt of his Crimes, and therefore not the groſſeſt of our Follies to ſuffer him. His capital Iniquity is, at once, ſubverting the Foundations of the People of *England*. It is *High Treaſon* to invade the Royal Bed, by the Laws of

this

this Kingdom; but what is it then, or ought it to be, to an House of Commons, to practise upon their Honour, to buy off the People's Representatives, to pervert Trust, and turn them against themselves? Next to them that took Money, he must be the worst of Men. This is *Treason* against the Constitution; it is a dissolving fundamental Trust, and legally enthralling us; it is making the People, *felo de se*, to destroy themselves. What Corruption so vile? What Prostitution so scandalous? It is beyond Example, and it seems it is above Punishment, and he is used, and looks, and acts, as if he were meritorious. Shall an House of Commons endure this, and in a Government under the fair Character of a Reformation? As if we were reconciled to the Ministry and Measures, that were the Cause of making this bold Turn. This gives me all the Impressions of Grief and Pity, that with the Dog we should return to our Vomit, and like Swine feed upon Excrements. We offer our Enemies the greatest Advantages, while we let them see we can thus contradict, and give ourselves the Lye, and change our Minds of Men that are not changed; and can do any thing to serve a Turn, which makes the whole look insincere and a Trick; and if it were not impious, to be sure it were unwise to do so.

These are the Motives that press me, and which make me so free and earnest with you, to value this last Opportunity to all the Advantages, the great Wisdom of this House may draw thence, by a full Improvement of it. Let no Respects divert you, as you will answer it to God and Man; I must be plain, it is a Bargain you must make for your All; make it sure; the Omission seems to render it irretrievable. Let not ill Men and Management, cover itself under big Words against *France*. You know who cries stop Thief: Names should not couzen you out of this happy Juncture, nor your Conduct shew you will be ever prodigal of the Providences that would save you. Take the King's Advice, apply it wisely and quickly; he has been Abroad, and has the Advantage of the *Confederates* Intelligence, as well as his own, which we have Reason to believe is very good; and, upon the whole Matter, tells us, as the last and most important Motive to us, That we have but this Opportunity: Be ready, therefore, with your Money, but be ready with your Rights too; and as wise Parliaments have ever done, let them have the Preference. I don't bid you ask why *Ireland* was not sooner reduced; why we had not above half as many Men as we have paid for; why Supplies were so long a going, and so many unnecessary Ships for Tenders were chargeably continued, nor how much we are in Debt after the many Millions we have given, besides those the constant Revenue has yielded; some say, in all, above fifteen: No, I will not be so ill-natured or unreasonable, not a Word of mine shall look towards Faction or Disaffection, but leave all this till last; if we prosper it will be time enough: I would not hinder Supplies by no Means, only get into Possession of your ancient Rights, your so much needed and essential Rights; and if it should please God the King should fail of his Hopes, or fall by his Enemies, you are in Possession, you have Ground to stand on worth defending, and that will secure you; for that itself will engage and unite all Interests, because their own is involved; we must not depend upon his personal Success, but our own Constitutions; every one will stand up heartily for that which is his. Convince the Kingdom they are the better for the Change, or their Heat will soon cool

in

in ſupporting it; let them ſee their Legiſlation and Adminiſtration are ſecure, the firſt by annual Parliaments without any Evaſion, and by free and genuine Elections, which cannot be without the Sheriffs are choſen by the county Courts, as the Coroners are, and that the Fines on them for falſe Returns, and thoſe that ſit upon them be very heavy, and appropriated out of the Reach of the Crown to remit, which will ſecure our Legiſlation; let Miniſters be impeachable, and the Parliament ſit till the Perſon accuſed be tried and acquitted, or puniſhed; and all ſuch Criminals be unpardonable and irreprievable, but at their Requeſt: Provided always, that if any Miniſter be named, as culpable by any Perſon in Parliament, he ſhall be obliged to make it good, or at leaſt be diſmiſſed the Houſe, and made incapable of any Employment in the Government; and regulate Tryals, as to the Liberty of the Priſoner, the Number and Qualification of the Witneſſes as well as Juries, after the manner of that Bill which is depending; and hereby our Adminiſtration will be in a good Degree ſecured alſo.

I do further propoſe, that during this War a Committee of Lords and Commons be the Cabinet, and that they have the Inſpection of Navy, Army, and Treaſury, and the recommending of all Officers employed in either Capacity; the Juncture calls for it. Were the King an Angel, he is not Omnipreſent no more than Omnipotent; and if he wants your Power, he needs your Preſence, Judgment, and Direction; a Common-wealth requires a *Dictator*, but a Monarchy the *People in Parliament* upon great Emergencies. Remember he is a King of your making, and he ſhould be one of your influencing, if not ruling and over-ruling in ſuch Exigencies as ours. Favour or Connivance in Government, is for eaſy and not difficult Times: Judge well and act vigorouſly, but act ſo as to ſave yourſelves, your Country I mean, whether this or the other King prevail; for be aſſured if we are in Poſſeſſion of our Rights, we are ſafe againſt this King's Victory, and King *James*'s Return, that neither ſhall hurt us; elſe you will find yourſelves expoſed to the ill Conſequence, that may follow one or t'other: Have a care of After-Games, eſpecially now, when you are told you have but one Opportunity for all. I cannot but urge that in your Ears, that you heard laſt from his Mouth, as the moſt preſſing Motive to his Supply. All good Men are in Pain for you, and particularly what Part you act in this Affair, and the Succeſs it may have to the Felicity of the whole. God Almighty direct us, for all is at Stake while both our Legiſlation and Adminiſtration are unſettled, and all will be ſafe to us, if we are ſecure at Home; for it is feared, and juſtly, I think, that as our Saviour ſaid, our greateſt Enemies are of our own Houſe; our own Family, Men in Office, and in Government, let King *James*'s Fate be your Admonition; truſt yourſelves, and others ſhall not betray you; employ Men of Principles, of Skill, and Sobriety. For your Fleet you will find them better at *Ratcliff-high-way*, than at *Lockets*, and the *Blue-Poſts*. For the Army, mix with ſome that you have, honeſt country Gentlemen and Citizens, that are both ſober and hearty: And in every Commiſſion ſee that you have only ſuch Perſons, as were bred up in the Buſineſs of thoſe Commiſſions they ſerve in; as in the *Cuſtoms*, *Merchants*; in the *Exciſe*, thoſe that have been *Brewers* and have given it over; in the *Admiralty*, *Navy* and *Victualling Offices*, *Ancient Seamen* that have had good Commands,

mands, and known the providing of Stores for their own Ships; for whom these Employments should be reserved as honourable Retreats; and the Rewards of the Government to the Aged and Experienced, for their former good Services; who, for one half of the Revenue that is now paid, would bless themselves and you. Nor should our Council, or Cabinet be without a *Seaman*, a *Soldier*, a *Merchant*, a *Civilian*, a *Common Lawyer*, and some *country Gentlemen*, and such as have served long and well in *Embassies* Abroad, which comprehends both Domestic and Foreign, Civil and Military Affairs. Remember that prudent and instructing Remark of Sir *William Temple*, in his Account of *Holland*, *that though the People in general, were not as quick and witty as their Neighbours, yet their Government was generally wiser, because the Wisest of the People governed; they chuse and prefer the ablest, which for other Respects were advanced in neighbouring Governments.*

Would you be great or safe? Add to what we have said, the Perusal of the Establishment by Land and Sea in the *Rump*'s Time; observe by what Conduct so few, and most of them but of the middle sort of Men, became the Admiration and Terror of the *World*. Send for *H*—— that was Treasurer of the Navy, and *B*—— and *D*—— that were Treasurers for the Army in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, honest and able Men, and alive, and you will see that our yearly Charge exceeds both that of the Civil War, and War with *Holland* too, when *England* and *Scotland* had Armies to be paid, as well as *Ireland*. I say observe Proportion and judge; whatever is wanting to ballance your greater Expences, is due to their better Conduct. Be not offended with me, but imitate and mend; the time invites us, and our Station obliges us to it, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, I mean the King's *Declaration*, that *Association* for the Change; shall it be waste Paper under it? God forbid; call for it, settle and rule by it, to be sure it is the *original Contract* of our new Government. And unpardonable are they, that after all our Blood and Treasure spilt and spent, (and we know not where they will stop,) shall out of Fear or Flattery lose the Advantages promised, for want of asking and pressing the Performance. I must put you in mind of one of them before we part, and that was *sending back the foreign Troops if you please*; and wont you please since *Ireland* is reduced? It is hoped you will; and disband our *English* ones to: What else are we the easier for *Ireland*'s being reduced? Which we all suspected was prolonged on purpose to have a Pretence for Money; and will you continue the Charge even now, when they have not that Pretence? Better Things are expected from you. I beg your Patience a little longer, we are an Island. *A Navy is an* English *standing Army*. Add ten or twenty Sail of Ships if you please, to the Establishment, but no more standing Armies now, I beseech you. Conquering of *France*, which some hot Heads dream of, is not our Business, if it were in our Power; and therefore must be the Passion of Fools and Hope of Women. It was never attempted but by *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. Princes of great Minds and Sufficiency, but they rather shewed *France* and the World what they could do, than what they could keep; and made the Experiment at the Expence of that Blood and Treasure, that we were the Worse for our Glory, even while we could maintain it: But that failed us also at length, and we ever lost all back again, with more Dishonour, than we got it with Reputation.

We had need have the *Spaniſh* Mines, or the Philoſopher's Stone, and a *Race of Black Princes*, and ſuch *Edwards* and *Henrys*, to effect and ſupport ſuch an Enterprize. *France* is three Times as big as *England*, and populous and rich in Proportion; the Revenue of the Crown is one Third of the yearly Income of the whole, the *Clergy* have another Third, and the *Laity* the other Third; of all which, the *New Converts* make not the five hundredth Part, as they are not in Number the two hundredth Man. Now if the *French* King hath more than the Revenue of all *England* to carry on his War, and a Clergy ſo rich, and whom he has ſo much obliged to help him; and that will not let him want for ſo good a Cauſe, as they count this in Favour of King *James*, that is an Exile for his and their Religion, beſides what his People can furniſh, zealous enough in their way, and very Bigots to him; to which vaſt Treaſure and his incomparable Conduct, in Judgment, Secrecy, and Diſpatch, ſuiting Men to Things, and both to Time and Place, with the Succeſſes we ſee have followed him every where, as if he had Fortune in his Power. It ſhews him to be a *Match* for all his Enemies, and that they muſt think of being defenſive in their Turn as well as he; and truly, *if he beats us when he fights, and fights but when he pleaſes, he will beat us at laſt*, and whatever we may fancy, *France* is thrice more to us now, in Proportion, than what it was, which we do not or will not ſee, becauſe old Reckonings and preſent Heats cozen us. We are increaſed in Trade and Shiping, ſo are they in Proportion, in naval Affairs, in Revenue of the Crown, in Command and Diſcipline, they are proportionably *five to one*, to what they were in *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. Time. It's true, we might at firſt, with great Charge, have landed upon them, and made ſome Confuſion among them, as we might have reduced *Ireland*, and ſaved all this Blood and Treaſure, but private Reſpects took place. However, that Attempt upon *France* would have been too hazardous for wiſe Men to make, for beſides the Repulſe that might have followed, our Navy—— might have been Wind-bound, Proviſions thereby wanted, and the Charge of an Army and Navy at firſt would have come too faſt, and been too much for the People to have underſtood; and if it had not ſucceeded to our mighty Hopes, it would have been a dangerous Slur upon the King, from whom ſome expected not ſo much as they have ſeen, and others a great deal more. Laying aſide the Vanity of Conqueſts Abroad, it will become us to have a Care of them at Home, that while we think of nothing leſs than freeing or poſſeſſing other Countries, we may not *inſenſibly loſe or enſlave our own*. We have Land enough, and a free Government, if we might enjoy it. Our Part is little more than defenſive, ſcower the Coaſt and you ſecure the Iſland and the Trade, which is the Life of it: But if after *Fifteen Millions* of Money already paid in three Years, (which, by the way, has not been known ſince the *Norman Dukes*, which is now above 600 Years ago,) you will give more without ſettling the Conſtitution and changing Hands, and thereby purging the Adminiſtration, *we are an undone as well as a ridiculous People*. The *Army* the King aſks is for the *Continent*, and not an *Iſland*, and what have we to do there? Is not our *Quota* enough? Are any but the *Dutch* concerned in the Charge at *Sea?* And of that do we not bear a double Share? Beſides, have any of the *Confederacy* aſſiſted us in the reducing of *Ireland?* Let us obſerve Proportion. But that

which

which is both our Surprize and Trouble, is to find that his Majesty tells us of *Arrears*, after all that has been given, when it is made plain to us, that though we did the last Year proportion our Supplies to 70,000 Men, there never were 50 of them in Pay: Pray let that *Overplus* be applied to the *Arrears*, or those that received it obliged to refund to the Publick.——We do not see to the end of our Charges, and cannot be too good Husbands for the People that pay it, who though they are and will be very reasonable, have often proved they are not made for Burthen. I will say no more to Persons of your *Talents*; nor had I said so much, but to Men of your *Stations*.

A modest Apology for the loyal Protestant Subjects of King *James*, who desire his *Restoration*, without Prejudice to our Religion, Laws or Liberties: In Answer to the Pretences of the *French* Invasion Examined. In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

I Have read over the Pamphlet you sent me; and, at your Importunity, have here sent you some Reflections upon it, *en passant*: I am sensible that the Subject-Matter might, and deserved to have been handled largelier, and with more Accuracy, but you desiring so speedy a Return, I have but Time to write legible my first Scratches, hoping some Person of a happier Vein and Master of his Time, will undertake the Vindication of *us Protestants*, who dare not disavow our Allegiance to our King. I shall detain you no longer in the Porch, but to tell you that I follow the Author from Page to Page, and so am obliged to make some Repetitions where he doth the like, either in other Phrases or different Applications; therefore it will be convenient you compare this with the Pamphlet as you proceed.

The Penman of this Discourse saith, *That the Sword hath thus long been kept from destroying among us, is a Blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woeful Desolation it hath made in all neighbouring Nations; nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God and their Majesties for keeping us in Peace, who give the least Encouragement to this intended Descent, which must turn our Land into an* Aceldema.

There is small Thanks owing to the Prince of *Orange* for his warding the destroying Sword thus long from us, if we consider that he only hath involved these Kingdoms in a War we had never been engaged in, if our lawful King had been still upon his Throne; if we have not seen the woeful Desolation it hath made in all neighbouring Nations, yet *Scotland* and *Ireland* have been sufficiently harrassed with it; if it had not been that we have so unfortunately espoused his Quarrel, we had not lost above one hundred thousand Fellow-Sub-

jects, near upon two thousand Ships, nor seen hundreds of Families reduced to Beggary by Losses, want of Trade and exorbitant Taxes; if these be Blessings, we owe them indeed to those Majesties he mentions; but Mankind may be well satisfied he preserves us only as his Magazines and Garrisons, which he may have resort to when his Confederates can no longer support him, and then we may expect to be an *Aceldema*, the miserable Theatre of his last Efforts.

As to our Author's big Words of *Conspiracies and Combinations of Protestants, with bloody-minded Papists*, or calling our late King's Attempt, to regain his Crown, *a* French *Invasion against our Country and Religion*; it is not giving loyal Subjects black Names should terrify them from their Duty: He must know that whoever shall be the forwardest to repair to the Royal Standard, do it to save the Effusion of *English* Blood, and for a generous and good End, to rescue us from *Dutch* Slavery, and an endless War; and upon those very Motives the Author mentions, and endeavours to render weak and frivolous: But I hope I shall maintain and vindicate them as just and honourable, and such as *loyal Protestants* need not be asham'd of.

Our Author saith, our first pretended Motive is, *That the late King was unjustly deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in the Possession of it; and now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his Subjects must either assist him, or at least not oppose him.* To this he replies, *That all the late King's Sufferings were owing to, and caused by the Counsels of his Popish Priests, and the Bigots of that Persuasion; Protestants were not the Aggressors*, &c.

However the King's favourable Aspects to those of his Religion might damp the Affections of his Protestant Subjects, yet his Sufferings were principally owing to the Sensibleness the *Dutch* had, that the King by his granting Liberty of Conscience, and providing such naval and military Stores, had a Design to promote the Traffick of his Subjects, and oblige the *Dutch* to a juster and more equitable Regulation of Trade, than any of our Kings could hitherto obtain. This gauled them in the sensible Part, and they well knew they must either embarrass him at Home, or they must forego their cursed treacherous Art in circumventing our Trade. The King's Religion gave them an Handle to their Wishes, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition prompted him to concur with them in all their Designs: By the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his Popish and Presbyterian Plot, they had sufficiently tried the Nation's Jealousy against the Growth of Popery. And that he had been their Agent, his taking Sanctuary there, when his mischievous Intrigues had been fully discovered, is a sufficient Proof; and that another of his Bench, who instigated King *James* to do all those Things of which our Author exclaimeth, was likewise a principal Agent for the Prince and them, is as conspicuous, and he hath now manifested it to the World, by his Retreat thither upon the Revolution, his Uncle's Residence with the Prince, and his Own, and his Friends Boasts of it. To these it is that our King principally oweth all his Sufferings.

As to the *bold Attempts of the King upon our Laws, our Religion and Properties*, which our Author makes the *first and only Cause* of his Sufferings, he means his Declaration of Indulgence, and dispensing with penal Laws: But if we consider

consider the Ends which King *James* proposed in that Affair, we cannot so deeply charge him with a Male-Administration, that could make him forfeit his Right to his Crown. He had observed the Causes of our late Civil Wars, the transplanting so many Families out of *England* to *Holland*, *America* and other Places in his Father's and Brother's Reign, to the Loss of Ours, and the Increase of the *Dutch* Trade, the Sufferings of those of his own Religion also in Times past, ascribed by Dissenters, and them solely, to the Severity of the penal Laws. He foresaw, by the Attempt of the Duke of *Monmouth*, he must expect Troubles, if Dissenters were not more easy, and Trade would sink, which he had set upon in his seriousest Thoughts by all Methods possible to improve, and could think of no better Expedient to effect all those, than by granting Liberty of Conscience. He had before his Eyes the infinite Benefit the *German* Empire had reaped by the Treaty of *Munster*; by which, after a most destructive Civil War, upon the Score of Religion, which had lasted almost an Age, a Peace was established by the most mature Deliberations and Councils of the greatest Part of the *Roman* Catholick and Protestant Princes of *Europe*; the Cement of all which, was the Toleration of Religion, which ever since hath kept that vast Empire in Unity within its self: Such an Harmony amongst his Subjects the King hoped and wished to establish; and till it could be settled by Law, endeavoured to attempt by Prerogative; yet with all Security to the Church of *England*, without any Diminution of its Rights and Privileges, as established by Law, excepting in that particular of exerting the penal Laws; and no doubt such an Harmony as the King only aimed at, that Dissentions in Religion might create no Difference in Allegiance, might have been then effected, as we find it now in the main. If we had considered our common Interest, and had not been diverted by the deepest Policies of *Holland*, and the unnatural Ambition of their Prince; so that the Millions involved in Blood and Ruin have more Reason to exclaim, and cry to Heaven for Vengeance against the States and their Prince, than against King *James*.

As to the *Injuries and Violences our free Nation did so long and so patiently endure under King* James, they were not so much as Flea-bitings, comparatively, to the Rackings, Tortures, Flealings, Carnage and Losses it hath undergone since the Revolution: Our unreasonable Fears and Jealousies then, are now turned to real Torments and Miseries.

Our Author saith, *When some Stop was to be put to the final Ruin of our Liberties and Religion, it was done at first by Petitions and Complaints.* This was done like genuine Sons of the Church of *England*, who stood firm to the old and established Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, which even Dr. *Burnet* at that time proclaimed from his Pulpit in *Holland*, as the Doctrine of our Church; though at the same time he was as deeply engaged in contriving the Change, as any one about the Prince; and I doubt not, to serve his Interest now, will press it as much as ever; though neither he, nor any of his Persuasion, practised it under King *James*, longer than they were able to dispute Pretensions with the Sword.

That the foreign Prince came only *to cover the Protestants of* England, *while Grievances were fairly redressed*, I know, was a cunning Pretence in the Prince's Declaration:

Declaration: However, even in that we find no solemn Proteſtations that he deſigned no Attempt upon the Crown, which ſhews he had then ſome farther Work than to ſee Grievances redreſt: And though he promiſed to ſend his Troops back, yet there is not one Syllable of his own Return. From which, and many preceeding and ſubſquent Actions, 'tis rational to conceive that he and Sieur *Benting* had other Projects in their Heads, than any other of the Confederates were to know, or the States-General, if we may believe what follows.

In the Extract of the States-General's Reſolutions, dated *Thurſday* the 28*th* of *October*, 1688. wherein they give the Reaſons why they granted to the Prince of *Orange*, for his Aſſiſtance, ſome Ships and Militia, as Auxiliaries, they ſay, 'that his Highneſs hath declared to their Highneſſes, that he re-'ſolved with God's Grace and Favour to go over into *England*, not with the 'leaſt Inſight or Intention to *invade or ſubdue that Kingdom, or to remove the* 'King from the Throne, *much leſs to make himſelf Maſter thereof, or to invert or* 'prejudice the lawful Succeſſion, as alſo not to drive thence or perſecute the *Ro-*'man Catholicks, but only and ſolely to help that Nation in re-eſtabliſhing the 'Laws and Privileges that have been broken, as alſo in maintaining their Re-'ligion and Liberties. That a free and lawful Parliament may be called: 'That the ſaid Parliament may deliberate upon and eſtabliſh all ſuch Matters, 'as ſhall be judged neceſſary to ſecure the Lords, the Clergy, the Gentry and 'People, that their Rights, Laws and Privileges, ſhall be no more violated or 'broken. That their High and Mightineſſes hope and truſt, that with God's 'Bleſſing the Repoſe and Unity of that Kingdom ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, and 'the ſame be thereby brought into a Condition, to be able powerfully to concur 'to the common Benefit of *Chriſtendom*, and to the reſtoring of Peace and 'Tranquility in *Europe*.

By this laſt Clauſe, their true Meaning was to Confederate with them againſt *France*: for King *James* had redreſſed all or moſt of the Grievances here complained of, before the States-General publiſhed theſe their Reſolutions, and determined to call a free Parliament.

But to proceed, as to the Prince's *offering a Treaty*, if it had been before his coming over, to have been tranſacted by the Ambaſſadors of the States, and ſome Envoy from himſelf, it had diſcovered more Candour and Ingenuity. But the States and the Prince were ſo far from diſcovering any thing that way, that they denied, till their Forces were ready to embark, that their Preparations were deſign'd againſt *England*. This Treaty was not offered till long after the King had redreſſed moſt of the Grievances this Author complains of; as the reſtoring the Biſhops to his Favour, the Fellows of *Magdalen* College to their Fellowſhips, Corporation-Charters, Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace, to their Offices; nor after the Prince was landed, till the King was retired to *Whitehall*, after the Prince of *Denmark*, Duke of *Ormond*, *Grafton*, Lord *Churchil*, and divers others had deſerted him, and the Princeſs was gone into the North, to countenance the Forces there, ſo that the King knew not in whoſe Fidelity to rely. Beſides, it was very apparent that if the Prince had only intended to cover our Heads, while the Grievances were fairly redreſſed, not to take away the King's Rights, he would have ſtayed the March of his Army at a convenient Diſtance, that a Treaty might have proceeded

ceeded upon equal Terms, whereas on the contrary he marched on *John* like, which was a manifeſt Indication that he deſigned to attack his Perſon. And the King being uncertain who to confide in at Land, and his Fleet having ſent him no very acceptable Addreſs, it was high Time for him to provide for his Safety, both the Laws of Self-Preſervation, the Care of his Kingdoms and his Poſterity, requiring it, as now too late perceiving what he was unwilling to believe, that the Prince deſigned to deprive him of his Crown.

That our Author might more ſlily inſinuate, that the King abdicated the Throne, he jumbles Matters done at different Times, that *during the Continuance of the Treaty he diſbanded his Army*, diſſolved *the Government, and as much as in him lay, attempted to deſert the Throne, and ſeek Aids from an Enemy's Country, which might ſecure him againſt redreſſing any Grievances, and enabled him to be revenged on the Complainers.*

As for the diſbanding the Army, the King having no farther Uſe of thoſe he could not confide in for his Defence, was not willing to expoſe ſuch as were Loyal to ſlaughter, or to have them ſeized on by their treacherous Companions; ſo they being paid to the laſt Muſter, he diſſolved them, and withdrew himſelf; and how, after his Return from *Feverſham* to *Whitehall*, the *Engliſh* Guards were removed, and the *Dutch* ſet upon him, and after Midnight a Meſſage ſent to him to depart from *Whitehall* by Nine of the Clock next Morning, in a moſt inſolent Manner, our Author paſſes by in Silence, leſt he ſhould give any grounds to his Readers to interpret the King's Eſcape, to any Enforcement on the Prince's Part, and that they might more glibly ſwallow the Notion of the King's diſſolving the Government by a voluntary Abdication, which even this Author himſelf contradicts, when he ſaith he ſought Aid from an Enemy's Country, to enable him to be revenged, *&c.* But of this Abdication I ſhall have an occaſion to treat hereafter: And for his Majeſty's Retreat to *France*, it was not before he found he was not ſafe in any Part of his own Realms, and to get to *Denmark* or *Sweden* was not poſſible, if he could have had time to have ſent for a ſafe Conduct: And I ſuppoſe no Man could think the King ſo void of Senſe, as to truſt himſelf, the Queen and Prince, in the Hands of any of the Princes confederate with the Prince of *Orange*; ſo that he had Reaſon to have recourſe to that great King, whoſe Honour and Generoſity he could more certainly rely upon for Protection than any other, upon the ſingle Account of that King's heroic Soul, prompt to ſuccour a Prince ſo injur'd, and particularly by one that was his ſworn Enemy. I have thought fit to enlarge upon this Head, becauſe all King *James*'s Enemies make the King's Retreat thither, a ſpecious Pretence and Argument of his early being embarked in his Intereſt, which if he had, he would not have refuſed the Offers of Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*, to have prevented the Deſcent of the Prince. I ſhall now attend our Author.

He goes on, *we did not make the Throne vacant, but the late Biſhops and other Peers at* Guildhall *believed he had left it void, or elſe they would not without his Conſent have ſeized on the Adminiſtration of the Government, ſecured his Chancellor, taken Poſſeſſion of the Tower, and offered the Exercile of the* ſupreme Power to the Prince of *Orange*. To this I anſwer, that our Laws own no *Interregnum*. The Officers of Juſtice, Magiſtrates, Privy Counſellors, *&c.* while the King

King lives, though he either be taken Prisoner by an Enemy, or by escape is forced to abscond, may and ought (as far as the Enemy will give them leave) to perform the Duty of their Places, in preserving the Peace, suppressing riotous Assemblies, defending themselves and Country from Enemies, and administring Justice. But that our Laws allow any Peers, Privy Councellors, or others, to displace any Governors of Forts, imprison any Minister of State, deprive any Fellow-Subject of their Commission, much more to offer the Exercise of the supreme Power to any foreign Prince invading, are Things I suppose our Laws have not allowed; so that I conceive, what those Lords did, was rather out of Awe of or Affection to the Prince, either to conciliate his Favour, or yield it, knowing he expected that Tender of the Government, than any Right they had to do it.

Our Author proceeds, *the King left us in Anarchy, and we provided for ourselves in the best manner such a Juncture would allow.* If the Prince had not designed from the beginning to *ravish the Crown* from his Father-in-Law's Head, he would have given him Pledges of his Safety, and never have forced him to so precipitate a Flight, nor industriously set the *Mob* in such a Ferment through the whole Kingdom and *Scotland*, of the Papists and Irish massacreing and burning Towns and Villages at such remote Distances, in two or three Nights, purposely to make an universal Consternation, that every where he might be worshipped as their sole Deliverer.

The Author's declining to enquire, *whether these Subjects who are so zealous for the King's Return, were not bound to have done more than they did, to keep him on his Throne when he had it*, implies they did not their Duties; and if one may guess at his Meaning, he thinks them Cowards for it. But if most of those, who in that Confusion knew not who to confide in, whereby they might make a stand to oppose the Torrent, or by the over-awing Power, or the Confidence that the Prince designed only the securing our *Religion*, and no Violation of the Rights of the King: If, I say, on such Considerations they acted as Men either forced by Fear, or relying on the Prince's Honour and Justice, rather than proceeding according to the Prescripts of Laws, or the Dictates of right Reason, and these Gentlemen having seen and seriously reflected on the fatal Consequences of the *Revolution*, do now repent of their by-past Actions, and with great Zeal endeavour the King's *Restoration* without Bloodshed, and with him the Recovery of Peace and Plenty and our antient Laws. Surely, notwithstanding all the Affrightments our Author urgeth, they will prove true Patriots to their Country, Gentlemen of far greater Candour, Justice and Honour, than those who would still keep us under *Dutch* Servitude, and under the national Guilt of Perjury, and continue us, and all Christendom in a bloody expensive and ruinous War.

What follows in our Author, is a Doctrine only calculated for rebellious Subjects, who are forced to make use of any Pretext to palliate their Wickedness: For sovereign hereditary Princes *cannot forego their Right when they please*, unless by a voluntary Resignation to their next immediate Heir, as *Charles* the Fifth and the Queen of *Sweden* did; but surely a King driven from his Kingdom by Force, may justly attempt to *recover it again by Force*, when he hath Opportunity, and that by the Aid of Foreigners joined with his own Subjects, when he was expelled by such.

He

He ſaith, *Somebody muſt govern when the King will not, and that muſt be the next undoubted Heir in an hereditary Monarchy*, all which I allow. But this is not our Caſe, our King did not voluntarily quit his Government, neither is the Prince of *Orange* his next undoubted Heir; and he hath a very treacherous Memory when he ſaith, *whoever doth govern in Chief in this Nation muſt be King by the Conſtitution*; for either by *Conſtitution* he muſt mean the uninterrupted hereditary Succeſſion, and then the Prince of *Orange* is no King by our *Conſtitution*; or he muſt take in the original Contract, as a Part of the *Conſtitution*, and then our late Commonwealth ſhould have been dubbed *King Rump*, and the *Protector*, *King Oliver long Noſe*.

That a King according to our Conſtitution muſt have Power ſufficient to protect himſelf, and the Nation againſt all their Enemies, which cannot be without ſwearing Allegiance will be owned. But he will never find in our Books of Law or Statutes, that a new Conſtitution, framed by a Convention, choſen by the Writ of a Foreigner, who had no legal Right to iſſue out ſuch Writs, can oblige the Subjects. For an Error and Illegallity in the Foundation, can never be ſet to rights in the Superſtructure.

What our Author next urgeth, *that when a King and Queen are declared, ſubmitted to, and owned by Oaths, and all other Methods required, in ſuch Caſes the King is not at Liberty to give up his own Power and the Protection of us, nor are the People free to join with him that deſerted them*, ſhews how fallaciouſly he argues by putting in the Word Deſerted, which is begging the Queſtion. However he hath herein owned, that a lawful King can neither abdicate his Right, or be abdicated, which utterly cuts the Sinews of all his Arguments for the King's leaving the Throne vacant, unleſs he conclude the Vacancy to be as often as the King ceaſeth to ſit on it.

We *Engliſhmen* are greatly obliged to our Author for his inſtructing us in our Duty of Allegiance, when he tells us, *that the French King will not grant that the Citizens of thoſe Cities, who were Subject to* Spain, *or the Emperor, and bound by Oaths to thoſe Princes (but have now ſubmitted to him, and ſworn new Allegiance) are obliged to venture their Lives and Fortunes, by virtue of their old Oaths, to reſtore thoſe Cities to their former Maſters.* It might have been expected from this Writer, that the King of *France* being ſo topping a Tyrant, the Prince of *Orange* would not have treated us after thoſe *French* Methods of enforcing Allegiance; but by the Steps he already makes, if he lives to his Years, and have proportionable Succeſs, no doubt he will make our Monarchy more abſolute, than ever it has been ſince King *John*'s Time. However our perfect Hobbiſt ſhould have ſuppoſed the Caſes parallel; if we be a conquered People, (as without doubt he muſt own thoſe Cities are,) let his King declare it ſo, and we are willing to ſwear ſuch like Allegiance as they do: But I ſuppoſe it's not yet ſeaſonable to do ſo, though ſome former Writers, on this Subject, have been ſquinting that way; which if they would ſpeak out, I preſume our Parliaments would reward them for it with a Halter.

In the next Place our Author lays great ſtreſs *upon Oaths, Duty and Intereſt, both of this King, and his Army to oppoſe King* James, *if they be not perjur'd Hypocrites.* What then are they that formerly have ſworn more legal Oaths of Allegiance to their true King, and broke them? Oh! They are Saints, but

to consider what Murthers, Burning, Plundering and Destruction he brings upon his native Country, who encourageth the Agressors. But he hath a Heart of Flint and Bowels of Stone, for all those who have suffered the like under this blessed Government.

In the next Place he would persuade us, *that our King is void of Pity and Compassion to his Subjects, if he will not rather sit quietly under his single Injuries, than wish, or however attempt, to be restored by Blood and universal Ruin; and if he have no Pity for us, why should we be so concerned for him,* &c. It is recorded of King *Henry* VI. by *Hollingshead*, that receiving at a time a Blow from a wicked Man, which compassed his Death, he only said, *forsooth, forsooth you do foully to smite a King anointed.* So another also, who thrust him into the Side with a Sword, when he was Prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his State and Kingdom.

These Passages are recorded in History, to that unfortunate King's great Praise, and After-ages no doubt will do the like to our King, in recording the many Princely Virtues he is endowed with: And amongst the rest, there are great and signal Instances of his forgiving Temper, and more of his Compassion for his Subjects Sufferings; and I think there is no Prince, except his royal Father, who hath suffered more Injuries, with an invincible Patience, than he hath done: And for his Compassion to the Suffering of his Subjects, it is well known how he hath resented the Death of those slain in Battle, the Loss of our Merchant-Ships, and that he refused to grant some Privateers of *France* Commissions, though they offered to bring him the Prizes they should take, for his Subsistence; which are greater Instances of his innate Kindness and Compassion for his Subjects, than ever we have heard of King *William.* And we have Reason to ascribe the not destroying of our Fleet two Years since, by the *French* Admiral, (when it was as much in his Power, by burning a great number of them, after the Defeat of Admiral *Herbert*, as it was in Admiral *Russel*'s now to execute the same upon the *French*) to the tender Regard the King had to his Subjects, that his Navy might not be totally ruined. And notwithstanding some People's ridiculing the King's late gracious Declaration, which whether it be his or not, I am wholly ignorant; yet if it be not his own, it comes very near, in the indulgent Part of it, to the King's blessed Temper; and if it be his, it will remain to all Ages a lasting Monument of his Mercy, Forgiveness, and Kindness to his People.

The King's going away whilst the Treaty was on foot, is by our Author trumped up again, to usher in a notorious Untruth, *that he never yet offered any* since; which his Letter from *Rochester*, and that from *St. Germains*, though the Convention would not vouchsafe to read it, positively contradict. And Persons of Honour and Quality, who knew the Inclinations of his Soul infinitely better than the Author, well know he desires more to be restored by the Invitation and Affection of his People, than by the Sword, or a Foreign Force.

We are told next by this confident Gentleman, *that we* (that is the Prince and his Foreigners, and *English* Conspirators,) *did not force him to go away in Disguise:* It seems there is no other Violence used to a Prince, which must be called Force, unless a Crew of Ruffians come with cocked Pistols, and drawn Swords to his Anti-chamber, and so force him for fear of immediate Death to escape

escape in Disguise. His Majesty's unsafe Circumstances I have before declared, which will justify to the World the Necessity of attempting his Escape out of the Hands of such bloody Enemies.

Our Author takes no notice of the great Civility of the Prince of *Orange* in sending that seasonable Message to the King after Midnight, as I have touched before; or of the Civility of removing the *English* Guards, and placing his *Dutch* Horse and Foot in their room: This is no dragooning a King; but if that he attempt with the Assistance of his own Subjects, and foreign Aids, to recover his Right, oh then, *We may and must oppose him, for our Allegiance is transferred upon another.* How unjustly so ever it is, that concerns not our kind Author to inform our Judgments in.

We must have another Dish now of our Author's twice boiled Coleworts, *There is no injury done to any*, he saith, *but to the King himself, and those who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of Possession:* It seems the Kingdoms have no concern for the well or ill Faring of their King; his Subjects have no Part in him. Surely such a bold Assertion should be backed with some Reason; and it is as followeth, *The Monarchy, the Law, the Church and Property, are in better Estate than in King* James's *time; and all those, with innumerable private Persons must be irreparably injured by his Return in a hostile Manner.* Sure this good Gentleman thinks his Authority is very great, that we should believe every Word he writes without Examination or Scruples. We have indeed a *Dutch* Elective Monarchy instead of an Hereditary *English* one, all the Laws of the ancient Constitution abrogated or wrested; and, I think, all sober Men will judge that the new ones, made to supersede the old, are not yet of so long Standing, as that a due Comparison of *Betterness* can be judged; the long Parliament's Ordinances and Acts were as much magnified for a time. And as to the Church; if renouncing its old Doctrine of Obedience in its Canons and Homilies, if the Perjury of the greatest part of the Clergy, and the depriving of the most reverend, orthodox, pious, and learned Bishops and Ministers, who could not take the new illegal Oaths of their Bishopricks and Benefices (not so much as allowing their Wives and Children a Fifth, as the most unmerciful long Parliament did to those they expelled) be Tokens of a better State of the Church, we must yield him the Argument. And as to our Properties, while our Estates are at the Disposal of the Government, to impose the most exorbitant Taxes that ever this Nation bore, though this Gentleman never so confidently avers Taxes to be no Burthens, yet I am sure our fleeced Country find the vast Difference betwixt their present Condition, and the State they were in during the Reign of King *James*; when they neither paid Poll, Aids, nor one Penny Taxes (except one small Imposition on Tobacco, *&c.*)

Next follows a most insolent Answer to a charitable Plea, *That he who was born to a Kingdom really wants Subsistence.* To this he replies, *That if he would seek the Peace of Christendom and of his late Subjects, he might by a fair Treaty set on Foot not only restore the Exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable Maintenance from this Government; but while the War he makes upon us puts us to so great Expence, he cannot imagine we should give him a Supply to enable him to ruin us.* This Flourish amounts to no more or less, than that if the King will by a Treaty renounce his Right to these Kingdoms, as the King of *Spain*, after a tedious War,

did his to the Seven Provinces; and make a Resignation, and transfer his right Title and Interest to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*: He then should, during their Pleasures, have Food and Raiment, and some Pocket Expences. But then he must make no War upon us; that is, he must oblige the King of *France* to put up his Sword. A pretty practicable Condition! sure King *James*'s Fortune is not yet so low, as to beg an Alms of his Children, or sell his Birth-Right for a Mess of *Dutch* Pottage. As to the Peace of Christendom I shall treat of it hereafter.

I now come to the second Motive, *Why we Protestants should endeavour King* James's *Restoration*: viz. *Because thereby we should deliver our selves from the Oppression we suffer under, by ease of Taxes and restoring of Trade.*

I must here consider his Answer more narrowly, and by Parts; it consisting most in Recrimination. *It is great pity*, saith he, *that they who have the Wit to invent or urge this Plea, have not Memory to remind them, that none complained more of the Danger of Law and Religion of our Lives and Fortunes in that Reign, than many who have this high Opinion of it now. The cruel Severities in the* West, *the high Commissions, turning out of Officers, all good Protestants, attempting to reverse all the Penal Laws, putting unqualified Men into all Places of Trust, Profit and Power, excluding the Fellows of* Magdalen, *and putting in Papists, with the Imprisonment and Tryal of the Bishops, were thought Oppressions then, but now all these are buried in Oblivion.*

I shall not here undertake to vindicate King *James*'s Administration in all these particulars, because he was pleased to redress most of them before the Prince of *Orange* landed; which sufficiently demonstrates, that he deserved not this severe Treatment by Abdication, or the continual loading him with such black Crimes: For he is not the only Prince in the World, who attempting to introduce some things in Administration, which in their Opinion, and the Judgment of a considerable Part of their Subjects, might be conducible to some publick Good; yet upon the Essay, finding it not relished, or entertained by another part of the Subjects, have recalled their Declarations, and re-instated Men and Matters in the Condition they found them. So Queen *Eliz.* revoked some Grants of Monopolies, as we find in *Camden*, fol. 635 which at the first granting had an Appearance of common Benefit. So King *Charles* the First redressed many of those reputed Grievances of Loans, Benevolences, Purveyors, Coat and Conduct Money, *&c.* that had been used in all his Ancestors time, and as much in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign as any. And King *Charles* the Second recalled his Indulgence. Indeed these Princes afforded these Acts of Grace, upon the Addresses of their Parliaments; but King *James* did some of those before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, which he convened for Advice, had moved them; and the rest he did at their Desire. And it is not only Princes, but Parliaments, have retracted their own Acts: And it is from the Sense that the wisest Men have, that what may be convenient for a People at one time may not at another, that Parliaments make so many probationary Acts.

Since therefore all the Enemies of King *James* make these Administrations of him the popular Topicks of all their Calumnies, I will endeavour to set the Grounds of them in a perspicuous Light, and then hope the candid and ingenuous Part of the Nation will find they did not flow from any Tyrannical Principle,

ciple, or Design to break in upon our Laws, or destroy the Church of *England*, or invade the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects; but that they all flowed from his Desire to establish a Liberty of Conscience, for the common Good of his People: Which not only being suspected by the Church of *England*, to tend, at least, to the weakening of it, and the Protestant Religion, but being like to prove of the last ill Consequence to the *Dutch*, who have got all their Wealth and Riches in Trade by it, it was not to be wondered that the *Dutch* studied all the subtlest Ways they could, to possess us here with a Belief, that the ultimate End of this Liberty was only to propagate his own Religion.

I shall begin with the Charge as it lies: And His Majesty's *cruel Severities in the* West leads the Van. It is well known what Disturbance that Duke gave to King *Charles* II. how he was made the Prince of *Orange*'s and the Dissenters Tool: And it is as well known how he was caress'd at the *Hague*, and secretly furnish'd with all things requisite for his Invasion, and what Endeavours were used there and here to make him a strong Party. But every one knows not that which a Confident of the Prince's can prove, that the Plot was laid to shake King JAMES, before he was settled in the Throne, and to try the Inclinations of the Protestants, how they would stick to and defend a *Roman Catholick* King; but without any Intention that the Duke of *Monmouth* should succeed. Therefore when it was seen that his Forces encreased, three Regiments then in the *Dutch* Pay, which had been sent for before, were permitted to come over so late: And the Prince knowing, that if the Duke once took the Title of King, he would lessen his Interest, therefore he oblig'd Mr. *Fer---n*, for a Sum promised, and in hand, to put him upon declaring himself King; which Advice he followed, to his Ruin. As to the Severities in the *West*, our Author means the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of the Rebels, which was done according to the Prescript of the Laws. But although the King had reason, for Terror-Sake, upon so dangerous a Rebellion, to execute the Rigour of the Law; yet lest the then Lord Cheif Justice *Jefferies* might be too severe, he sent Mr. *Pollexfen*, a known Favourer of all Dissenters, as his Solicitor to temper the late Lord Chancellor's Heat: And it is well known, that the King's Pardons saved some thousands of Criminals, who were guilty of Treason, and thereby obnoxious to the Sentence of Death and Forfeitures of Estates. And to prevent any such future Attempts, the King was farther persuaded of the Advantage that would accrue to him and his Subjects by the Indulgence, of which I shall discourse hereafter. And thus much I hope may suffice, as to the *Severities in the* West.

As to the High Commission, it was at first Enacted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and founded upon the very Law which established the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters; which I suppose none, at least, of our Church will dispute. The corporal Punishments imposed upon Offenders in King *Charles* the First's Reign, occasioned it to be insisted upon by the long Parliament as a Grievance; so that as to some of the Powers, formerly granted by this Commission, a Retrenchment was made in his time, but with a *Salvo* to the King's Supremacy; and the Commission King *James* granted, did not extend to any thing that was repealed in the Act of King *Charles*. And the Sentence that passed against the Bishop of *London*, was not without a full hearing of his Council

Council of Advocates and Common Lawyers, and was paſſed by the Noblemen and Biſhops of the Church of *England*; the Survivors of which are conformable to the preſent Government. And if we conſider how active that Biſhop hath been ſince, to promote the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, in dethroning the King, the Puniſhment (which was only the ſuſpending him from his Spiritual Juriſdiction, and putting it into the hands of three Biſhops, without depriving him of one Penny of the Revenue) cannot be adjudged to exceed his Crime.

The next three particulars of *turning out of Office all good Proteſtants, attempting to reverſe all* Penal Laws, *and put unqualified Men into all places of Truſt, Profit and Power*, may be conſidered together; two of them, *viz.* the firſt and the laſt, being but the Conſequences of the Attempt upon the Penal Laws. But before I enter upon that Subject, I muſt obſerve, that our Author, by his Word *All*, would make the World believe there was never a good Proteſtant during King *James*'s Reign that was not turned out, nor ever a qualified Man ſubſtituted; whereas we, that lived here whilſt this Gentleman was perhaps plotting here or in *Holland*, know the Aſſertion to be egregiouſly falſe; and where the Change was greateſt, if it amounted to a third or fourth part, it was the moſt. I am ſure, however unpolitickly it was done, there is no Law extant that deprives the King, of what Religion ſoever he is, to place or diſplace his Officers of State, Civil or Military, yea Judges themſelves: And I ſuppoſe he will not deny, but very good Proteſtants have been diſplaced under this Government, and the ſupream Command of the Armies in *England* and *Ireland* put into the hands of Foreigners, the *Engliſh* being ſlighted, and the Teſt-Act as little regarded, as if it were diſpenſed with.

As to the Breach of any Law, though this Author generally, through his whole Tract, charges the King with ſubverting the Laws, yet neither he, nor any of the King's moſt violent Enemies, can inſtance in any, except his Attempts, as he calls them, of reverſing the Penal Laws; and at the moſt it was but an Attempt, the Grounds of which are abundantly explained and enforced in his Declaration for Indulgence; which I do not remember that either in his Reign, or ſince, when they might freely have done it, any have attempted to diſprove particularly. Beſides what I have before laid down upon this Head, give me leave a little further to enlarge, ſince this Diſpenſing and the Conſequences of it, are the only things which have raiſed all the Clamours againſt the King; for I believe, by reaſon of the Difference of Religion, and the Deſigns of the States and the Prince of *Orange*, although the King had never done any thing in that particular, but had careſs'd the Church of *England* in the higheſt degree yet Storms had been raiſed againſt him by Diſſenters, and others of the *Shaftsburian* Faction.

It is not doubted, but the King, being of too heroick a Temper to diſſemble his Religion, or ſuffer thoſe of it to be perſecuted in his Reign, revolved in his royal Mind by what Methods he might govern a divided People, ſo imbittered one againſt the other in point of Religion. He likewiſe judged it his Intereſt to make his People rich by Peace and Traffick; ſo that if he could conciliate an Harmony in his People's Minds, by rooting up the Seeds of Diſcord, Rancour, Faction and Rebellion, he ſhould accompliſh a glorious Work for

for the publick Benefit of his People. This he foreſaw could not be effected by eſpouſing the Intereſt of any one Party, his royal Office being to be a Father of his People; therefore he reſolved upon one Expedient, which he judged moſt agreeable to extenſive Chriſtian Charity, his own merciful Inclinations, and the effecting of thoſe Things which after ſo long a Civil War, and the Convulſions of his royal Brother's and his own Reign by the Attempts of the Duke of *Monmouth*, were requiſite to ſettle the Ferments of all Parties; and that was, by ſuſpending the Execution of the Penal Laws. This he thought would not be ungrateful to his Proteſtant Subjects, at a Time when the *French* King was perſecuting his Subjects for their Religion; ſo he rationally concluded, it would prevent his Subjects from removing themſelves and their Families into *Holland*, *Germany* or *America*, as many had done in the former Reigns, to avoid the Severities of Penal Laws: And that it would encourage the *French* Refugees to flock hither; it being a Maxim in all Government, That the Increaſe of the Number of People increaſeth the Wealth and Strength of a Country. His Liberality to theſe *French* was a ſufficient Demonſtration, that at that Time he had not any Deſign to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion by a Method ſo diſadvantageous, in the increaſing the Number of thoſe who exceeded much the Number of all his *Roman Catholic* Subjects put together. He gave not only Protection to theſe, but other Immunities; and by a very liberal Contribution throughout his Kingdom, provided for their Subſiſtence. Of theſe good Thoughts and Actions our Author never takes Notice.

The Prerogative of the King to diſpenſe with the Penal Laws, was argued legally in the *King's-Bench*, and Sentence paſt judicially for the King; yet we find none of thoſe Judges either ſentenced by the late Convention, or the ſucceeding Parliaments: A manifeſt Indication that the Sentence was not illegal. And for a further Demonſtration of it, the diſpenſing Power is exerciſed in this Government, not only in the non-inflicting the Penal Laws upon Diſſenters and *Roman Catholics*, and rendering the *Teſt-Act* obſolete, but in the diſpenſing with all the Acts of Navigation; a Matter of more infinite Damage to the whole trading Part of the Nation, than King *James*'s Declaration was to the Officers of the Spiritual Court, who were the only Loſers by it.

However, in the King's Indulgence, a ſpecial Proviſo was made for the preſerving the Rights of the Church of *England*; which is again renewed in the King's Declaration, in theſe Words:

And we do hereby further declare and promiſe, That we will protect the Church of England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed, in all their Rights, Privileges and Poſſeſſions; and that upon all Vacancies of Biſhopricks, and other Dignities, and Benefices within our Diſpoſal, Care ſhall be taken to fill them with the moſt worthy of their Communion.* Sure the Prince of *Orange* hath not given the like Security to our Brethren of *Scotland*; where he hath, on the contrary, utterly extirpated the Epiſcopal Government, which he found there ſettled by Law; which ſhews ſome may better ſteal an Horſe, than others look over the Hedge. Beſides we ſhall find in our Author hereafter, that the Prince of *Orange* is juſtified in his countenancing a Toleration. Where therefore is the Damage that the Proteſtant Religion or *England* did, or was likely to ſuſtain by the Toleration? Indeed the *Dutch* had Reaſon to apprehend the ill Conſequences of it to them, becauſe

cauſe it might have drained them of their People, as well as diminiſhed their Trade. Hence it was, that all their Contrivances of ruining the King's Deſigns, and wreſting the Scepter from him, originally proceeded.

It is true, the King reſented it very much, That his Proteſtant Subjects in general, or the Church of *England* in particular, ſhould entertain ſuch Jealouſies of this his Deſign for the common Good and enriching of the Nation, and ſhould ſo vehemently oppoſe it. Hence it was, and for no other Cauſe, nor without Reluctancy in his princely Mind, that he removed the violenteſt of the Proteſtants, who had given publick Declarations of their Diſſatisfaction, and that in Parliament, in their Offices and Places in the Government, they would oppoſe it: So that it is no wonder that a King, being baulked in a darling Deſign of his Soul, and from which he had conceived great Hopes of making all his Dominions happy and rich, grew impatient thereupon; and thence it was that other Proteſtants, and ſome Papiſts, were ſubſtituted in their Places, as being better ſatisfied with the Benefits would accrue, and the Integrity of his Intentions.

The Diſſenters univerſally, by their infinite Addreſſes, with all imaginable Gratitude and Thanks, acknowledged the ſuperlative Favour of this Indulgence; and openly avowed, That if they could have been ſatisfied that the King would have ſhewed ſuch Clemency to them, they had never oppoſed his Succeſſion, nor aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth* as they did. And they were ſo dexterous in applying themſelves to the *Roman Catholics* (with whom, by this Time, the eminenteſt Members of the Church of *England* were much diſſatisfied, partly out of Care to preſerve it againſt the Attempts of them and Diſſenters, and partly out of Apprehenſion, that their unpolitick Zeal would tend to the ruin of the King,) that they made a very ſpecious Shew, that for the future, they would equal, if not exceed the moſt complying of his Subjects, in concurring with him to take away the Penal Laws. Hence grew the Heats and Animoſities, betwixt the Church of *England* and Diſſenters; which occaſioned all the unpleaſing Proceedings of the King, which are now ſo prodigiouſly aggravated; and which the King himſelf by his Retraction of them, with Men of Candor and Ingenuity, might have atoned for at a leſſer Rate than Dethroning.

I know it was then urged, that King *James* had a farther Reach by this Toleration, even to eſtabliſh his own Religion upon the Ruin of the Church of *England*. But we experimentally found, that the opening of Popiſh Chapels and Schools, the publick appearing of ſome *Benedictines*, in their Habits, at *Whitehall*, made no new Converts. The Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* were only gazed on, as we would do if the *Turks*, *Tartars* or *Chineſe* were in their Habits, to celebrate the Offices of their Religion. Our Churches were more crowded and reſorted to, than ever they were before or ſince; ſo that there was no Increaſe of Popery by the publick Exerciſes of that Religion, or the Liberty of printing Books in the Defence of the Doctrine of it.

If the King's Deſign had been to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and the Church of *England*, he would have taken more ſubtle and effective Methods, and have made an effectualler Uſe of his diſpenſing with the *Teſt-Act*, and have entertained a much greater Number of Papiſts into his Army; whereas,

whereas, before the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, he had ſcarce one Popiſh Officer for thirty or forty Proteſtants; and in ſome entire Regiments there were not twenty common Soldiers of that Perſuaſion. So that neither from his Army or his Prieſts we were in Danger, during his Reign, to have ſuffered any Subverſion of our Religion; nor was there any more ſolid Reaſon of apprehending it, than of Maſſacres, Bridles, Gridirons, and other fictitious Stories, raiſed purpoſely to ſcare People out of their Reaſon and Loyalty.

It is further to be conſidered, that thoſe very Men who, as it now appears, deſigned nothing leſs than the King's Ruin; even one or more of his prime Miniſters of State, promoted and puſhed forward all thoſe, the ſo diſguſted Proceedings againſt the Church of *England*; and with all Induſtry adviſed and importuned the countenancing and placing in the Magiſtracy, Diſſenters, on purpoſe to bring the King into Diſrepect with the Church of *England*, whereby they might, with more Facility, bring about the *Revolution*.

As to the Buſineſs of *Magdalen College*, I need ſay the leſs of it, becauſe as much hath been formerly publiſhed on that Subject as the Cauſe will bear; and the Conteſt about it was not concerning the King's Power in diſpenſing with Laws, but only with College-Statutes: A Matter ever practiſed by the Kings of *England*. And it is moſt certain, from the King's own Mouth, That if the Fellows had ſuſpended their Election till the Qualifications of Mr. *Farmer* had been examined, there had been no ſuch diſſolving of the Society as followed. On the King's Part it was no leſs than vindicating the Rights of the Crown, in his Prerogative of diſpenſing with College-Statutes: And if ſome Men's forward and impolitick Zeal had not been ſuch, as to recommend to the King a Perſon obnoxious for his Unqualifications; and others had not purpoſely encouraged the Fellows, and underhand ſupplied them to carry the Oppoſition to the higheſt, Matters might have been dutifully compoſed. But the Deſigners of the Revolution, knowing that a Conqueſt of this Nature would diſcover the Strength and Courage of the Church againſt the King; and if he were foiled in this, it would be a very good Omen of their Succeſs in their intended Work; and if the King proceeded in it to Severity, he would loſe the Affection of the Univerſity as he had of the Church: Hereupon they ſet all their Inſtruments at work to blow the Coals on both Sides, leſt the Fire ſhould go out. And as to the placing of Biſhop *Gifford* as Preſident, and *Roman Catholic* Fellows, that muſt be looked upon as the moſt unpolitick Act of any the King did, by the Over-Perſuaſion of ſome Popiſh Councils; though it is moſt certain there wanted not then ſome Perſons, and ſuch as would be very angry if they had not the Character of Members of the Church of *England*, and are now actually in conſiderable Offices in this Government, who highly applauded the King for it; affirming it was fit the King ſhould have ſome College in either Univerſity for inſtructing and educating the Students of his Religion, to prevent their going to foreign Univerſities; and that we might better underſtand their Methods of Study and Diſcipline, wherein they have a compendiouſer Way of teaching Arts and Sciences. But however the Matter was brought to extremity; yet the

King dissolved that Society, and restored again the Fellows before the Prince's Invasion.

As to the Reverend Bishops, whom the King committed to the *Tower*, I have that due Respect to the Fathers of our Church, that I would willingly cast a Veil over that Action: But when I consider that our Author, and especially the Penman of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a* French *Invasion*, so vehemently urge their opposing the King in the Indulgence, as a Matter wherein they much advanced the Prince of *Orange*'s Interest. And the latter Author saith, *That when it was certainly known that the Prince of* Orange *was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it as other Men, and refused when they were pressed to it by the King, to declare their Abhorrence of it; but instead of that, took upon them to give him Advice, and to publish it when they had done. In which Advice they commended almost every Particular of the Prince's Declaration, complaining of the same Abuses, and advised the Calling of a Parliament to redress them; as if the Prince's Declaration and their Advice, had been drawn by the same Pen, and the Advice had been published on purpose to second the Declaration.* I say when I consider such Reflections, now made upon their Actions, I cannot but allow, That upon the Suggestions of a leading Nobleman in the King's Council, who hath since discovered for what End he did it, the King might have some Impressions, that the refusing to read his Declaration, had more of Design than Conscience in it; though he is now, by the later Actions of all of them (except one) satisfied to the contrary. As to the Matter itself it is well known, that they were only required to enter into a small Recognizance for their appearing and answering to the Information, should be exhibited against them at the *King's-Bench*, which they refused to do; and so unwilling the King was to have committed them, that he ordered the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice to lay the Point of Law before them; and they were twice or thrice desired to withdraw, and consider of the Arguments proposed. But one of their Number, privy to other Designs than I have the Charity to believe any of the rest knew of, hindered all Compliance. From the *Tower* they were removed by *Habeas Corpus*, and had a fair Trial and were acquitted, and afterwards again restored to the King's Favour; and their Advices followed, in retracting most of those Things the King had done contrary to their Advice; though in some Things, as the restoring Corporations, Charters, *&c.* the King had prevented their Advice.

In all this, the King had deprived none of them of any Part of their Revenue: But however instrumental these two Authors would make them towards the Revolution, yet because they cannot transfer their Allegiance from their lawful King to the Prince of *Orange*, we find how severely this Government acts against them, and the non-swearing Clergy; whereas the Long Parliament allowed a fifth Part, as I have before-mentioned. All the Bishops and Clergy that are now ejected have not the Allowance of one Farthing out of their Livings; so much severer is a *Dutch* Government than the *English*, though the very Rebels of our own Country. And yet this severest Punishment may not be mentioned as any Grievance of this Government, when inflicted on reverend, pious and learned Bishops and Clergymen, for no other Crime than resolutely and conscientiously adhering to the fundamental Laws of the *Eng-*

lish

liſh Monarchy, and the undoubted Doctrine and Canons of the Church of *England*.

I have been ſomething larger upon theſe Heads, becauſe they are the conſtant Topicks which the virulent Enemies of King *James* make uſe of to vindicate their Abdication of him, and the Author of the Reflections upon the King's Declaration complains, that *Things are not there taken from the Beginning*.

Having diſpatched theſe Matters, I ſhall proceed to conſider what our Author next offers: *Now*, ſaith he, *all theſe are buried in Oblivion. And thoſe Taxes which the late King and his Allies of* France, *with their Abettors, alone make neceſſary to this frugal Prince, theſe are our only Grievance, and this King's unpardonable Crime.* I wiſh it could be ſaid, that Taxes are our *only* Grievance. However, he can never prove that if King *James* had ſtill been on his Throne the Country had been burthened with the hundredth Penny; and he may well call his Prince frugal, that not only ſaves his own Treaſure untouch'd, but muſt have vaſtly encreaſed it by the many Millions he hath ſpunged from us; otherwiſe he could not owe ſuch Arreas to his Army, nor ever make one round Payment, either to them, or for any other Occaſion, but he muſt borrow it from the City, having begun that Piece of *Frugality* within one Month after he got the Adminiſtration, and is like to continue it as long as he lives, and die in their Debt. But however frugal he is of his own Money, he is liberal enough to his *Hollanders* and Confederates, tho' at our Charge.

But the late King, ſaith he, had *one Tax, and might, yea would have had more, for the glorious Deſign of enſlaving his Subjects, if he could have got a Parliament to his Purpoſe.* Oh! Happy Change for *England*, where the Prince hath got ſuch complying Parliaments, that he hath Money given him as much as he will aſk, without the leaſt Danger of their Denial, though he refuſes to gratify them with any one Act that is for the public Good of the Nation.

But in King *James*'s Time we were *in Peace with all Nations*. I pray, who hath entangled us in a War *with the worſt Enemy of* Europe? I am ſure it was not till the Prince of *Orange* proclaimed it, for his own Safety, not ours; but at the Expence of our Blood and Treaſure, to defend the *Dutch* and their and his new Conqueſts, though we paid 600,000 *l.* impreſt Money, and about 20 Millions ſince, to enable him to continue it.

Yet ſtill ſaith my Author, *what Grievances are Taxes, in compariſon of what is laid on the* French *Slaves, into whoſe Condition we are intended to be brought? There is a vaſt difference betwixt loſing our* Property, *and paying ſome Part of our* Profits *to ſecure the Reſt of our Inheritances to our Poſterity, as well as to our ſelves.* We have more than once, in moſt Writers of this Gentleman's Kidney, the *French* Slavery urged, and the Deſign of King *James* to make us ſuch. Sure the *French* are the ſtupideſt and moſt miſerable of Mortals, to be ſuch Slaves, and never own it, or complain of it. During all the War, they pay no more than their accuſtomed yearly Teſſes, and notwithſtanding the great Noiſe we have had, that the King is put to ſuch Straits, that he is forced to melt down his own, and cauſe his Subjects to bring in their Plate to melt, that he may have the Profit of the Coinage; yet a common Cabaret, like our ſmall Victualing-Houſes, have maſſy Silver Spoons and Forks for their Gueſts, and

Silver Goblets and other drinking Cups of that Metal. And their Inns of any Note ſerve the beſt of their Gueſts in Plate. And in a Lodging you may rent for fifteen Pounds a Year, you ſhall have Silver Baſons, Plates, Spoons, Forks and Knives, for your daily Uſe. Theſe are no Signs of Poverty, and as for the Slavery of the Country, Gentlemen and Metropolitan Cities pay no Taxes; they have no ſuch Tenants and Farmers as we: The Peaſants till and ſtock the Ground, and the Lord hath the Half in *Specie* for his Rent, and theſe are liable to ſtanding Taxes, in ſome Countries heavier than others, according as they have been true or rebellious to their Princes. Surely a Tenant that divides Half with his Landlord cannot want Food or Rayment, and may have more at the Year's End, than one that pays a Rack-Rent; ſo that the Affrightment of loſing our Property for ever, is likelier to befall us, by an endleſs War, and Slavery to the *Dutch*, than by the Reſtoration of King *James*, which would ſoon give us a fair Proſpect of an happy ending them.

As to his leaping out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire, and changing our Whips into Scorpions. It is unuſual for him to allow we are in this Reign under any Preſſures, it is likely his Condition is much better in Honours and Profits. But as to what he intermixeth, that to avoid tolerable Payments, *we ſhould raſhly bring a fatal War to our Doors, that muſt laſt till more than one half of the Nation is deſtroyed, and the reſt utterly and almoſt irrecoverably deſtroyed* All theſe terrible Things may be eaſily avoided, if according to our Duty and Intereſt, we make no Oppoſition to our lawful King; then we need not fear the Loſs of any thing we have, nor the Effuſion of one Drop of Blood. And if his Stay ſhould be till the Confederacy were diſſolved, which without either Aſtrology or Divination cannot laſt twelve Months, we ſhall be as ready to welcome our King again, as ever the Children of *Iſrael* were to re-conduct King *David*, after the Overthrow of unnatural *Abſolom*.

But our Author tells us, *we have paid as much formerly for aſſiſting* France *againſt* Europe, *&c.* ſurely he never ſaw the Foot of the Accounts of the Money given, 1,300,000 *l.* was in the Year 1674 thought a prodigious Sum, to maintain the Fleet and Army one Year and Half, whereas now, although the Extent of the Confederates Dominions be ten times as much as our Iſland and *Ireland*, yet we pay three Time as much in eighteen Months.

But we muſt take our Author's Word, that *the Sums are not conſiderable* (*reckoning the Abatement of Chimney-Money*) *which we have paid to this Government*; *no Country in* Europe, *have paid ſo little in Proportion to our Wealth this three laſt Years of War.* As to the Abatement of Chimney-Money, it was a Shoe-Horn, a popular Bite to angle for infinite more Treaſures: The *Grecians* have a Proverb, *the Gifts of Enemies are no Gifts.* We were in Danger this laſt Seſſions of a general Exciſe *A la mode d'Hollande*, and ſome Projects were for a Quarterly Chimney-Money; but theſe are laid up in Lavender for a freſh Supply.

That which will be moſt inſupportable in this good Man's Opinion, is, that *if King* James *return*, England *muſt pay all the Money borrowed of* France *hitherto*; *and to diſcharge the Forces that come to thruſt him on us, the Arrears of Chimney-Money, and other public Money, be called for*; *and ten times greater Taxes will be continued for many Years.* Theſe and ſuch like were the uſual Objections againſt

againſt the reſtoring King *Charles* II. yet we found no ſuch prodigious Sum needful, after twelve Years exile. But our Author thinks the King of *France* will be as greedy as the unſatiable *Dutch*, who made us pay ſix hundred thouſand Pounds for Admittance into the Confederacy, beſides the Millions paid ſince for the Honour of fighting their Quarrel. And our Soldiers muſt at the beſt be content with bare Subſiſtence, that the Confederates may be thoroughly ſupplied. Whereas the *French* King wants not our Money, and is more generous than to be mercenary, ſince the reſtoring ſo injured a King, will more redound to his Glory, than any one of his great Atchievements hitherto. We ſhall alſo then know an end of our Payments, and enjoy Peace and Freedom of Trade for the future, which will make entire Satisfaction for all our Charge. Whereas, in the State we are in, we are not like to extricate ourſelves from a deſtructive and expenſive War, as long as the Confederates can aſſiſt the Prince; for his Pretenſions only hinder the Peace of *Chriſtendom*.

That *Trade began to decay in King* James's *Time*, I never heard of, unleſs it were in thoſe Months when the *Dutch* occaſioned it, by ſending the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Prince; otherwiſe there was more Traffick in one Year of King *James*'s, than in all the Time of the new Regency. And that which is moſt to be conſidered, the *Dutch* having been always our Rivals in Trade, now that they have got ſuch an Aſcendant over us, will never, while they are able, ſuffer us to enjoy it again. I could, upon this Head, multiply many well-grounded Aggravations of our Loſſes in Trade ſince the Revolution; but this good Man would charge them all on the King's Account, and brand me with the Name of *Conjurer*, or of a *Jeſuit*, or their Tool, if I ſhould, for any one good Thing, magnify his Reign.

As to the *ingenious Hiſtory of Dr.* King, which our Author more than once flouriſheth with, in due Time the Diſingenuity, Falſhood and Malice of that Hiſtory, will be detected. However, our Author could ſcarcely have pitched on any Parts of it, wherein ſuch palpable Untruths are aſſerted, as thoſe he cites, and this in Particular, that King *James in* Ireland, *feared and hated the Increaſe of Trade, which made him uſe all means to hinder it.*

Finding our Author grounds his Aſſertion on Dr. *King*'s Authority, I ſhall give you what he advanceth on the Subject. *Many a Roman Catholic*, ſaith he, *who pretended to know King* James's *Mind, have confidently affirmed that he purpoſely let the Ships of* England *decay and rot*, (he means the Ships of War,) *that the* French *might grow great at Sea, and deſtroy the Trade of the* Engliſh. *The Reaſon pretended for doing ſo, was to humble the Subjects, and take away their Wealth from them, which made them proud and ſurly, ſo that the King could not have his Will of them. I ſpeak*, ſaith he, *the Language of thoſe Roman Catholics; and the King himſelf could not forbear Words to the ſame Purpoſe.* If this Gentleman had conſulted the Book which Mr. *Pepys* publiſhed, of the State of the Fleet under King *James*, he would to his Shame and Confuſion have found that King *James*, in the ſhort Time of his Reign here, did more towards the Repair of his Ships of War, and providing all naval Stores, than any two Kings of *England* had done in their Times. So that I hope, when an Author lays the Streſs of his Argument upon ſo palpable an Untruth, little Credit ought to be given either to the reſt of his Reaſoning, or his whole Book.

The

The Thing in this Section the Doctor undertakes to prove, is, that King *James* designed the Ruin of Trade in all his Kingdoms, at leaſt was well pleaſed with it: But as if he had a Deſign to prevaricate in the whole, or that we muſt take his Aſſertion on truſt, the Medium he uſeth to prove it by is only this, that formerly the Proteſtants had the principal, if not the ſole Trade of the Nation; but by their flying into *England*, out of the Apprehenſion of the Danger of a Maſſacre, how well grounded I now enquire not, and their Jealouſy of a Perſecution they declined, or left off their Trade in great Meaſure: Surely this looks not like a Deſign of King *James* to ruin Trade. And beſides the general Cauſe, by reaſon of the War, he unluckily hits but on a ſingle Inſtance of a Magiſtrate of *Galloway*, who, contrary to Law, ſending Wool into *France* was not puniſhed for it; whereas any one, who was not wilfully reſolved to traduce King *James*, and publiſh all the Evil he could of his Adminiſtration, without any regard to Truth or Falſhood, would have judged this an Argument, that the King was willing in that Exigence that his Subjects ſhould traffick in what they could get vent for, rather than be prohibited by him.

Beſides, I am informed from Perſons of better Credit than the Doctor hath rendered himſelf of, and from Dr. *Gorge*'s Letter, that the King was ſo far from deſigning the Ruin of Trade, that conſidering, by reaſon of the War, his Subjects there could not, without Hazard and Loſs, export their Commodities of the Product of the Country; he himſelf bought their Hides, Tallow and Wool, for ready Money, and ſent them to *France*, and brought other Commodities back. And the braſs Money he uſed, was a great Help to the quicker Circulation of Commerce; and even the Sutlers, who received it of the Soldiers, might once a Month have Gold for what they brought in. I hope by theſe ſmall Inſtances, and what will hereafter be related, as to King *James*'s Adminiſtration in *Ireland*, ſuch Readers as have been induced to believe hard things of his Management, will pauſe a while till the Doctor's Book have a more full Anſwer, before they totally yield themſelves to be mancipated by the Doctor's bold and malicious Aſſertions.

For notwithſtanding what the confident inſincere Doctor writes, it is on the contrary moſt evidently known, that the King promoted Traffick as much as poſſible for him in his Circumſtances; and that it might be the more free, he abated the Cuſtoms of Commodities imported and exported, which was a Demonſtration that he encouraged Trade for the Benefit of his Subjects, without regard to his own particular Profit, though at that time his Wants were ſo preſſing. He cauſed the Commodities of the Country, which could be ſpared, to be vended to *France*, in Exchange for Bay-ſalt, Wine, Brandy, and other Neceſſaries. I have enquired of intelligent Perſons, who lived then in *Ireland*, and cannot underſtand that he prohibited Traffick into any other Country; no, not to his Enemies, where any uſeful Commodity could be imported. And for the Author's Aſſertion, that *no abſolute Prince* (*as King* James *affects to be*) *likes that his Subjects ſhould grow rich by Trade*; it is neither true in general, nor as applied to the King: But on the contrary, ſince he hath both before and ſince he came to the Crown, ſo far promoted Trade, that he had a Stock going in moſt of the conſiderable Companies; it is a ſufficient Proof, according to our Author's Maxim, that he affects not to be abſolute.

But

But if we believe our Author, we have *a Prince now, who ſo ſoon as he can have Peace, will make it his firſt Care to promote Trade here, as h' did in the Country he came from.* No, he is too much a *Dutchman* to do that for us: We have ſeen no one Act of his, or his Parliament's, that way; otherwiſe more Care would have been taken to have provided Convoys, as the *Dutch* have done for theirs, or to have promoted the Motion in Parliament for encouraging Privateers, which was no way purſued: Only he hath taken care that the Act of Navigation ſhould be vacated, or diſpenſed with: And his playing faſt and looſe with the *Eaſt-India* Company, to their vaſt Expence, ſhews that he is ſolely in the Intereſt of the States, to give up to the *Dutch* that whole Trade they have ſo long, by Treachery and Cruelty, been attempting.

What follows is but nauſeous Repetitions of what hath been already abundantly confuted. And as to the diſmal time of King *James*, *when Law and Right was only the King's Pleaſure, dictated by mercenary Judges*, there needs no other Confutation, but by inſpecting the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; wherein will be found few Appeals in Matters adjudged in the Reign of King *James*; but more ſince the Revolution from the Decrees of the Lords Commiſſioners, than in the whole Reign of the longeſt lived of our Kings. And I think the Proceedings againſt Mr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Croſs*, and the poor Chairman, and the Judges uſing all their Arts to elude the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, and their ſeveral Fines; as for Inſtance, Two hundred Pound and Pillory for drinking King *James*'s Health; their retracting their own Judgments in the Caſe of the Wagers about *Limerick*, and their violent and arbitrary Proceedings in the caſe of ſome Lords, and others, wherein all thoſe called *Jacobites* are concerned, will, with impartial Judgments, redound little to their Commendation, either for their Law or Juſtice. And I am ſure whoever acts not upon thoſe Principles, but to ſerve a turn only, muſt bear the Epithet of Mercenary in the greateſt degree.

As to King *James*'s *learning French Methods, and his Return with the Addition that Revenge, Hatred, and Fear can make to an angry and implacable Mind*; theſe are the very Scare-crows that the Black Parliament and *Cromwell* ſet up to affright us from all Inclinations of recalling King *Charles*: and as the Grounds the People of Power in that Age alledged for murthering the bleſſed Martyr, and excluding his Poſterity, were the very ſame in the general Tendency of them; ſo, as they imitate the ſame Precedents, they uſe the ſame Arguments; and if it were worth the while, it might be ſhewn in the ſame Words, for the obſtructing our King's Return, that thoſe did then. But if we were once ſo happy as to ſee our King reſtored, his Clemency, Tenderneſs, Honour and Mercy would ſoon ſo appear, that there would need no other Confutation of theſe black Calumnies. And that he hath not changed with his Air, that indulgent, merciful Soul, always conſpicuous in him, is ſufficiently manifeſt in all his Royal Actions; whereas, neither the Air of *England*, the Honour, Benefit, and Riches the Prince of *Orange* hath got by it, hath rendered him more *Engliſh* than ever he was, being wholly and entirely *Dutch* in Soul and Body.

As to his Majeſty's *Severity in* Ireland *to the Proteſtants*, when the Anſwer to Doctor *King*'s malicious Book comes forth, the World will find that by perſonal Command, Proclamation, and all Methods he could uſe, the King endeavoured

voured to ſuppreſs that revengeful Diſpoſition in common there, betwixt the old *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh*; inſomuch as the *Iriſh* accuſe the King as much for, and aſcribe his Loſſes ſolely to, his Clemency to his treacherous Proteſtant Subjects, as our Author does his Severity. And though his Circumſtances were then ſuch, as he could not be informed of many things of that kind done, and the Treachery of ſo many of his Proteſtant Subjects there, being ſo often diſcovered, (of which number I ſuppoſe the Doctor was one, who hath been rewarded with a Biſhoprick for it,) could not but give occaſion ſometimes to ſuitable Returns by his Miniſters: Yet it is owned by very many Proteſtants there, that he took all opportunities to diſcover his Mercy and Goodneſs to thoſe which had not deſerved it at his Hands.

As to the popular Harangue the Author makes about the Diſtruſt of King *James*'s *keeping his Word, Promiſe, or Oaths, whereby he was engaged to rule by Law.* The Grounds of all Objections of that kind, reſting ſolely upon his Attempt to take off the Penal Laws, I muſt refer to what I have ſaid on that Head. The juſt Temper of his Royal Soul and his Intereſt are ſuch ſtrong Obligations upon him, that as to all our Laws that concern our Liberty and Property, and the ancient Conſtitution of the Government, which can never countenance Arbitrarineſs, they will be ſufficient Guarantees for dutiful Subjects to rely upon his governing according to Law; and ſo he will neither have, nor need any recourſe to Abſolution. But upon a ſmall enquiry it may be found, that he much more inviolably hath obſerved all the forementioned fundamental Laws, than the Prince of *Orange* hath either done them, or his Declaration. Indeed the *Dutch* Faith is as notoriouſly known all the World over, as the *Punick*, or the *African* was of old. And, I think, if ever Subjects had reaſon to forbear recriminating upon the Head of Breach of Oaths and Promiſes, our Author and all engaged in this Government have the leaſt reaſon of all Mankind; for they have the moſt openly, and avowedly broken their Oaths of Allegiance that ever People did; and if they had any Pangs of Conſcience for it, they would repent ſpeedily, and ſeriouſly ſuch abominable Perjury. But I ſhall add no more on this Head, but paſs to the third Motive laid down by our Author.

Which is, that the Reſtoration of King *James is neceſſary for the ſettling the Government upon its old Baſis, and to prevent its relapſing into a Commonwealth.* I do believe the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, being Maſter-Ingredient of his Soul, will poſſeſs him to his dying Day; ſo that having by his Arts obtained the Poſſeſſion of a Crown, I doubt not but he will endeavour to keep it as long as he is able. Neither make I any ſcruple, but that if, for our farther Puniſhment, he be continued any while upon this Throne, he will attempt the greateſt Abſoluteneſs that any Prince can aſpire to; which already may be diſcovered in his Treatments to his Parliaments, whom, as the *Romans* did with Kings, he makes Inſtruments of our Slavery, in ſpunging all the Money of the Nation for him, and ſettling his Power, never giving them leave to provide any one Law of univerſal Good for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

So that our Author might haved ſpared all the Diſcourſe relating to the returning again to a Commonwealth, during the Prince's Power. But as to what he urgeth, that it is not *likely a Parliament, that made an Entail of the Crown in a lineal Succeſſion, ſhould be for a Commonwealth*; yet he muſt own, that the Convention

vention hath given a fair Countenance to the fundamental Principles of a Commonwealth, in their Vote, *that the late King* James, *having by the Advice of Jeſuits, and other wicked Men, broken the* original Contract *betwixt King and People, and endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Realm, and ſince withdrawn himſelf, hath abdicated the Government*, &c. Whoever peruſeth the Charge againſt King *Charles* I. will find the very ſame Breach of the original Contract, and ſubverting the fundamental Laws, to be the Ground-work of that tyrannical Charge, and wicked Sentence againſt, and barbarous Murther of, that pious King.

The only Difference between the Proceedings in 1648, and 1688, was, that thoſe ſettled a Commonwealth, and theſe changed the hereditary to an elective Monarchy; both of them to the manifeſt ſubverting of the true fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, upon mere Pretences that the reſpective Kings had violated them firſt; and both againſt the known Maxims of the Law, that the King can do no wrong, and cannot be judged by his People; though all his Miniſters, that trangreſs the Law, are liable to Impeachment in Parliament.

What Security can a new Entail give to Kings; either in Poſſeſſion, or the Tail in remainder, as long as by theſe Precedents any powerful Faction, alledging the Breach of ſuch Contract, or Laws, are hereby empowered to paſs Sentence againſt them? for ſurely that Force, which can depoſe, or abdicate from his Throne one King, and exclude his Iſſue-Male likewiſe, and ſettle the Crown upon which of the Blood-Royal is moſt ambitious of it, may by parity of Reaſon depoſe the new created King, when they are weary of him.

His inſtancing, *that there hath been greater Breaches, ſince the Conqueſt, as to the true lineal Succeſſion*, may prove, that there have been ambitious Princes in former Ages; but proves no Juſtice or Right in the Undertaking: And he wiſely conceals the Calamities of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, and the whole Kingdom, which attended ſuch Changes, till the right Heir was reſtored.

Our Author ſaith, *the King having deſerted us, yea, left us without Government, we applied to his next certain Heir; with whom, at her Requeſt, and for our Safety and her's, by a general Conſent, a Title was given to her Huſband and our Deliverer; but this only for life. And the ſaving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of* Denmark *and her Heirs, ſhews how far that Parliament was from deſigning any ſuch thing as a Commonwealth.* Moſt People of *England* had that Opinion of the Princeſs's Tenderneſs to her Father, that they judged it was not without ſome Reluctance ſhe yielded to forſake Father and Mother, and cleave to her Huſband: And ſhe being abſent in *Holland*, was thought with much Difficulty to be prevailed with, to come and be Partner of his Honours. For none doubted it was for our Deliverance-ſake, the Crown was beſtowed by thoſe, who had no legal Right to transfer any Man's Farm of five Marks a Year to another, without the Owner's Conſent; and we thought he had challenged it as his Right, by the Succeſs of his Arms: For I am ſure there was no public Addreſs from the Convention to the Princeſs, before her Arrival; and that was only that Minute of the Tender, the very next Morning after her coming.

But now we are told it was at the Princeſs's *Requeſt* the Crown was given him. Our Author might as well have dealt plainly, and told us the Prince came for the Crown, and we durſt not deny it, nor his Princeſs neither, for if this Age will not, Poſterity will ſo conſtrue it. He alſo equivocates with us in telling us, *we continue the Succeſſion to the next Heir*; for that can never be true till he ſhall utterly diſprove the Prince of *Wales*.

Whatever Power the Convention could aſſume to deprive the King, and the Prince of *Wales* of their Birth-Right, ſo as that they might be looked upon as Dead; yet if the Convention had either regarded the Rules of hereditary Monarchy, or been juſt to the two Siſters, they ought not to have entailed it as they did, for the Prince could have no Right to any, but a matrimonial Crown, during the Coverture, upon Suppoſal the Princeſs was the next *certain Heir*, and upon her Death without Iſſue, the Right was immediately to devolve upon the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who, ſurely had not ſo ill deſerved either of the Prince, or the Convention; (having with her Huſband contributed as much towards the dethroning her Father, by the deſerting him and his Intereſt, as the Prince had done by his Arms,) to have been *poſtponed*. And till the Death of both theſe Princeſſes and their Heirs, the Prince had no ſhadow of Right to the Crown; but he and the Convention knew, that if he had ſtaid ſo long e'er he caught the Crown, he muſt wear iron Shoes, therefore he was reſolved to take Time by the Fore-lock.

As to the Prince of *Wales*, our bold Author ſaith, *there are clear Indications of his Birth being an Impoſture, and the Deſign of forming that Project, is ſo known to be revenge on the Princeſſes for adhearing to their Religion, and to get more time to force Popery and Slavery upon us. Yea his Health and Strength makes it ſo unlikely he ſhould proceed from ſuch crazy Parents, that till the Parties concerned prove the Affirmative by better* Witneſſes, *and clearer Evidence, and the People in Parliament own him for their Heir, we need not go about the unreaſonable Taſk of proving a Negative.*

All theſe trifling Arguments have been ſo convincingly, and irrefutably anſwered in *the loyal Martyr vindicated*, that till a ſatisfactory Reply be made thereto, it is but loſt Labour to trouble any with the Repetition of them. Why was never any Anſwer given to the Addreſs to the Parliament, to admit the thorough Examination of the whole Matter, whereby it was offered to be proved by ſtill more convincing circumſtantiated Teſtimonies? Why were Mr. *Aſhton*'s Papers never ſuffered to come to light? Why have no judicial Proceedings been attempted to prove the numerous Proteſtant Ladies, as well as Noblemen perjured? Who till then ſtand upon Record, as uncontrovertable Witneſſes. If there had not been ſo many conſcientious Proteſtants, of the beſt Quality, Witneſſes of his Birth, and more of all Qualities than ever we read of in any Hiſtory, were preſent at a Queen of *England*'s Labour, ſomething might have been pretended. But as to the Project he mentions, and the no leſs impudent than inſolent Argument of the Crazineſs of the Parents, to convince the World of theſe Calumnies, it hath pleaſed God to bleſs their Majeſties with a Princeſs, which upon many Accounts, will be more convincing to our incredulous World, than if it had been a Prince.

I pass by what follows, as sufficiently answered, and proceed to what our Author next proposeth. *If it be urged*, saith he, *that it is a dangerous Precedent for future Kings to allow the People a Liberty to take away their Prince's Right, and set up another on Pretence of Misgovernment*, &c. *the Reply is, the late King was the Occasion of this Precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole Frame of our Laws, Government, and Religion, and then deserting us. Quis tulerit Gracchos?* How far, and upon what Motives, the King dispensed with the penal Laws I have spoke to before; and to call that an Attempt to alter the whole Frame of our Laws, is to own that all our Laws are draconick, writ in Blood; that our Government consists only in Fining and Imprisonment, and our Religion hath more of Mount *Sinai* than Mount *Zion* in it. Shall the King be loaded with odious Epithets of affecting arbitary, absolute, and tyrannical Government, on that single Score, because he desired to free his People from sanguinary, and other penal Laws? This is every whit as probable a Contrivance, as to extripate the Protestant Religion, by entertaining 30,000 *French* Protestants. I have touched before, that the long Parliament did calumniate King *Charles* with the very same Crimes our Author does King *James:* And whoever reads *Milton*'s, or *Godwin*'s Writings, in Defence of the Proceedings then, will find all the poisoned Arrows shot against the King, are taken out of that Quiver. And all the Clergy of *England*, who have sworn Allegiance to King *William*, ought to mock God no more, in reading those Prayers appointed for the Days of the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First, and King *Charles* the Second's Restoration; for that the long Parliament, after eight Years War, in Defence of the People's Liberty, and in opposition to arbitrary Power and Popery, (as they, with as much confidence as our Author doth now, alledged) had as plausible Pretences to punish that sacred King as a Traytor to his People and their Representatives, and abolish kingly Government, as the Convention had to abdicate upon Pretences of the King's endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws, and for withdrawing himself to avoid the fatal Stroke his Royal Father received. For tho' at that juncture the Contrivers of the dethroning King *James*, knew it would be of dangerous Consequence to their Designs, to have offered violence to him, and would frustrate their foredesigned Abdication, yet the King had no Reason to trust his Royal Person in those Hands, whose very Mercies are Cruelties.

Our *Godwin* Junior goes on, telling us, *if it be an ill Precedent for the Safety of Princes, that the Advantage was taken, it was however necessary to take it for the Safety of the People, for whose Good, Heaven made Kings:* Yea, and for the Preserving of the People from the miserable harassing them, by the direful Calamities of War upon every Dissolution, or Interruption of the legal Succession, our wise Ancestors have taken all Care, by the firmest Laws, to establish the true hereditary Monarchy; nevertheless, there never was Rebellion or Usurpation attempted, but the *Salus Populi*, the People's Good and Safety, was with all Industry pretended.

As to the most comfortable Doctrine to all our Author's Proselytes, Associates, or Auditors. That *it seems as necessary that there should be some Precedents to deter Princes from abusing their Power, as well as to restrain the People from abusing their Liberty.* I wonder the Author did not say, it seems good to the

Holy Ghoſt and us, to declare this Doctrine; the Holy Writ tells us, that Offences ſhould be, but Woe to them that cauſe them. Paſſive Obedience, ſuffering for Conſcience-ſake, is for ever to be exploded; and, I believe after ſtricteſt Enquiry, there will be found nothing in the Doctrine of our Church, or our Laws, that will countenance ſuch a ſeeming Neceſſity.

However, leſt our Author's Prince, for whoſe Uſe and Information theſe Precepts are laid down, ſhould ſuffer any Qualms by them, he provides for him a very Cordial Draught. That *this Precedent can never hurt the Monarchy itſelf, or countenance a Rebellion, while the King is on the Throne, that will ſtay to hear the People's Grievances, which will never be denied by the preſent, or any other good King.* But what if the Deſigners of Rebellion ſhould declare it a Grievance, to have a King armed with any Prerogative, even neceſſary to ſupport his Dignity and Office, or multiply Complaints of Grievances, till he had diſplaced all his Friends, quitted his Power of the Militia, of calling and diſſolving Parliaments, or having a negative Vote. What would become of ſuch a liberal King? May not it be rationally preſumed, that if the People were ſo minded, they might fill up a Bead-Roll of Grievances againſt the Prince of *Orange*, every whit as plauſible as thoſe this Author hath framed againſt King *James*.

The laſt Motive to induce loyal Subjects to endeavour to reſtore our King, is worded by our Author to his beſt Advantage in anſwering of it. *That there is no way to preſerve the Church of* England; *no, nor the Proteſtant Religion, but by reſtoring the late King.* On this Head our Gentleman ſpends his Flaſhes of Rhetoric, recapitulating all the odious Things, as he calls them, which King *James* did to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and eſpecially to ruin the Church of *England:* On which Head he runs out into freſh Excurſions about his Spight to the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, his learning in *France* to dragoon all Men into the King's Religion, the Motives to draw in the *Frenchefied* Pope to lend him Money to invade us, *by his convincing him he loſt all for his Zeal to reſtore Popery.* But theſe and all the reſt, that follow upon the like Topics, either have had a ſufficient Anſwer, or amount unto no more than to tell us King *James* is a *Roman Catholic*, and as ſuch cannot but wiſh well to his Religion; or that the King of *France*, or Pope, have no other Inducements to aid him, but to enable him to ruin our Religion, and make our Kingdom miſerable, by abſolute Empire. In anſwer to which I ſhall add, to what before I have touched, theſe ſhort Conſiderations.

There are no Paſſions ſo romantic as Love and Hatred, and it is a copious and eaſy Theme, for an *Engliſh* Proteſtant, that wears the Colours of the long Parliament, *Orange* and *Blue*, to write with Venom and Gaul againſt Popery and the *French*. But I deſire all impartial Readers to conſider, whether the King's Religion be the principal Motive to induce the Pope and the *French* to aſſiſt, or rather a generous Compaſſion for an injured Prince: They are neither of them ſuch Novices, either in Affairs of Religion or State, but to be abundantly ſatisfied, that it is as impoſſible to ſettle Popery in *England*, as to eſtabliſh Judaiſm or Mahometiſm. The utmoſt of the Aim or Hopes of this great Triumvirate, can be no more than to obtain, that *Roman Catholics* may have the common Liberty of other Subjects, and theſe Dominions return to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign, by which the Peace of Chriſtendom may be more eaſily obtained.

But

But our politic Author ſaith, *it cannot be Eaſe to Roman Catholics the King deſigns, they are more at eaſe under King* William, *than under any proteſtant King ſince the Reformation.* If this be alledged to endear the Prince of *Orange* to the *Roman Catholic* confederate Princes, that he keeps his Promiſe to them in uſing the Papiſts kindly, then we have as much Reaſon to fear the Advancement of Popery from them if they prevail, as from the King of *France*; for I think, the Emperor and the Crown of *Spain* are as zealous in their Religion, as the King of *France*. If he means that the Prince of *Orange* is ſo indulgent to *Roman Catholics*, upon any other Conſideration, than they are not ſuch dangerous Subjects, but they may be connived at, and tolerated under him, in whom all Religions are indifferent, ſo they thwart not his Ambition, tho' it was ſo heinous a Crime in King *James*, being of their Religion, to ſhew them any ſingularity of Regard.

In the next Place, our Author falls into a Flonriſhing about the King's Breach of Promiſe, *and that he having pre-engaged himſelf to the Pope and* French *King to the contrary, though his Intereſt, and the Hope that ſome will be ſo mad to believe him, put him upon renewing theſe Promiſes to* England, *yet his Confeſſor can ſoon reſolve him which Promiſe is to be kept; and that by his former Proteſtations he deſigned to gull us only, not to oblige himſelf by them.* It ſeems, whatever can be ſaid to the contrary, King *James* muſt have a cloven Foot and a cloven Tongue. There is no Fence againſt a Flail; Suſpicion and Diſtruſt are incurable Diſeaſes. I have ſaid enough before, to ſhew that even in his Declaration for Indulgence, yet he had Regard to preſerve the Church of *England* and Proteſtants; and it is a great Truth, tho' many Men's gauled Conſciences will not own it, that he hath kept his Promiſe better to the Church of *England* and Proteſtants, than ſome millions of them have kept their Oaths to him.

I deſire once for all, that honeſt Proteſtants, and ſober *Engliſhmen*, will conſider whether King *James* be endowed with a rational Soul, or no; and in the ſecond Place, that they will conſider what Proportion, in Number, Strength, Wealth, Intereſt, or any other Qualifications, the *Roman Catholics* bear to Proteſtants, which ſome have computed at two hundred Proteſtants to one Papiſt; and I think it demonſtrable that there may be five hundred. Think now, if a rational King can be ſo crazed, as to attempt a Change of Religion at ſuch Diſadvantages, or can expect to be King of any Figure over none but *Roman Catholic* Subjects. Think then, dear Countrymen, of the King's darling Sin, if you will call it ſo, his deſire that none ſhould be proſecuted for Religion, add to this one Conſideration more; that if the Animoſities among ourſelves be ſuch, that each Way of Worſhip have conceived ſo bitter a Hatred againſt other, ſo as they will not allow the Toleration of one another, muſt therefore all the *Odium* be caſt upon that Chriſtian Temper of the King, who laboured to have them live in outward Quiet at leaſt, as Chriſtian Brethren, and Subjects tied in one common Bond of Allegiance to him, the true Father of his Country. When you have deliberated upon all theſe, I hope you will conclude with me, that it cannot be the King's Intereſt, in the leaſt jot, to vary from his Promiſes, made in his royal Declaration to the Church of *England*, or his Proteſtant Subjects.

As

As to what our Author ſo maliciouſly urgeth, That *the King declared in* Ireland, *that the Church of* England *ſtunk in his Noſe, and that he abhorred it*; both he and Biſhop *King*, if he have uttered any ſuch thing, muſt excuſe me, if I believe it not. King *James* is not a Prince that uſeth ſuch Language to his moſt profeſſed Enemies. How tender a Noſe ſoever he hath, his Breath is fragrant, as the blooming Roſe; and Mercy, Pity, Compaſſion and Benignity flow from his Lips.

Indeed the ſwearing Clergy of *England* having renounced the old Doctrine of the Church of *England* in point of Allegiance, and the File-leaders, Inſtigators and Promoters of thoſe Oaths, and their new Allegiance can expect no favourable Character from unintereſted Perſons, or from the true Members of the Church of *England*, who have kept firm to their old Doctrine of Loyalty and paſſive Obedience.

For King *James* to pity the miſguided Zeal of ſome, the timorous ſelfiſh Deſires of others, and the Infatuation of the reſt of the ſwearing Clergy, I am prone to believe it is true: But to revile, give Names, or pronounce ſulſome Things againſt them, it is far from the innate Generoſity, Mercifulneſs and Clemency of his Temper.

Our Author's Reflections on the King's Ingratitude, deſerves no Anſwer; it is ſo well known, that he hath ever been the beſt Maſter to all his Servants, who ſerved him truely, of any our *Engliſh* Kings we read of; and how great Numbers have requited him, is obvious to the World. I never before heard that any of thoſe that ſerved him againſt the Duke of *Monmouth* were neglected by him, unleſs he early perceived they were promoting the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange:* And I am confident whoever were ſuch, are conſcious to themſelves, that they failed of their Duty long before the King withdrew any of his Favours.

To proceed, our Author aſks, *What it is the Church of* England *wants, or any other* Proteſtant? *This King is a ſerious and ſincere* Proteſtant, *and as true a Lover of that Intereſt, as King* James *is a profeſs'd Enemy to it.* That the Prince of *Orange* is in Profeſſion a Proteſtant, I doubt not; but that he is very morally religious, there is great Reaſon to doubt, ſince he hath no more tender Regard to the fifth and laſt Commandment, and was ſo impatient of his Father's Crown, that he muſt needs be proclaimed at the very Hour, on *Aſh Wedneſday*, when the whole Church of *England* was pronouncing the Commination of, *Curſed is he that curſeth his Father and Mother, removeth his Neighbour's Land-Mark, and ſmiteth his Neighbour ſecretly:* Which ſhews, neither he, nor his Adviſers to that Haſte, either regarded the Day, or the Comminations againſt his Undertakings. Philoſophers tell us, That the Soul is entirely in the whole, and in every Part of the Body; and Writers upon Politics compare the King in his Kingdom to the Soul in the Body: And if ſo, the Prince of *Orange* hath Plurality of Souls, as to the outward Appearance of his Religion. *In* Scotland, *he is a very perfect rigid Preſbyterian: In* England, *a Lindſey-wolſey Epiſcoparian; and, I doubt not, at the* Hague *and* Amſterdam, Calvin *and* Beza *are his Apoſtles; and amongſt the Confederate Princes,* Luther *or* Eraſmus. *But in all Places his* Diana *is Empire and Riches.*

The

The Churchmen, ſaith our Author, *ſay, King* William *is too kind to Diſſenters; but hath he given them other or more Liberty than King* James *did? That King began the Toleration; and it was not for a new King, in a troubleſome State of Things, to alter any Thing of that Nature.* Lo! here we have a candid Confeſſion that King *James* did no ſuch horrid Thing by his Toleration, though it was the very Ground-work of all the Diſaffection from the Church of *England*, and the *Pandora*'s Box, out of which all the Writers for this Government fetch their plaguy Calumnies againſt him.

Let us follow our Author in his good Humour. He ſaith, *The Diſſenters do think the preſent King too kind to the Eſtabliſhed Church; not conſidering it is the National Religion, which he found, and keeps in Poſſeſſion of all its Rights, as his Duty and Oath oblige him; yet ſo as the Diſſenters have Eaſe, and every thing but Empire.* Good God! Muſt King *James*, who did the ſame thing, be *Abaddon* the Fiend and Deſtroyer; and the Prince of *Orange*, who writes by his Copy, be an Angel! For Shame, let us hear no more of King *James*'s arbitrary Rule, Tyranny, Dragooning, and Breach of Promiſes.

As to what our Author ſubjoins, *That the King is not only the Head and Protector of the Proteſtants of* England, *but of all the Reformed Churches in* Europe; the two Northern Crowns, it ſeems, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, are ignobler Members in compariſon of him; yet he and his Popiſh Soldiers can more cloſely combine with the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as profeſſed Enemies to his Headſhip, as any in that Communion; and he muſt be thought wiſe and pious for it. And neither his nor his Army's Stomachs are turned at the Idolatry of their Church; yet King *James* is mortally perſecuted for deſiring his Popiſh Subjects ſhould ſhare in a Toleration, or in the Liberties common to other *Engliſhmen*. Sure, he might be as indulgent to his *Roman Catholic* Subjects, as the Prince of *Orange* is to whole Armies of the Confederate Papiſts.

As to the *French* King's *deſperately weakening himſelf, by baniſhing thirty thouſand Families of uſeful Subjects, only to root the whole Profeſſion out of his Dominion*, I ſhall ſay nothing: That King knows beſt his Reaſons; and I am ſure King *James* was not of his Council; otherwiſe he would not ſo chearfully and cordially have entertained them, cheriſhed and ſupplied them. What grateful Returns they (and other Proteſtants, who were ſo much bettered by his Indulgence,) have made to him all Men are ſenſible. Yet he can and will forgive them, and will have more Content and Satisfaction to have the Power of pardoning and forgiving, than they have ever had in their Treachery to him, and their inſulting over him.

As if our Author had not ſpent his utmoſt Malice in diſtorting and miſapplying whatever King *James* did, he now turns Prognoſticator, and boldly undertakes to divine the Intentions of his Soul, as if he had got ſome Familiar to tell him it. *I doubt not but for a while*, ſaith he, *he would maintain the Eſtabliſhed Church, and renew his Indulgence, becauſe he can get Footing no other way. But it is eaſy to ſee how ſhort-liv'd thoſe ſham Favours will be. They ſpring from Fear, and Deſire of Opportunity to be revenged; and ſo ſoon as ever the Fear ceaſes, and that Opportunity comes, he will moſt certainly kick down the Ladder by which he aſcended, and pull off the Maſk, appearing what he is in*

his

his Nature and Principles, and not what his Neceſſities have made him ſeem to be.

This is the very Sting in the Scorpion's Tail. But if Prejudice, Envy and implacable Malice, did not thus wickedly miſrepreſent a juſt and merciful Prince, this Author and all his Partakers would own, that the univerſal Liberty of his Subjects, in Matters of Religion, is ſo rooted in his Soul, and ſo congenial to his Temper, that he can never be a Perſecutor on any Account of Religion: And he is as well convinced that the Church of *England* muſt be countenanced and maintained in all its Rights and Privileges, upon the Account that the Monarchy requires it, as our Author muſt own, whatever Religion the King ſhall be of: Both which, as to the Church and Diſſenters, are as fully laid down in his Declaration, as Words can expreſs; and it will be his Care, as it is abſolutely his Intereſt, to continue them, ſay this Dreamer what he will; not only for the Repoſe of himſelf in his declining Age, but for the Security of his Son, the hopeful Prince; for whoſe peaceable Reign he ought to provide. All which Things duly conſidered, it is impoſſible but the King will inviolably and ſacredly keep and obſerve every Promiſe in his *Royal Declaration*; and that he will never attempt, either to ſuppreſs our *Religion*, or infringe the leaſt of our *Liberties* or *Properties*.

So that it is an unjuſt and ungrounded Aſperſion of our Author, that his dutiful Subjects, *in aſſiſting to reinſtate him, and fighting for him they fight againſt their own Religion; which the primitive Chriſtians, for all their heroic Loyalty, would not do; and which no Men ought to do for Intereſt or Revenge.*

Is it not as lawful for the King's loyal Subjects to aſſiſt, and fight againſt the mortal Enemies of his Crown and Dignity, (whereof he is deprived unjuſtly by a Son and Daughter, by the Force of Strangers and Popiſh Soldiers, and the Treachery of his own Subjects,) when to reſtore him and the Conſtitutional Laws of the Government, and the Church of *England*, to its ancient Doctrine of Loyalty; as it is for Proteſtant Princes, not to mention *Roman Catholic* Kings, to fight againſt one another for the Rights of their Juriſdictions or Crowns, without fighting againſt their own Religion? I do verily believe the heroic Loyalty of primitive Chriſtians, in ſuch a Quarrel as King *James*'s is, would have engaged them as cordially and unanimouſly to have fought in Defence of ſuch a Right, as they would, or did, for the enlarging the *Roman* Empire. Neither doubt I, that the loyal Subjects of King *James* are as circumſpect, that they do nothing to endamage their Religion, as any of the Prince of *Orange*'s Confederate Proteſtants, or himſelf, can be. It is not our Religion, our Author and his Party are ſo much concerned for, as the loſing the ſweet Power, and Dominion they have got, and the Diſpoſal of the Wealth and Strength of theſe Kingdoms. For if they could enforce the King of *France* to let King *William* reign, they would no more regard the promoting the Proſperity of the Church of *England*, than *Oliver Cromwel* did. It is the ſecuring the Uſurpation, not Religion, is their chief End; and all the loud Cries and Clamours againſt the *French* King, are only becauſe he eſpouſeth King *James*'s Intereſt: For we cannot forget, that when, in the Minority of the preſent King of *France*, *Cromwel* had wrought ſo with the *French* Councils, as to abandon the Intereſt of King *Charles* the Second; he and all his

his Power joined with *France* in all their Wars againſt *Spain*, as now his Succeſſor doth for *Spain* againſt *France*, and judged their Religion no way intereſted; they fought againſt the *Dutch* alſo, and their Proteſtant Confederates, on the ſame Quarrel.

But that we may believe that the Zeal of our Author for his Religion, outweighs all other Conſiderations. He tells us, *For my Part, I think true Religion ſo far above all Concerns, and the Preſervation of it ſo principal an Advantage of Government, that the Prince who will certainly ſuppreſs that, muſt be more intolerable than he that would take away Liberty, Eſtate, or my Life; and it muſt be a damnable Sin in me to aſſiſt him in it, or to put him into a Capacity to do it; no Oath or Allegiance, can bind me to this, it may oblige me to ſuffer, but not to act for ſuch a Deſign.*

What Anſwer can be expected to be given to a Poſition laid down in ſuch general Terms. Every one judgeth the Religion he profeſſeth to be the trueſt: And if it be ſo damnable a Sin for any Subject that is under the Obligation of an Oath, or Allegiance, to aſſiſt a Prince that would ſuppreſs any Religion the Subject thinks true; or put him in a Capacity to do it, the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience is the very ſafeſt and comfortableſt Doctrine in the World; for this will preſerve all Perſons, that practiſe it, free from Sin; and it will be no ill Preſervative againſt Suffering: For a non-reſiſting Enemy ought to have the faireſt Quarter. But before our Author had laid ſuch a Streſs upon true Religion, that a Prince who will *certainly* ſuppreſs it is more intolerable than he that *would take away our Liberties, Eſtate and Life*; it had been neceſſary for him to have declared what the true Religion was, whether Proteſtancy in general, or any Subdiviſion of it: For I dare be bold to affirm, though I never do, nor am ſolicitous to know the Author, yet if he be of any of the ſeveral Claſſes of Proteſtants, he will not pronounce this ſevere Sentence againſt any Prince, who ſuppreſſeth any one, or all the Forms of Religion, except that which he profeſſeth.

But what if a loyal Subject of King *James* be not convinced, that the King will *certainly* ſuppreſs either our Proteſtant Religion in general, or the Church of *England* in particular; what muſt ſuch a Subject do? He is *certain* by the Laws of God, and the municipal Laws of the Kingdom, that the King is his lawful Sovereign, and he cannot diſpenſe with his Oaths, or Allegianoe to him; and is not ſo *certain* that the King will ſuppreſs his Religion, having his ſolemn and repeated Promiſes to the contrary, backed by his true Intereſt to perform them. Surely ſuch a Proteſtant Subject may be allowed not to reſiſt him; and then, if, as the late Declaration ſaith, *There ſhould be none but the Uſurper and his Foreign Troops* for the King *to deal with.* In what Condition would the Government be? Oh! we muſt then renounce all this Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, and conjure up the Spirits of *Marſhal* and *Burgeſs*, and the reſt of the Militant Preachers of the Long Parliament, to inſtruct us again in the Doctrine of, *Curſe ye Meroz.*

But our Author, fearing Error and Miſtake may be involved in Generals, he, towards the Cloſe of his Diſcourſe, explains the Matter more particularly, in theſe Words: *Wherefore for Shame let his* Iriſh *and his* Engliſh *Popiſh Sub-*

jects alone carry on this impious Design, who can only hope for Advantage by his Restoration, and who are only bound in Conscience to help him.

It is strange our Author will prefer the Consciences of *Irish* and *English* Popish Subjects so much. It seems they may deserve the Epithet of *Subjects* to King *James*; yea, *and are bound in Conscience to help him.* They are much obliged to him for the Compliment. It puts me in mind of an Expression I have heard affirmed, that fell from the first new Bishop of the last Edition, *That the Papists were Saints, in comparison to Protestant Jacobites.* Surely he will next plead, that they may have *only* Liberty of Conscience, who are only bound in Conscience to help King *James.* This may please the Confederate *Roman Catholic* Princes better, than it would that they had Liberty to assist him.

It seems Religion is the only Ligament that binds Subjects to their Obedience; a Popish King can have no Protestant Subjects, Dominion is founded in Grace. Henceforward no King must make account of his People, who possess Estates, or inhabit within his Dominions, to be his Subjects, unless they be of his Religion: A rare Secret to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance. And if Princes were not better-natured than our Author, his Position would force all Kings to dragoon all their Subjects to their own Religion; lest they might be in Danger from such, who living within their Territories owe them no Allegiance.

But whatever favourable Character he can give to *Papists*, yet as they are *Jacobites*, their *Designs are impious*; therefore we Protestant Subjects must not join them, *but Neuters we must stand at least*; *and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a Party that is, which must be set up on the Nation's Ruin.*

Well, the good Gentleman allows, That Popish Subjects are bound in Conscience to help King *James*; and Protestants, whether Subjects or not, to stand neuter; and then he doubts not, but the Prince of *Orange* shall carry the Day; for Papists are but a *contemptible People.* We have almost through his whole Discourse been affrighted with the terrible Inundation of Popery; nothing but Ruin, and the Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion*, and the Church of *England*, to be expected from Papists: And yet now even *Irish* and *English* Papists, combining with their full Force, can make but a contemptible Party. Thus *Margery*'s good Cow gives a good Meal, and casts it down with her Foot. Our Fears of bloody, persecuting, triumphing Popery are blown over.

But whether the Matter be true or false, we ought not to pass over the Use and Application of this Text. We Protestants therefore that have any Affection for King *James*, must first note, That this contemptible Party cannot be set up but upon the *Nation's Ruin.* And secondly, *It is impossible for King* James *to cut down the Protestant Religion in* England, *without borrowing a Handle from the Tree he would fell.* Then it is impossible, by the *French* King's Aid; so that the Fear of that Force is likewise out of Doors; it is then only in the Power of Protestants. If therefore *English* Protestant Subjects will take into Consideration these Motives before laid down, as how unjustly King *James* was deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths are bound to defend him in Possession of it; if they will deliver

deliver themſelves from the Oppreſſion they have ſuffered in Taxes, Quartering of Soldiers, Decay of Trade, and imminent Danger of loſing it all to the *Dutch*; if they will have again reſtored the old Laws of the hereditary Monarchy, ſo judiciouſly ſettled by our wiſe Anceſtors, and confirmed to be the beſt Form of Government for this Kingdom by long and long Experience, as well of the Benefit of it, as by the certain, conſtant, and never-failing Miſeries which ever have befallen the Subjects upon any Interruptions of it; and if we will ſecure our Religion upon the old Foundations of Loyalty, preſerving all other Doctrines of Reformation entire, paſt the Poſſibility of the contemptible Number of *Roman Catholic* Subjects Diſturbance of it, in the free Exerciſe of it; and lay an eternal Obligation on the King to *maintain and protect the Church of* England, *with a Parliamentary Settlement of Liberty of Conſcience, in ſo beneficial a manner, that it may remain a laſting Bleſſing to this Kingdom; if we will ſee the Breaches repaired, and the Wounds of the late Diſtractions healed, Trade reſtored, and the bringing back Peace, Plenty and Wealth to the Nation:* Then we muſt cordially, and unanimouſly aſſiſt our ſo infinitely injured Prince, to recover his Right. By this means we ſhall prevent the Effuſion of Blood, ſecure our Liberties and Properties better, and more ſure, than ever we can expect them to be under the Prince of *Orange*, or any *Dutch* Governor. And our lawful King being reſtored, *He will delight to ſpend the Remainder of his Reign he always deſigned ſince his coming to the Crown*, if he had not been ſo interrupted by *Dutch* Contrivances, *in ſtudying to do every Thing, that may contribute to the Eſtabliſhment of the Greatneſs of the* Engliſh *Monarchy, upon its old and true Foundations; the united Intereſt and Affections of the People.*

Neither will the Bleſſing of his Reſtoration fall only upon our *Goſhen*, but all *Europe* will be Participants of the Happineſs: For upon the ſettling theſe Kingdoms upon a durable State of Peace and Plenty, the univerſal Peace of *Chriſtendom* will be much facilitated; which, as the Caſe now ſtands, can never be effected ſo long as the King is kept from his Throne; during which time, *no rational Project of a Treaty can be formed in order to it.* The Prince, our preſent Lord, is ſenſible of this; and by this time both he and the Confederates cannot but be convinced, That if it had not been for his Ambition of three Crowns, Expedients might have been long ſince found, to have compoſed the Quarrels betwixt the King of *France* and the Confederate Princes.

It is the ſingle and ſeparate Intereſt of our ſo magnified Deliverer, that is the principal, if not ſole Obſtacle of a general Peace in *Europe*. I think he hath lately been told by a Soverign Prince, who knows the Difference betwixt an Elector of *Germany* and an elective and precarious King, That it never was the Intent of the reſt of the Confederate Princes, that he ſhould uſurp his Father's Crowns: He was ſent into *England* for another End, only to prevent the Conjunction of King *James*, with *France*; which they needed have had no ſuſpicion of, if they had given credit to the Expreſſions or Intereſt of a Prince who only wants that Piece of King-craft, to diſſemble. If common Fame be not an egregious Liar, our Hero hath been told, both from the Duke of *Bavaria*, and finds it the Reſolution of his native Country, That they will not run the Hazard of the Ruin of themſelves

and Countries, for the endeavouring to promote his ſingle ambitious Ends. There might be ſome Temptation to ſtand by him, if he had any legitimate Iſſue to leave his Crown too, ſuch as *Henry* the Fifth was: But for one that, in God's juſt Judgment for his unnatural Undutifulneſs, is like to be writ Childleſs; there muſt be ſome greater Charms than are obvious to the World, either in his Perſon or Diſpoſition, that can oblige Princes to eſpouſe the deſperate Fortune of a Man who regards no Perſon living, longer than they ſerve his ambitious, proud, revengeful, or covetous Ends; for whatever ſuch groſs Sycophants, as his new Chaplains of the firſt Orb, may ſay, theſe truly are his cardinal Virtues.

It's true, he hath deſerved conſiderably of his Allies. He hath from his acquired Dominions furniſh'd them with vaſt Armies, vaſt Fleets, and a proportionable vaſt Maſs of Money: But they have not thriven with his ill-gotten Goods; and the Duke of *Savoy* hath found his Penſions to be *Aurum Toluſanum:* And the King of *Spain* doth already find, that *He* hath brought more Miſchief to his Crown, than his Great Grandſire of his Name did, who was the principal Author of the Revolt of thoſe Provinces. And ſince I have mentioned that Prince *William*, I think it not amiſs to tranſcribe Cardinal *Bentivolio*'s Character of him, out of his Relation of *Flanders*; and leave it to the impartial Reader to judge, in how few Particulars of the Virtues aſcribed to that Prince, ours agrees; and what Additions they will make to his Vices. The Words are theſe, *Lib.* 2. *C.* 2. "The Prince of *Orange* was in great eſteem "with the *Dutch*; and truly he was a Man of very great Parts; of a ſtrong "Body, conſtant Mind, flowing Tongue, good at Council, he was very dex"terous, and wonderfully vigilant. But theſe Virtues were counterpoiſed "with much greater Vices. There was no Faithfulneſs in him, no Goodneſs, "no Shame to do evil, his Religion was only outward; he was of an unquiet "Mind, and greatly ambitious: Nor was there ever any who knew better to "winde People by deceit, nor knew better to cloath his own ends with Zeal to "the Publick."

But to return to the Matter in hand; I believe the *Dutch*, who gave him the firſt Lift to the Saddle Eaves, will have little cauſe to erect a Statue for him. For if they deſert him not in time, they may live to ſee an end of their Republick, which hath continued long enough to be the Plague of *Chriſtendom*.

As for the Princes who ſerve his Intereſt and Ends, ſo long as he pours our Coin ſo plentifully into their Laps they will aid him; but now finding his Caſh run low, will knock off in time. But ſuppoſe all theſe, for the Service he hath done them, are obliged to a Princely Gratitude? Surely *England* cannot ſay as much, unleſs we are to thank him for altering our Conſtitution of Government, deſtroying our Laws, and hawling our Men to the Shambles, giving away our Trade to the *Dutch*, perjuring the Clergy and Laity, ſqueezing thoſe many Millions of Money from us, and tranſporting them to *Dutch* Land, beggaring one part of the Subject with Taxes, and another with his outragious Soldiers, who for want of Pay and Diſcipline, live upon Rapine and free Quarter, as if they were in an Enemy's Country.

And

And if the Matter be thus handled, whilſt the War is thus carried abroad, what muſt we expect when the Confederates have left him, and he returns with the Vengeance of an Enemy at his Heels, and tranſlates the War into our own Country.

Surely theſe ſo ſenſible Conſiderations ſhould effectually prevail with us, to recal our King without Foreign Troops; which would infinitely more content him, than all the Abſoluteneſs his malicious Enemies unjuſtly calumniate him with an aſpiring to. It is our Wealth, Liberty, Proſperity and Renown, he prefers before all the perſonal Advantages to himſelf: Fatherly Affection is inherent in his Nature; and to leave us in the peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion and Laws will be his ſole Care and Endeavour, that he may leave the Prince his Son an undiſturbed Reign.

I ſhall now conclude, as near as I can, with our Author's Words, but with a quite different Application. *Take warning*, noble Patriots and worthy Fellow-Subjects, *by what is paſt, and what muſt be the inevitable Conſequence of our deſerting our lawful* King, *and aſſiſting the* Prince, *even to the Ruin of the moſt Famous* true *Church of* England, *yourſelves, and native Country.* The Scandal of your Religion, the aboliſhing the fundamental Laws of the old Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and the certain Continuance of the deſtructive War, in all the Countries now concerned in it; to which there can be no ſuch Expedient found to put a Period to it, as the reſtoring our lawful King by our own Endeavours, without unneceſſary Foreign Force.

Sir, I take God to Witneſs, what I have writ proceeds from no Deſign of countenancing Popery, or arbitary Power. I have ſet down my Thoughts for no other end but out of an unfeigned Deſire of the univerſal Good of my native Country; wiſhing nothing more than that thoſe may truly repent, and make Reſtitution, who have been Authors of ſo much Miſery to it by the Revolution; that our Kingdom may again be reſtored to Peace and Plenty, under our lawful King and the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom; and that thoſe who are of different Judgments, will, with equal candor and Impartiality, ſatisfy the Conſciences of their diſſenting Brethren, rather than, with the Severities that are accuſtomed to be uſed, to ſtifle the Reaſoning of true unbiaſſed Lovers of Truth, Loyalty, and their Country.

The

The Pretences of the *French* Invaſion examined, for the Information of the People of *England.*

THAT the Sword hath long been kept from deſtroying among us, is a Bleſſing which we cannot ſufficiently underſtand, unleſs we conſider the woeful Deſolation it hath made in all neighbouring Nations: Nor are they at all ſenſible how much they owe to God, and their Majeſties, for keeping us in Peace, who give the leaſt Encouragement to this intended Deſcent, which muſt turn our Land into an *Aceldama*, and will make ſuch woeful Havoc of our Lives and Fortunes, while one Party fights for Safety, and the other for Revenge, that no Age can parallel the horrid Conſequences of ſuch a Civil War as this will prove. And, if Papiſts only (blinded by Zeal for their Religion, and blown up with Hopes of abſolute Empire) encouraged this bloody Deſign, it would be no Wonder, and could have no Succeſs, conſidering the general Averſion of the People to them, and the freſh Inſtances of their Inſolence and Cruelty.

But alas! it appears that many, who call themſelves *Proteſtants*, are engaged in this fatal Conſpiracy againſt their Religion, and their native Country; which is ſo prodigious and amazing, that a Man would wonder who hath bewitched theſe fooliſh *Galatians* to puſh on their own and the Church's Ruin: And every one muſt be inquiſitive into the ſpecious Pretences by which theſe Men are induced to become their own Executioners.

Now the pretended Motives are theſe:

1. Repairing the Injury done to the late King.
2. Delivering us from the Oppreſſions we ſuffer under the preſent King.
3. Settling the Government upon its old Baſis.
4. Securing the Proteſtant Religion for all future Ages.

Now it becomes every true *Engliſh* Proteſtant to examine theſe Pretences very well, before he venture on a Thing of ſo evil Appearance and dangerous Conſequence, as is the Joining with theſe Invaders.

Firſt, It is pretended, the late King was unjuſtly deprived of his Birthright by his Subjects, who, by Nature and Oaths, were bound to defend him in the Poſſeſſion of it: And, now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever where his Subjects muſt either aſſiſt, or at leaſt not oppoſe him.

But let it be conſidered, that all the late King's Sufferings were owing to, and cauſed by the Counſels of his Popiſh Prieſts, and the Bigots of that Perſuaſion: Proteſtants were not the Aggreſſors; he might have kept his Poſſeſſion to this Day undiſturbed, if he had not made ſuch open and bold Attempts upon our Laws, our Religion, and Properties; ſo that he was the firſt and only Cauſe of his own Sufferings: And why ſhould Millions be involved in Blood and Ruin, who are perfectly innocent of doing this Injury? No free Nation

Nation did ever bear more or greater Injuries, or endure ſuch Violence ſo long, or ſo patiently as we did: And, when ſome Stop was to be put to the final Ruin of our Liberties and Religion, it was done at firſt by Petitions and Complaints; and, when they were deſpiſed, none but defenſive Arms were taken up by ſome few, and by a foreign Prince, only to cover their Heads, while the Grievances were fairly redreſſed; not to take away his Rights, but to ſecure our own. Nor did the Prince of *Orange*, or theſe Gentlemen, diveſt or deprive him of his Throne, but owned his Right by offering a Treaty, during the Continuance of which he diſbanded his Army, diſſolved his Government, and, as much as in him lay, attempted to deſert the Throne, and ſeek Aids from an Enemy's Country, which might ſecure him againſt Redreſſing any Grievances, and enable him to be revenged upon the injured Complainers. We did not make the Throne vacant; but the late Archbiſhop, and other Peers at *Guildhall*, believed he had left it void, or elſe they would not, without his Conſent, have ſeized on the Adminiſtration of Government, ſecured his Chancellor, taken Poſſeſſion of the *Tower*, and offered the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Power to the Prince of *Orange*. He left us in Anarchy, and we provided for ourſelves in the beſt Manner ſuch a Juncture would allow. I will not enquire now, whether theſe Subjects, who are ſo zealous for his Return, were not bound to do more than they did, to keep him in his Throne, while he had it; their Conſcience then permitted them to look on, and let him ſink, while his Security had been far more eaſily compaſſed: But they, who have now theſe unſeaſonable Pangs of their old Loyalty, muſt conſider, that a Man may leave his Right when he pleaſeth, but may not take it again at his Pleaſure, eſpecially not by Force, and this moſt eſpecially as to ſovereign Power. Somebody muſt govern, when he would not; the next undoubted Heir, in hereditary Monarchy, muſt; and whoever doth govern in Chief in this Nation muſt be King, by our Conſtitution, and muſt have Power ſufficient to protect himſelf and the Nation againſt all their Enemies; and that cannot be without Swearing new Allegiance. Now, when a King and Queen are declared, ſubmitted to, and owned by Oaths, and all other Methods required in ſuch Caſe, the King is not at Liberty to give up his own Power, and the Protection of us, nor are the People free to join with him that deſerted them, or to venture their Necks, or their Country's Ruin, to reſtore him. I dare ſay, that the *French* King will not grant, that the Citizens of thoſe Cities, who were Subjects to *Spain*, or the Emperor, and bound by Oath to thoſe Princes, (but have now ſubmitted to him, and ſworn new Allegiance) are obliged to venture their Lives and Fortunes, by Vertue of their old Oaths, to reſtore thoſe Cities to their former Maſters; doubtleſs, he would ſolve their Scruples with a Halter, if he found they attempted it. Beſides, the *Injuries*, as they are called, done to the late King by his own Acts, if they were capable of Reparation, muſt not be repaired with the Injuring, yea, Ruining many thouſand innocent Perſons, who muſt unavoidably loſe their Lives, and be undone in their Eſtates by his Returning by Force. The preſent King and his Army are bound by Oaths, Duty, and Intereſt, to oppoſe him; ſo are all now protected by him, and who have ſworn Allegiance to him; and it is certain, all that are not perjured Hypocrites will do ſo; and then, what *Engliſhman*'s Bowels muſt not bleed to conſider

what

what Murders, Burning, Plundering, and Deſtruction he brings upon his native Country, who encourages the Aggreſſors? If he has any Kindneſs for us, whom he calls his Subjects, he would rather ſit quietly under his ſingle Injuries, than wiſh, or, however, attempt to be reſtored by Blood and an univerſal Ruin; and, if he has no Pity for us, why ſhould we be ſo concerned for him, as to ſacrifice our Lives and Fortunes to his Revenge? He went away, while a Treaty was on Foot, and nothing but a Treaty can reſtore him fairly; which he never yet offered. We did not force him to go away in Diſguiſe, and, if he will force himſelf upon us again, by *French* Dragoons and *Iriſh* Cut-throats, we may and muſt oppoſe him; for our Allegiance is now transferred to another. Finally, there is no Injury to any but himſelf, and thoſe who run into voluntary Exile with him, by his being out of the Poſſeſſion; the Monarchy, the Law, the Church, and Property are all in better Eſtate, than in his Time; and all theſe, with innumerable private Perſons, muſt be irreparably injured by his Return in an hoſtile Manner. So that there can be no Reaſon to redreſs the Sufferings, he owes to his own Faults, by ſo many public and private Injuries. If it be pleaded, that he, who was born to a Kingdom, really wants Subſiſtence I reply, that, if he would ſeek the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and of his late Subjects, he might, by a fair Treaty ſet on Foot, not only reſtore the Exiles, but have a ſufficient and honourable Maintenance from this Government; but, while the War, he makes upon it, puts us to ſo great Expence, he cannot expect it, nor imagine we ſhould give him a Supply to enable him to ruin us.

The *ſecond* Pretence why we ſhould aſſiſt towards his Reſtoration, is, to deliver ourſelves from the Oppreſſion we ſuffer under the preſent King: And, to ſet off this with a better Gloſs, the late Reign is magnified by the Jeſuits and their Tools, and this blackened; Freedom from Taxes then is made a rare Inſtance of his Gentleneſs, and the preſent Impoſitions heightened, with all the Rhetoric imaginable, to repreſent this King as an Oppreſſor. The Flouriſhing of Trade then is extolled, the Decay of it now odiouſly inſinuated, and great Hopes are given of golden Days, upon the Return of *James the Juſt*; he is to make us all happy.

Now, to anſwer this, there is no Need to make a Satyr on that Reign, or a Panegyric on this; that is ſo well remembered, and this ſo fully known, that all unprejudiced People ſee on which Side the Truth lies. But it is great Pity they who have the Wit to invent or urge this Plea, have not a Memory to remind them, that none complained more of the Danger of Law and Religion, of our Lives and Fortunes in that Reign, than many who have this high Opinion of it now; the cruel Severities in the Weſt, the high Commiſſion, turning out of Offices all good Proteſtants, attempting to reverſe all the Penal Laws, putting unqualified Men into all Places of Truſt, Profit and Power, excluding the Fellows of *Magdalen*, and putting in Papiſts, with the Impriſonment and Trial of the Biſhops, were thought Oppreſſions then; but now all theſe are buried in Oblivion, and thoſe Taxes which the late King, and his Ally of *France*, with their Abettors, alone make neceſſary to this frugal Prince, theſe are our only Grievance, and this King's unpardonable Crime. The late King had one

Tax,

Tax, and might, yea, would have had more for the glorious Design of enslaving his Subjects, if he could have got a Parliament to his Purpose, which he vigorously endeavoured; and it was, because he was sure he must satisfy his People in their just Complaints, whenever he asked a Supply, that he durst not ask it of a freely chosen Parliament; yet then we were in Peace with all Nations, and now he hath intangled us in a War with the worst Enemy in *Europe*. Assessments then were not needed, but to hasten our Ruin; now they are absolutely necessary to our Safety, and made so by him, and his complaining Friends. Yet still what Grievances are these Taxes, in Comparison of what is laid on the *French* Slaves, into whose Condition we were intended to be brought? There is a vast Difference between losing our Property for ever, and paying some Part of our Profits to secure the rest, and our Inheritances to our Posterity, as well as ourselves. Besides, should we not leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, if, to avoid tolerable Payments, we should rashly bring a fatal War to our Doors, that must last till more than one Half of the Nation be destroyed, and the rest utterly, and almost irrecoverably, impoverished? This, I am sure is voluntarily to change our Whips for Scorpions. We have paid as much formerly for assisting *France* to ruin *Europe*, and maintain Vice at Home, as now serves to deliver *Europe*, and secure our native Country and Religion, from utter Destruction: Nor are the Sums considerable, reckoning the Abatement of Chimney-Money, which we have paid to this Government; no Country in *Europe* hath paid so little in Proportion to our Wealth, these last three Years of War: And, if the late King return, *England* must pay all the Sums borrowed of *France*, to maintain him Abroad, to keep *Ireland*, and to discharge the Forces, that came to thrust him on us, and must stay to compleat the happy Design of setting up Popery and Slavery, the natural Consequences of his Restoration; and it is well, if Arrears of Chimney-Money, and other public Monies, be not called for to carry on so glorious a Work: So that if *England* rebel against the present King, to avoid the Burdens now upon them, they expose themselves to ten Times greater Taxes for many Years, and it can end in nothing but the utter impoverishing of the whole Nation, especially the Protestant Part of it, who by their Poverty will become a more easy Prey. As for Trade, the Decay of it began in the late King's Time, and it is the War which he and *France* had engaged us in, that still keeps it at a low Ebb; so that for the late King's Friends, to expose the present Government, for this is like a Conjurer's complaining of the Storms he raises. That ingenious History of Bishop *King*'s of the Estate of the Protestants in *Ireland*, under King *James*, makes it out, that the late King feared and hated the Increase of Trade, which made him use all Means to hinder it; and all the World sees that no absolute Monarch, as he affects to be, likes that his Subjects should grow rich by Trade. But our present King, so soon as he can have Peace, will make it his first Care to promote Trade here, as he did in the Country he came from; and, even in the difficult times he had, Trade hath been a great Part of his and his Parliament's Care. Finally, if Men can remember the Times that are so lately past, when Law and Right was only the King's Pleasure, dictated by mercenary Judges; when no Party but the Papists flourished, when a general Consternation had stopped all Business, they cannot hope to be happy by his Return, who caused

all these Miseries: And they must expect now he hath perfectly learned the *French* Methods, of making a King the greatest of Monarchs, by making his Subjects the vilest of Slaves, that he will practise it with greater Industry and Application than ever, to put it eternally out of his Subject's Power to protect themselves again: For oppressing his People, which was but expedient before, will now be thought absolutely necessary. So that nothing can be more improbable, not to say impossible, than for *England* to be happy under him, that attempted to make her miserable without any Provocation, and must return with the same Principles and Designs, the same Councellors and Interests he had before, and with all the Addition that Revenge, Hatred and Fear can make to an angry and implacable Mind: But it may be said, his dear-bought Experience of the ill Success of these Methods will make him rule more moderately, if he be restored: To which I reply, *Cœlum, non Animum mutat.* The fore-cited Book of Bishop *King*'s demonstrates, that after he had lost *England* and *Scotland*, and a great Part of *Ireland*, upon his Return thither from *France*, he was more arbitrary and hard to his Protestant obedient Subjects, than ever he had been before, even though it was against his visible Interest, and tended to disgust all the Protestants, who would have served him there. His declaring himself Papist at first here, and all his Actions since shew that he prefers his Will, and an obstinate pursuing his own Methods, far above his true Interest; whence it follows, that we vainly expect from one of his Temper, that either his past Experience, or his future Interest should teach him Moderation, any longer than till he had Power to oppress us: And, if he should by a thousand Promises or Oaths, engage to rule by Law, his frequent Breach of both hath given us no Reason to trust him; and the Religion he professes can so easily dispense with both, that neither of them give us any Security from that Sort of Obligations. The Interests of Popery and *France* require he should be absolute, and his Nature spurs him on to it, and nothing but Fear can for a Moment restrain him from being so. What a Shadow of a Dream then must this be, of Protestant Subjects being happy under a bigotted Popish Prince of such a Temper?

Third'y, Whereas it is said, we have changed our old hereditary Monarchy into one merely Elective, and by Degrees shall bring it to a Commonwealth; nor can any thing prevent this, which will be of fatal Consequence to the Church, but our restoring the late King: I answer the Position is false, and the Consequence a mere Sham, the Government of *England* always was, and ever must be Monarchical; that twelve Years, when it was endeavoured to make it otherwise, convinced all Men, that all Projects to the contrary must come to nothing. As for this Revolution, it is not likely, a Parliament which made an Entail of the Crown, in a lineal Succession, should be for setting up a Commonwealth, or altering the hereditary Monarchy. If it be alledged, there was a great Breach as to the Person of the reigning King, it is replied, he himself made it, and they did not make, but find the Throne void. And there have been greater Breaches since the Conquest, as to the true lineal Succession, and laying aside, yea, deposing the reigning King, and setting up his Son, or a remoter Person, which indeed was an Injury to the King so deposed; but still the

the Monarchy was called and continued to be Hereditary. In our Caſe, the King deſerted us, yea, left us without any Government, but we applied to his next certain Heir, with whom at her Requeſt, and for our Safety and her's, by general Conſent, a Title was given to her Huſband and our Deliverer, but this only for Life, though he be much nearer in Blood to the Right of Succeſſion, than either *Henry the Fourth*, or *Henry the Seventh*, ſucceſſively made Kings of *England*. And the Saving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and her Heirs, ſhews how far that Parliament was from deſigning any ſuch Thing as a Commonwealth. We ſee *Philip* of *Spain*, who had no Title to be King of *England*, but by his Marriage with Queen *Mary*, was made King at her Requeſt, and in her Right; but he had not merited ſo much as our King, and therefore his Title was to ceaſe at her Death. As for the Prince of *Wales*, there are ſo clear Indications of his Birth being an Impoſture, and the Deſign of forming that Project is ſo known to be Revenge on the Princeſſes, for adhering to their Religion, and to get more Time to force Popery and Slavery upon us; yea, his Health and Strength make it ſo unlikely, he ſhould proceed from ſuch crazy Parents, that till the Parties concerned prove the Affirmative by better Witneſſes and clearer Evidence, and the People of *England* in Parliament own him for the Heir, we need not go about the unreaſonable Taſk of proving a Negative: Wherefore, ſince the Breach in the Succeſſion was the late King's own Act, and only concerns his Perſon, and a ſuppoſed unknown Heir, we are not to anſwer for that; and, conſidering the Hurry his unexpected Deſertion put all Things in, and the abſolute Neceſſity of a ſpeedy Settlement, the Friends of the old *Engliſh* Monarchy have juſt Cauſe to rejoice it was made ſo near the old Foundation, with a ſmall and only temporary Variation from it, which was alſo abſolutely neceſſary in that Juncture of Affairs: And it is evident, that there are many of the beſt Quality and Intereſt, who hate the Notion of a Commonwealth in *England*, and love Monarchy as well as any of the late King's Abettors, who freely conſented, and firmly adhere to this Eſtabliſhment. If it be objected that King *William* was bred up in a Commonwealth, and inclines to that Form of Government; it is anſwered, he doth and may like it in *Holland*, but they muſt ſhew ſome Inſtances, that his Zeal for a Commonwealth is as hot and as blind as King *James*'s for Popery, before they can prove him ſo deſperate a Foe to his own Intereſt, as to uncrown himſelf, and make himſelf the People's Vaſſal, when he is and may be their gracious Lord. If it be urged that it is a dangerous Precedent for future Kings, to allow the People a Liberty to take away their Prince's Right, and ſet up another, on Pretence of Miſgovernment: The Reply is, the late King was the Occaſion of this Precedent, by firſt attempting to alter the whole Frame of our Laws, Government and Religion, and then deſerting us. And if it be an ill Precedent for the Safety of Princes, that the Advantage was taken, it was however neceſſary to take it for the Safety of the People, for whoſe Good Heaven made Kings. Sure I am, there are as dreadful Conſequences of arbitrary Tyranny, as there are of Rebellion, witneſs the Miſery and Slavery of the poor *French* at this Day; and it ſeems as neceſſary there ſhould be ſome Precedents to deter Princes from abuſing their Power, as well as to reſtrain the People from abuſing their Liberty: For both Tyranny and Rebellion are great

Sins, and of moſt miſchievous Conſequence. Wherefore, this unexpected Example may make our Kings more juſt, and more apt to rule by Law, but it can never hurt the Monarchy itſelf, or countenance Rebellion, while a King is in the Throne, that will ſtay to hear and redreſs his People's Grievances, which will never be denied by the preſent, or any other good King.

The *laſt* Pretence is the moſt ſurprizing of all, that there is no Way to preſerve the Church of *England*, no nor the Proteſtant Religion, but by reſtoring the late King, who, it is ſaid in his Declaration, promiſes this as liberally, as he did at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne.

If Mankind were not the oddeſt Part of the Creation, one would wonder, how it is poſſible for Proteſtants to believe, that the Wolves deſign good to the Sheep: When the late King was here, he involved himſelf in infinite Miſchiefs, and did the moſt odious Things in the World to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and eſpecially to ruin the Church of *England*; and hath he given any Evidence of changing his Temper, his Principles, his Zeal, or his Methods? He ſhewed in *Ireland* a greater Spite to Proteſtants than ever; he hath lived in *France* ever ſince, where he hath ſeen how much it tends to advance his dear abſolute Power, to dragoon all Men into the King's Religion; his only Motives to draw in this *Frenchified* Pope, to lend him Money to invade us, is by convincing him, he loſt all by his Zeal to reſtore Popery, and by engaging he will uſe his Power, (if he can regain it) only to promote the *Catholic* Intereſt. His other Ally, the *French* Proſecutor, cannot be endeared by any better Intereſt, till the Principal of the Sums lent are repaid by poor *England*, than by Aſſurance, that he will make one Kingdom in the World as miſerable by abſolute Empire, and forcing one Religion, as *France* now is; that his Barbarity, Cruelty and Treachery may not be the infamous ſingle Inſtance of ſuch Proceedings, his Promiſe to his Allies, his Zeal, his Principles, and his Nature all engage him to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion. He attempted it when he was not half ſo deeply obliged, and can we think he will not purſue it now? It is next to Frenzy to think the Pope and King of *France* furniſh him with Money, Ships, Forces, *&c.* only to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of *England*, he muſt be tied, in more than ordinary Bonds, to endeavour the Ruin of both, or no ſuch Favours had been ſhewn by ſuch a Pope and ſuch a Perſecutor: It cannot be Eaſe to *Roman Catholics* he deſires; they are more at Eaſe under King *William*, than under any Proteſtant King ever ſince the Reformation: It muſt therefore be the ſuppreſſing all other Religions, and ſetting up that alone, muſt engage *Rome*, *France*, and *Lucifer* in his Reſtoration. As for his Promiſes to us in his Declaration, alas! he hath already given greater and ſtronger to the Pope and *French* King to the Contrary; and though his Intereſt, and the Hopes that ſome will be ſo mad to believe him, put him upon renewing theſe Promiſes to *England*; yet, his Confeſſor can ſoon reſolve him, which Promiſe is to be kept, whether that pious Catholic Promiſe to the Holy Father, and the Hector of that Cauſe, or that extorted one to Heretics: Beſides, we ſhould remember the *Italian* Proverb, God forgive him, who deceives me once; but God forgive me, if one Man deceives

ceives me twice. No Prince in the World ever promiſed with more Solemnity than the late King, to protect the Proteſtant Religion, or the Church of *England*; yet nothing is more clear, than that he deſigned to gull us only, not to oblige himſelf by this Proteſtation; and the firſt Thing he did was to break it, as ſoon as he durſt, and can we be ſo diſtracted to believe him again? He declared in *Ireland*, that the Church of *England* ſtunk in his Noſe, and that he abhorred it. He cannot truly love either any Perſon of that Perſuaſion, or any other Proteſtant; he may flatter ſome of them to get into the Saddle, but, when they have mounted him, he will ride over their Heads; his own Friends of the Proteſtant Religion are very few, and his Revenge on the far greater Number, who have oppoſed his Deſigns, will out-weigh the Kindneſs of a few inconſiderable Heretics, who abetted his Intereſt, and who will be told, that it was not Senſe of Duty, but Deſpair of obliging his Enemies, that forced them into his Quarrel: They had ſufficient Experience after *Monmouth*'s Rebellion (ſuppreſſed only by the Church of *England* Men) how little any Acts of thoſe, he counts Heretics, can oblige him; his Carriage in *Ireland* to the loyal Proteſtants writ this in capital Letters, and it muſt be ſuppoſed they have drunk deep of *Lethe*, who can forget all this: But I pray, what is it the Church of *England* wants, or any other Proteſtant? This King is as ſerious and ſincere a Proteſtant, and as true a Lover of that Intereſt, as King *James* is a profeſſed Enemy to it; and, why may not he be more likely to preſerve the Religion he profeſſes, than the other to maintain that Religion which he vilely deſerted, and mortally hates? The Churchmen ſay, King *William* is too kind to Diſſenters; but, hath he given them any other or more Liberty than King *James* did? That King begun with Toleration, and it was not for a new Prince in a troubleſome State of Things to alter any Thing of that Nature: Beſides at the ſame Time, the Diſſenters do think the preſent King too kind to the eſtabliſhed Church, not conſidering that it is the national Religion which he found, and keeps in Poſſeſſion of all its Rights, as his Duty and Oath oblige him; yet, ſo as the Diſſenters have Eaſe, and every thing but Empire, which from a prudent King of *England* they can never expect, being not only a leſs Part of the Nation, but ſo divided amongſt themſelves, that nothing can pleaſe all Parties of them; and therefore Freedom to worſhip in their ſeveral Ways, is all the Favour they can be capable of in the beſt of Times, and ſo they are moſt unreaſonable to hope for more now: Beſides, let it be conſidered, that our King is not only the Head and Protector of the Proteſtants of *England*, but of all the reformed Churches in *Europe*; and the *French* King, the main Wheel in this deſigned Reſtoration, is ſo mortal an Enemy to the whole Reformation, that he deſperately weakened himſelf, and baniſhed 30,000 Families of uſeful Subjects, only to root the whole Profeſſion out of his own Dominions: And now can any rationally pretend this preſent King will deſtroy the *Engliſh* Church, or the *French* Perſecutor and his Client, the late King of *England*, uphold it? My dear Brethren and Countrymen, do not ſo infamouſly abuſe yourſelves to believe ſo incredible a Fiction, ſo manifeſt a Cheat: Alas! All theſe good Words are only to lull you aſleep, till you at the Peril of your Necks, get him Power enough to extirpate you and your Religion alſo: I doubt not, but, for a while, he would maintain the eſtabliſhed Church, and renew his Indulgence, becauſe he can get Footing no other Way; but it is eaſy to foreſee how ſhort-lived all theſe Sham-

favours

favours will be: They ſpring from Fear, and Deſire of Opportunity to be revenged, and ſo ſoon as ever the Fear ceaſes, and that Opportunity comes, he will moſt certainly kick down the Ladder by which he aſcended, and pull off the Maſk, appearing what he is in his Nature and Principles, and not what his Neceſſities have made him ſeem to be; ſo that if this Diſguiſe be credited, the Perſons impoſed on will, and muſt pay for their Credulity, with the woeful Price of helping to deſtroy the moſt pure and flouriſhing Church in the World in aſſiſting to re-inſtate him, and fighting for him, they fight againſt their own Religion, which the primitive Chriſtians, for all their heroic Loyalty, would not do, and which no Man ought to do, either for Intereſt or Revenge. For my Part, I think true Religion ſo far above all worldly Concerns, and the Preſervation of it, ſo principal an Advantage of Government, that the Prince, who will certainly ſuppreſs that, muſt be more intollerable than he that would take away my Liberty, Eſtate, or my Life; and it muſt be a damnable Sin in me to aſſiſt him in it, or put him into a Capacity to do it: No Oath or Allegiance can bind me to this, it may oblige me to ſuffer, but not to act for ſuch a Deſign: Wherefore, for Shame let his *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* Popiſh Subjects alone carry on this impious Deſign, who can only hope for Advantage by his Reſtoration, and who are only bound in Conſcience to help him; neuter we muſt ſtand at leaſt, and that will ſuffice to ſhew how contemptible a Party that is, which muſt be ſet up on the Nation's Ruin, and how impoſſible it is for him to cut down the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, without borrowing a Handle from the Tree he would fell. Take Warning by what is paſt, and what muſt be the inevitable Conſequence of your deſerting this King, or aſſiſting the late Prince, even the Ruin of this moſt famous Church of *England*, and the endangering the whole Eſtate of Proteſtantiſm through all *Europe*: In vain will you complain of this Conſequence, when it is too late to remedy it; your Guilt, Shame, and Sorrow will then only remain, for having had a Hand in ſo deplorable a Miſchief: For my Part, I have delivered my own Soul, and given you fair Warning; God of his infinite Mercy open your Eyes in Time, and grant you a right Judgment in this and in all Things.

The

The falſe Steps of the Miniſtry after the Revolution: Shewing, That the Lenity and Moderation of that Government was the Occaſion of all the Factions which have ſince endangered the Conſtitution. With ſome Reflections on the Licenſe of the Pulpit and Preſs. In a Letter to my Lord---- 1714.

MY LORD,

I Agree entirely with your Lordſhip, that it is high Time to put an End to *Faction*; and that in order to it, nothing ſhould be done which might tend to inflame Men's Minds, and prevent the *Union* ſo neceſſary to make His Majeſty's Government eaſy.

Your Lordſhip is of Opinion, that the Calling the late *Managers* to Account, would have that ill Tendency, that they would not only be eſpouſed by the *Jacobite* Party, but by many *Churchmen*; either deceived by their pretended Zeal to the *Church*, or engaged by Intereſt in their Preſervation; which *Objections* of your Lordſhip's I ſhall alſo conſider, but in Matters of *Juſtice* the *Law* ſhould have its free courſe without weighing the Conſequences; *Fiat Juſtitia ruat Mundus*, is an Axiom as true as it is old; and no Conſtitution can ſupport itſelf where Power is wanting to puniſh. Were thoſe *Jacobites* and deluded *Churchmen* as formidable by their Numbers as their Principles, the *Cry* of an Injured *Nation* ſhould prevail againſt all their *Clamour*, and the *Guilty* receive their Reward, or the *Innocent* can never be ſafe.

But when it ſhall appear that all the good Effects of the late glorious War were ruined at once by their begging *France* to put an End to it, by their ſacrificing the Intereſt and Liberties of *Europe* to their Ambition, that they have render'd an Expence of above One hundred Millions uſeleſs, and by a ſcandalous Treaty given up all the Glory and Advantage of ten Years Victory; when their Deeds of Darkneſs ſhall be brought to Light; when their Intrigues with *France* to deſtroy the *Dutch*, the Emperor, and at laſt ourſelves, to introduce the *Pretender*, and with him Popery, Poverty and Slavery; when that black Scene, I ſay, ſhall be laid open, I doubt not but the People of *Great Britain* will hardly have patience to forbear doing themſelves Juſtice; and that even the *Tories* will be the firſt to demand it on thoſe that ſo wickedly abuſed and betrayed them.

What are theſe Men that we need be apprehenſive of arming the Laws againſt them? I am far from *delighting* in Blood, though I muſt own I did *delight* in our *War* with *France*; far from taking pleaſure in the Misfortunes of the Miſerable. But the Deſtruction theſe Men were bringing upon us was ſo dreadful and [illegible], one cannot think of it without Horror; nor will the Conſtitution ever [illegible] its Health and Vigour, till it is purged of thoſe ill Humours that were the Cauſe of its Sickneſs and Danger.

Beſides,

Beſides, how can we prove to all *Europe*, that it was not the *Britiſh Nation* who abandoned their Confederates, ſome to Slavery and others to Slaughter, but a vile, profligate *Faction*, if we do not bring their Leaders forth, and ſhew to all Mankind, that we are guiltleſs of their *Crimes* by puniſhing the *Criminals*. Will any Prince or State be willing to truſt us, and enter again into *Alliance* with us, if thoſe who *deſerted* the laſt ſo ſhamefully and treacherouſly be not called to account for it? who will *treat* with us again, if the Men who broke almoſt a hundred *Treaties* at once, do it, not only with Impunity, but Reward, if they wear thoſe *Garters*, and enjoy thoſe *Honours* and *Fortunes* they purchaſed by their *Treachery* to their *Country* and its *Confederates?* What Security will *Foreigners* think there is in our *Engagements*, when to break the ſtricteſt in the moſt inſolent and ruinous manner has been the Way to *Titles* and *Eſtates*, and we have not had *Courage* and *Wiſdom* enough to *right* ourſelves and them? Shall not we be looked upon by all the World as the weakeſt and moſt wretched of Mankind, who being conſcious of the *Wrongs* we have ſuffered, yet dare not, or know not how to do ourſelves *Juſtice?*

I remember, that ſoon after the *Revolution* there were a Set of Men employed who had been inſtrumental in making that *Revolution* neceſſary: Men who had gone as great Lengths with King *James* towards bringing in Popery and Slavery, as either *Jeffereys* or *Peters*; and what was the Conſequence of it but continual *Treachery* and Confuſion? Inſomuch we are told, that the City of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Power is ſo great in *Holland*, that it may be ſaid they have the Purſe in their Hands, has had ever ſince a Biaſs to *France*, deſpairing of ſeeing any good Meaſures taken in *England*, where many of the Old *Miniſtry* whom they abominated, were made uſe of. For, ſays an Author of that Time, *they would ſooner incline to put the Marſhal* de Boufflers *at the Head of their Troops*; *and the Marquis* de Torcy *to preſide in their Aſſemblies*, *than truſt the Movement of their Affairs to any of King* Charles *the Second's*, *or King* James *the Second's Emiſſaries*. I muſt confeſs it is not many Months ago, that if we had ſhifted *Hands* with the *French*, I ſhould not have been more apprehenſive of the Deſigns of our *Miniſters* againſt our *Religion* and *Liberty*; and ſhall we have no Examples to deter any future Traytors from making the like Sacrifices of our *Honour*, *Trade* and *Safety* to their *Malice*, *Pride*, or *Intereſt*.

I know very well, and rejoice in it, that the People of *Great Britain* are the beſt natured in the World, that they are apt to forget a Man's Guilt in their Compaſſion for his *Misfortune*. But we are told in Divine Writ, that *Mercy* is ſometimes *Cruelty*; and ſurely it can never be more ſo, than when thoſe who had brought us to the very Brink of *Deſtruction*, and hazarded the great *Happineſs* we now enjoy, a Bleſſing we could never value enough, till we were in Poſſeſſion of it, eſcape with Impunity, and are preſerved perhaps for an Opportunity by new Tricks and new Treaſons to accompliſh their Helliſh Deſigns.

There was, as I have hinted, a *Party* in *England* at the *Revolution*, that had nothing in their Mouths but *Clemency* and *Moderation*, that were for forgetting who were the *Inſtruments* in the Invaſions made upon the *Charters* of *England* of the *Diſpenſing Power*, of the *Murder* of the beſt *Patriots*, and all the *Tyrannical* Practices of the former *Reigns*, and truſting thoſe *Inſtruments* again in King

King *William*'s, which was the Rise of all that great King's *Difficulties*, and of all the *Miseries* that we have since felt or feared.

Accordingly, as soon as ever that *Party* found they could not hinder the *Prince* of *Orange*'s being declar'd *King*, they fell in very zealously with his Interest, boasting themselves to be the only *Men* for Monarchy, that they always defended the *Prerogatives of the Crown*, which they did on two Accounts, the One to ingratiate themselves with him by their *Flatteries*; the Other to render him odious to the People as affecting an *absolute Power*. They immediately offered their Service to the Court, were accepted, and their Leader, Sir *Edward Seymour*, put into the *Treasury*. Many of them being in continual Danger of Prosecution for their Estates and Lives, for what they had done in King *Charles* and King *James*'s Reigns, were impatiently solliciting an *Act* of *Indemnity*, and their Argument for it, was the best that could have been given against it. Many Securities were offered for the People's Liberties in Parliament, these Men violently opposed it; and though we cannot believe King *William*, who had saved our *Liberties*, would favour them on that Score, yet his *Ministers*, who lov'd Power as well as King *James*'s, did not fail to let the *Party* see it would be the only Way for them to come into Employment again.

Some Members of *Parliament* took hold of this Disposition of the *Ministry* to procure that fatal *Act*, the Source of all our Misfortunes, by pretending they *durst not displease the House of Commons in arguing for the Crown as they would, while severe Rods were over them*; and the *Ministry*, to open their Mouths, often pressed and persuaded the King to move the House to hasten the *Indemnity-Bill*. To the Objections that the King's best Friends made against it, was said then, as perhaps it may be now, that a Pardon *would be the only Way to unite* all *People to our King, and take off their Thoughts from returning to King* James. The *Convention* in framing that *Bill*, took infinite Pains so to form it, as might have answered all the Ends of *Mercy*, yet with due Regard to *Justice*, and the future Safety of the *King* and *Government*. They resolved that there should be but few *Exceptions*, but that some were necessary to be *punished* for *Examples* sake: Which was so distasteful to the *Ministers*, that those *Members* who were not of the criminal *Party*, were represented at Court as Men *studying Revenge, setting up a Faction, and driving off those who would gladly come into the King's Interest*. A Noble *Lord* tells us on this Occasion, *that he had often seen those impudently whispering such Falshoods at* Whitehall, *who he knew did in private ridicule both King* William *and Queen* Mary, *drink their Confusion and Damnation*. By these Insinuations they prevailed with the Court to be for an *absolute general Indemnity*; complimenting the King so far, as to declare they would rather be content with an *Act of Grace* from himself, than the Convention's *Indemnity-Bill*, clog'd with *Exceptions* and *Limitations*. *Thus*, says the same Noble Lord, *did they creep into Court, get themselves indemnified, and then put into Places of Power and Trust, overlook'd those whom they oppressed before, and carryed on their old Designs in the former Reign*. I shall here give your Lordship some Reflections of that noble Member of your most Honourable House, they being very *à propos* to the *Indemnity* pleaded for by our late Manager's Friends and Accomplices *It was not easy*, says his Lordship, *to discern the hidden Treachery to the King's Interest, in seeking a Thing so seemingly harmless as a* General

Indemnity. *But the Designers knew the mischievous Consequences of it, they understood that it would amount to our King's forsaking, or rather renouncing some of the chief declared Causes of his coming in Arms. He had called God to witness, that he came to execute Justice upon those evil Ministers of the late King's, who had subverted the Government to introduce Popery and Slavery.*

Here I cannot help observing, that the *Ministers* of King *James*'s Tyranny had not betray'd and insulted us in so flagrant a Manner as the late *Managers*. They had not entered into private *Treaties* with the *French* King; nay, some of them refused to do it, when Monsieur *Bonrepos* came over to persuade them to it; they had not renounced the *Treaties* between *England* and all other Nations of *Europe*, and given up their *Liberties* to the *Power* of *France*. They had not, in a Word, been guilty of such *general* and such *fatal* Offences, tho' in Particulars they also erred most enormously. His Lordship continues, *the disaffected Party knew the Act of Indemnity would prevent the Terror in Futurity of exemplary Punishments upon the greatest Traytors, which ought to have been one of the greatest Securities of our Liberties and Lives against the evil Ministers of our Princes. They foresaw it would dishonour both King and Parliament, who had declared divers barbarous Murders to be committed upon Persons of Honour, and worthy Defenders of our Liberties, while their Murderers should stand indemnified, and possest of some of the greatest Authorities in the Kingdom. They were well advised, that it would secure the worst Instruments of the former Tyrannies to be ready to continue the like Mischiefs, and to insinuate themselves into the King's Councils, upon Pretence of their being experienced in Government, and always zealous for Monarchy.*

Having obtained this *Bill* of *Indemnity* with these traitorous Views, it not only spirited all the *Enemies* to the *Government*, by seeing the Greatest living in Defiance of *Justice*, but discouraged its *Friends* in their Design of taking just Measures for securing their *Liberties* for ever. It also increased the Number of the disaffected Party, and gave them Power by their Wiles and Artifices to obstruct whatever was offered in *Parliament* for the good of the *King* and Kingdom.

It was not long after that a *Bill* was brought into the House of *Commons*, to exclude all such Persons from the *Magistracy* in *Corporations*, who had been principal *Betrayers* and *Surrenderers* of *Charters*; which would have been a Punishment for the inferior Offenders, and have brought those Men into the *Magistracy* that had opposed King *James*'s Practices, to subvert our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*. To this the now *indemnified Faction* objected, that such a *Bill* would create a Multitude of Enemies, and keep up such Quarrels and Feuds as would set all the *Cities* and *Towns* a fire. So impudent were they as to advise the King to influence some *Members* of *Parliament* to oppose the Passing of this *Bill*, which being lost, most of the Offenders in King *James*'s Reign kept their Places in the *Corporations*, governed *Elections*, and returned such *Members*, as made it their Business to bring the *Government* into continual Difficulties in favour of King *James* and *France*. There have two Acts passed lately which have quite another Tendency than this *Corporation-Act*, and may doubtless be improved to the Advantage of the late *Managers*, if they go off thus, and their very Guilt may one time or other be their Merit.

The

The next *Error* this *indemnified Party* made the Court commit, was in the Affair of the *Lieutenancy*. There was a *Lord Lieutenant* of a *County*, who being about to draw up a List of his *Deputies*, was told by too good Authority, *that his List would not be approved, if he left out those that had been put in by King* James, *tho' they had too much served his Interest: That he must not regard what they had been, and what they had done under King* James, *if they would then take Commissions from King* William. And accordingly the greatest Part of the *Deputy-Lieutenants* were of the same Stamp with the *London* Lieutenancy, where those who most complied with King *James* to destroy the *Liberties* of the *City*, were put into that Commission, made *Colonels* and *Captains*; nay, the Frenzy went so far, that several *Officers*, who had been put in upon the *Revolution*, and had been the greatest Friends to it, were turned out to make room for the *indemnified* Men; who under Pretence of being the most zealous Champions of the *Crown* and *Church*, engrossed for a while the Credit of the Court, and being entrusted by them, made that Use of their Trust, which one might expect from Men of arbitrary and persecuting Principles, betraying the *Government* wherever they were employ'd, to restore *Popery* and *Slavery*.

I might give a hundred Instances of the *Treachery* to King *William*, but 'tis so fresh in most of our Memories, that it would be as needless a Task as an unpleasant One. 'Twill be sufficient to name some of the *Lieutenancy* of *London* to judge of what *Stamp* they were in other Places. No less than sixty of that *Lieutenancy* were of the *indemnified Party*, Men that had been *Surrenderers* of *Charters*, and *Betrayers* of the *City-Liberties*; Men that would have been all unqualified, had the *Corporation*-Act passed, which the *indemnified* very wisely obstructed and prevented. I shall give a List of some of those whom the Ministry put into that important *Commission*, by which the *Jacobite* Interest was strengthened, and without which it had then languished, and died in that City.

William Dodson,	*Ralph Box*,	*William Withers*,
Robert Bedingfield,	*John Midgley*,	*John Genew*,
Thomas Blackmore,	*Richard Beauchamp*,	*Anthony Gregory*,
William Lewen,	*Peter Floyer*,	*John Moore*,
John Webb,	*Percival Gilborn*,	*Richard Alie*,
Edward Herne.	*Law. Coles*,	*George Newland*,
John Kent,	*Samuel Gerrard*,	*Thomas Langham*,
Richard Hoare,	*Samuel Ongley*,	*Robert Brough*,
Samuel Clerke,	*Richard Hamond*,	*Richard Weedon*,
William Woodroffe,	*Abraham Jaggard*,	*John Knapp*, &c.

Now to shew they were of the *indemnified Party*, I need only mention what is said of them in a Paper entitled *Reflections upon a Petition* of some of them to the Parliament. *These are the Men*, says the Author, *that care not what becomes of their Country, so King* James *comes in again: They long to be at their old Trade of making Work for the Hangman. You may pick up several of them in the famous Trials of the Lord* Russel, *Colonel* Sydney, *Sir* Samuel Barnardiston,

Mr. Papillon, *Mr.* Bateman, *and thoſe barbarous Proſecutions of* Oates, *under* Jefferеys. And what was the Effect of truſting theſe Men again? Why, the very firſt Year they came into play, they preſented the *Petition* abovementioned to the *Houſe of Commons*, humbly deſiring that Sir *Thomas Pilkington* might be removed from being Lord Mayor, Sir *Leonard Robinſon* from being Chamberlain, Sir *William Aſhhurſt*, Sir *Humphry Edwyn*, and others from being Aldermen; as the Prayer of that Petition ſets forth, after ſeveral falſe Allegations, in theſe Words:

'Wherefore your Petitioners having by theſe evil Practices, all their antient 'Rights and Privileges invaded, and neither Mayor, Court of Aldermen, 'Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Common-Council, or Town-Clerk, as of Right they 'ought to have; and being elſewhere without Remedy, humbly pray ſuch Re-'lief in the Premiſſes, as ſhall conſiſt with the Wiſdom and Juſtice of this 'honourable Houſe.'

I ſhall not go about to prove the *Falſities* in this *Petition*, it having no Relation to my Purpoſe. I find it done already to my Hands in the before-mentioned *Reflections* upon it; but muſt obſerve, that theſe *indemnified Men* having taking Heart by their *Impunity*, inſtead of a *defenſive*, entered upon an *offenſive War* with the Friends of the *Revolution*; and inſtead of being *puniſhed* for their paſt Offences, demanded the *Puniſhment* of others for their Zeal to King *William* and his *Government*, that being in Effect the only Fault they could find with them. Every one knows the Influence the *London* Lieutenancy has upon *Electors* both of *Members* of *Parliament* and *Magiſtrates*, and the employing theſe Men having had the ſame ill Conſequences in ſuch Caſes as is to be expected from the like Influence, thus it came, that the *Parliament* was compoſed of an unnatural Medley of *Williamites* and *Jacobites*; and the latter, tho' the *Minority*, by the Aſſiſtance of their Friends without *Doors*, found Means to obſtruct the Meaſures of the Government by *delaying* Supplies, or giving *deficient* ones, by raiſing unneceſſary *Debates*, and putting the King's Friends on all Manner of Difficulties. The Inſolence of theſe *indemnified Men*, both within Doors and without, kept the *Jacobite* Party alive, which otherwiſe muſt have ſunk for ever under the *Juſtice* of the *Revolution*.

I beg leave here to repeat to your Lordſhip a Paſſage or two of a Writer of thoſe Times, in a Treatiſe, entitled, *an Enquiry into the Cauſes of the late Obſtructions of public Affairs*: Becauſe we there may ſee what was the Conſequence of the *Lenity* of the then *Government*, and what the Behaviour of the Perſons whom it ſpared.

'This brings us to another Conſideration, *ſays my Author*, of the ungrate-'ful Uſe and Advantages that the factious Party among us have made of the 'Indulgence and Forbearance that has been ſhewn them. 'Tis a common Say-'ing, that *'tis a Pity fair Weather ſhould do any Harm.* I am ſure 'tis ſo in 'Government, whoſe greateſt and moſt charming Attribute is Clemency. But 'in new Eſtabliſhments, if the Sword of Juſtice be kept perpetually ſheathed, 'Malefactors will become inſolent, they will be inclined to think the Govern-

'ment

" ment looks upon itself to ſtand upon Courteſy; that it is precarious, and " dares not take notice of the moſt open Affronts. Their Inſolence long ſince " was ſufficient Demonſtration to diſcerning Men, of what Deſigns were hatch- " ing, which would be worth while to trace from the Twilight, to the Broad- " Day of the preſent Diſcovery of the Plot."

How ſeaſonable are theſe Conſiderations at this time? What could be parallel to the Inſolence of the late *Managers?* Did they not triumph over our *Underſtandings*, as well as *Liberty* and *Safety*? Did they not inſult us with Menaces, when we upbraided them with their favouring the *Pretender*, and enjoin us to believe they were for his preſent *Majeſty*, when they had ſworn in their ſecret *Cabals* to bring in the *Impoſtor?* Their *Plot* was then a *Twilight*, 'tis now a *Broad-Day*; and may we not be aſſured, that if they and their *Abettors* meet with the ſame *Lenity* the *Jacobites*, their Predeceſſors, did at the *Revolution*, the *Government* will meet with the ſame *Difficulties* and *Danger*, and its Friends with the ſame *Treatment.*

The *Act* of *Grace* upon King *William*'s Acceſſion to the Throne was ſo contrary to his true Intereſt, that the *Jacobites* deſpaired at firſt of getting it; and ſome of them laughed at the *Court* for giving it them, when they had got it; ſaying, *they doubted not to ſerve the Exceptions that were left in the Act, as they had done thoſe that were flung out*; make them uſeleſs by their Intereſt with the Miniſters; and truly they did ſo in a great Meaſure. A few Perſons were frowned upon, but not a Man puniſhed either in Body or Goods: Inſomuch that I heard a Man of good Senſe and Experience in Buſineſs ſay, *He would have laid an even Wager upon* Jeffereys's *Head, had he lived, againſt any other Man's, that he would have the Seals before him.* I cannot think that however; but conſidering that when afterwards Mr. *Prideaux* brought his Caſe into Parliament, and could not have Juſtice for 15000*l.* *Jeffereys* had extorted of him in the *Weſt*, one may with Reaſon queſtion whether that infamous *Judge* would not have fared as well as *Kirk* and others, whoſe Hands were dipt in *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Blood as well as his. Among the reſt, there was a vile Fellow, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, whom King *Charles* the Second took out of an *Anabaptiſt* Conventicle, to employ him as a *Lion*, and from a *Quack* raiſed him to be an Under-*Miniſter* to his Prime *Plot-makers*, whom King *James* Knighted, and made a *Privy-Counſellor* upon his turning *Papiſt*, who had had a Finger in almoſt all the *Enormities* of thoſe two *Reigns*; and conſcious of his Guilt, durſt not ſhew his Head for a Year after the *Revolution*; but finding the Coaſt was clear, and no Body called to an Account, he returned peaceably to his Houſe at *Edmonton*, and died in his Bed, as much againſt his own Expectation as other Men's.

It was this unſeaſonable and unreaſonable Clemency of the *Miniſtry* at that time which encouraged the *French* to brave us in our *Harbours*. They could not want *Intelligence* of our Weakneſs, when any *Jacobite* could ſo eaſily procure it, and ſo ſafely tranſmit it to them; and if they did not invade us, it was probably more out of Diſtruſt of thoſe *Traytors*, than Fear of their Enemies. For having deſerted King *James* himſelf, it had been no Wonder if they had abandoned them, if they could not have done their Buſineſs without their Help; the *Jacobites*, I mean thoſe who pretended to be *Proteſtants*, being for the moſt part compoſed then of ſuch Perſons as feared *Puniſhment*, or expected *Preferment.*

ment. The *Disappointed* fell in with the *Disaffected*; and though in their Resentment they might promise much, and do much too, yet *France* did not care to trust them, though she made use of them to embroil and retard King *William*'s Measures.

The *Scots*, in the Affairs of the *Revolution*, did two Things, in which they shewed themselves to be true *Lovers* of their *Country*, and to understand her *Constitution* and *Interest*. I beg your Lordship's Pardon for digressing a little from my Subject, which I shall come to again immediately. One was, that instead of making *James abdicate*, they declared he had *fore-faulted* the Crown; and the other, their *Vote* to *disable all Persons from Places of Trust and Profit* that were not Men of *Revolution-Principles*. This *Vote*, had it had the Royal Assent, would have ruined *Hamilton*'s Faction in that Kingdom; they being supported purely by the Credit they had with some of the *Scots* Ministers, and by creeping themselves insensibly into the *Ministry*. The *Vote* itself is very well worth your Perusal, and is as follows:

"The King's and Queen's Majesties, considering that the Estates of this "Kingdom have by their Vote declared their Sense and Opinion, that such as "have in the former evil Government been grievous to the Nation, or have "shewed Disaffection to the happy Change, by the Blessing of God now brought "about, or have been *Retarders* or *Obstructers* of the good Designs of the said "Estates in their meeting, are not fit to be employed in the Management of the "Affairs of this Kingdom, do with the Advice and Consent of the Estates in "Parliament now assembled, statute and ordain, that no Persons, of what-"soever Rank or Degree, who in the former evil Government have been "grievous to the Nation by acting in the Incroachments mentioned in the Ar-"ticles of the Claim of Right, which are declared to be contrary to Law; or "who hath shewed Disaffection to the happy Change, by the Blessing of God "now brought about, by acting in Opposition thereunto, since the Time that "the King and Queen now reigning were proclaimed; or who hath been a "Retarder or Obstructer of the good Designs of the said Estates; *viz.* the "securing the Protestant Religion; the settling the Crown; the establishing "the Rights of the Lieges, and the Redressing their Grievances, by acting "contrary to these good Designs, since the Time that they became publick by "Vote and Acts of the Meetings, *be allowed to possess, or be admitted into any "publick Trust, Place or Employment under their Majesties in this Kingdom.*

How this *Vote* came not to be passed into an Act, may be easily imagined? and the *Scots* soon saw King *William*'s Ministers would hinder it for fear of the Example. Such a *Bill* in *England* would have kept 150 Members out of the House of *Commons*, and almost half as many out of the *Lords* House; *Members* that were most faithful to the *French* Interest, as may appear by the Lists of those that voted against King *William*'s being made King: And for this Reason a *Scots* Gentleman speaking of the above-mentioned Vote, says, *it was most censured by some of the* English *from an Apprehension, that what of this Nature passed into an Act at* Edinburgh, *might have been drawn into Precedent at* Westminster. The same Gentleman speaking of King *William*'s boundless *Mercy*, has these Reflections upon it, so just, that I cannot help repeating them. *Now having mentioned his Majesty's Grace, I'll venture to say, that after all the Mercy he hath exercised*

exerciſed towards his own and his People's Enemies, there is not one either converted to his Intereſt by it, or that reckons himſelf obliged to him for it: But inſtead of attributing their Impunity to his Majeſty's Grace, they aſcribe it to the Puſillanimity of the Government; and in the room of being brought over to ſerve him, they are emboldened to go on in their Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon and Dignity. What follows is ſo true, that I cannot but hope it will have ſome good Effect on your Lordſhip by applying it to the late Managers: *Nor will they ever account themſelves indebted to his Mercy, till he hath made ſome of them the Objects of his Juſtice.*

Having already made mention of the *Errors* of King *William*'s Miniſtry, in keeping ſuſpected Perſons in the *Militia* Commiſſions, let me remember you now of one dangerous Conſequence of it among many others. In the Year 1692, when the *French* were forming an Army at *La Hogue* to bring over King *James* from *Normandy*, an order was ſent to the Deputy-Lieutenants of *Surrey* to raiſe the *Militia* of that *County*; but thoſe worthy Gentlemen thought fit to abſcond, to avoid the putting that Commiſſion in execution; and yet when 'twas complained of, and others recommended, the latter were alſo objected againſt by the Courtiers, as *Men of Warmth and Party-men*, I muſt confeſs, when the *Honour*, *Intereſt* and *Security* of the Government are in queſtion, I deſire to be eſteemed in ſuch Caſes a *Man of Warmth* and a *Party-man*, and that my Duty and Affection to my King and Country may flame out in *Zeal*. There was a bold *Briton* dedicated a little Tract to King *William* in the Year 1692; in which Dedication he preſumes to give his Majeſty much honeſt, though plain Advice; and this among the reſt:

Let the Inſolence of your Enemies be rebuked, and Rebels and Traytors to your Governments be ſeverely puniſhed, and not courted and careſſed; for in the preſent State of Affairs, all Mercy to your Enemies is Cruelty to yourſelf and Friends; and it encourages your Enemies, and diſheartens your loyal Subjects to ſee theſe Inſolents brave the Government unpuniſhed, and your treacherous Miniſters ſoliciting the Pardon of every condemn'd Traytor, and making their Court to King James *at the Price of your Safety, is moſt provoking to every good Man: Beſides, it looks like your having a Doubt of your own Right and Title to the Government, to be thus backward in aſſerting it,' and is ſo interpreted by the* Jacobites.

It is the Nature of the *criminal* Faction to be *noiſy* and *clamorous*; and they will, like true *Bullies*, look big even while they are beaten. They will ſometimes talk of the *Church*, and ſometimes of their *Numbers*: and never fail bragging of their *Land-Intereſt* under the Burthen of ten thouſand *Mortgages*. Upon which I cannot help going out of the way a little to mind what poor Shifts they were driven to laſt *Parliament*, to get *landed* Men to ſtand for them. As Sir *G. M.* whoſe *Land* was in twenty *Counties*, to patch up a Three hundred a Year; and *C--ll--r*, whoſe Land was in *Drury Lane*, meaning a Penſion from the *Players*; yet was he made a *Member* by the Recommendation of *B---k*, and one of the *Twelve*: For theſe Men vary their *Tone* as the *Weather* ſets with them; and having no *Principles*, it cannot be expected they ſhould keep to any; but they can bounce and buſtle, and turn every thing to their Advantage. If they are proſecuted, the *Church* is in *Danger*, for your Lordſhip may live to find that *Harry Gambol* will be as much the Church as *Frank Scamony*. If they go off with *Impunity*, they are *innocent*, or the Government *impotent*. And the Perſuaſion

ſuaſion of the Miniſters after the Revolution, that they might be gain'd by good Uſage, or would be dangerous under *Puniſhment*, was the falſe Step on which the *Faction* inſenſibly founded a Strength in and out of *Parliament*, which often brought the Conſtitution into the utmoſt Peril.

The *Miniſters* did not only continue the Leaders of the *indemnify'd Party* in the *Lieutenancy* all over *England*, they had alſo the Commiſſions of the Peace put into their hands. The Matter, I find, was diſcourſed of in a Treatiſe publiſhed by a noble Peer, the Earl of *Warrington*, ſoon after the Invaſion of *La Hogue* was prevented by Admiral *Ruſſel*'s beating the *French* Fleet. *I ſee ſo much Treachery in the whole Management of the King's Affairs*, ſays his Lordſhip, *that I have ſcarce Patience to think of it. The whole Adminiſtration is put into ſuch Hands, as would make a Man believe, that a Deſign is deeply and ſtrongly laid to bring back King* James; *moſt of the Juſtices of the Peace throughout* England, (*whoſe faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the Government*) *are now ſuch as would certainly be ready to bid him welcome*; *and many of them are ſo ſcandalous in their very Morals, that the Queen was conſtrained by Proclamation, to order the Execution of the Laws againſt* Debauchery *among themſelves*. Every Body knows, what a Sway the *Juſtices* of the *Peace* bear in the Country, and how they influence *Elections*. There are few of them who pretend their *Power* is leſs than it is, or indeed do not endeavour to make it more *formidable* than *uſeful*, to the Publick. By this means the *Importance* of their *Station* is thrown on their *Perſon*: And that has a Glaring with the People; which makes them ſometimes to *value* their *Merit*, as much as they *fear* their *Power*. Thus do they biaſs their Judgment, and diſpoſe them to be under their Direction in all Things. For an Inſtance of which, I could name a Man to your Lordſhip, who with a very poor Fortune and Capacity has been able to carry ten or twenty *Freeholders* to *Brentford* with him, at an *Election* for *Knights* of the *Shire*; when his Neighbour worth 40,000 *l.* could not make a Vote but his own. The late *Managers* were ſo ſenſible of this, that they obliged their *Purſe* to turn almoſt all the *Gentlemen* in *England* out of the *Commiſſion* of the *Peace*, who would not come into their *French* Meaſures. If here and there a Gentleman of *Revolution-Principles* was continued, he had four or five of his *Tory-rory* Neighbours to keep him Company; and the People knowing he had no Intereſt at *Court*, but precariouſly kept in the *Commiſſion*, were no more influenced by him than by a *Conſtable*. How does your Lordſhip think a Man of Mr. *C*——*n*'s Eſtate could carry it for ſo populous and rich a *County* as that of *Suſſex*, had there been above five *Whig Juſtices* of the *Peace*, and three *Deputy Lieutenants* in the *County*? The ſame may be ſaid of moſt of the *Shires* in *England*. This was the Occaſion that ſo many *Addreſſes* were ſent up; wherein was great Affectation of not mentioning the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, which they induſtriouſly endeavoured to have rendered as diſagreeable a Word as a *Coffin*. Your Lordſhip, I know, will not wonder, that a Perſon, who was turned out of *Commiſſion* in the *Army* for Diſaffection to King *William*, ſhould be put by the *Purſe* into that of the *Peace* in the late *Management*. I can't imagine what Need there was of ſuch an open Defiance of the *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh Intereſt*, unleſs it was that the Gentleman in *York-Buildings*, wanted a *Back* in his Neighbourhood.

Some

Some People are apt to neglect these things, as if the Matter was indifferent, whom the *Militia* and the *Publick Peace* were entrusted with; as if it was all one, whether with *Friends* or *Enemies* to *France*; as if such Men could not do much Hurt, or not enough to make the *Country* uneasy about it. For my part, I don't believe the *Country* would be at all uneasy to have an honest, sober, good-natured Gentleman put in the Room of a blustering, persecuting *Brave*; and a Man of 1000*l.* a Year put in the Place of one of 100*l.* I never found but the *Clergy*, in my Neighbourhood in the Country, as often as they had Business with him, were as ready to run to a *Whig Justice*, as to a *Tory:* And one of *Sacheverell's* Brethren and Admirers confessed to me, that they had always better usage from the former. This at least the Gentlemen, who were displaced by the *Purse*, may expect, that they shall fare as well for standing heartily by the *Protestant Succession*, by the *Confederacy*, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the *wise Administration* during the War, as those who were so mutinous for a *separate Peace*, and so cold in the Interests of the *House* of *Hanover*. To imagine that *Forbearance* will make *Converts*, or that *Men* of *Warmth* may do prejudice in the *Prosecution* of *Justice*, will be attended with the same Effects, as the *healing* Measures of King *William*'s Ministers were; of which we have mentioned the Consequences: The *Enemies* to the *Constitution* will be encouraged at all times to attempt its *Subversion*; looking on its Friends as a base, dastardly People, afraid of every thing but a *Frenchman*. Great was the Clamour of good *Englishmen* after the *Revolution* at the Steps then taken, the fatal *Moderation* of the *Government*, and the employiug its Enemies; but those that made it were blamed for their too much Zeal: *When the Consent of a Kingdom*, says one of their Accusers, speaking of the *Indemnity* Bill, *has drawn a Veil of Oblivion over passed Miscarriages; it is then Ungentlemen-like, if not odious, to have too good a Memory.* I shall doubtless be thought one of those ill-bred *Britons*, for remembering what the late Managers would have done for us: That they would have deprived us of the inestimable Blessing of our present Sovereign, and have set a Popish King on his Throne; that they would have sold us to *France*, and enslaved us and our Posterity for ever; not to mind your Lordship of the *Peace*, the *Twelve Lords*, the *Treaty* of *Commerce* with *France* and *Spain*, the *Catalans*, the *Tyranny* of the *Commission* of *Accounts*, and the *Insolence* of the whole Faction: How Ungentleman-like is it to twit them in the Teeth with such *Picadillos?* But, thanks be to God, they have no Act of Grace, to give them a Right to the good *Breeding* that was in Fashion five and twenty Years ago; and the Heads of the Party have almost ever since been putting us in mind of their great Affection to King *James*'s Son, and the *French* Interest. That they themselves ever had it in their Power to endanger the Constitution, is another Effect of the Lenity of King *William*'s Reign, and the credulous good Nature of his *Friends*; one of whom wrote a Tract in Vindication of their Easiness with respect to the *indemnified Party*, and blames the Men of warmth for want of Christian Charity. *They would introduce a Maxim*, says he, *than which nothing could be more unjust, nor more unfitted for the Condition of human Life, which is a State of Weakness and Recollection, that no subsequent Behaviour can expiate for any past Failings. They only contemplate and expose the frail Side of those they don't affect, and won't allow the Ballance to be laid for them, of the Good and Evil*

they have done, to make a proportionable Abatement according to Prudence and Equity. This was a very hard Case. But what *Allowance* would the *Act* of *Grace*-Men have made? Why truly, no less than to have all the *Illegalities* and *Cruelties* of King *Charles* and King *James*'s Reign *abated* for the one Consideration, that the *Criminals* had *sworn* to King *William* purely to have an Opportunity to *betray* him.

As to the late *Managers*, I am very willing that their Account should be fairly stated, and the Good and the Bad put into the Ballance: It will be found to be just like *Staffs* in the Medley.

Debtor.	Creditor.
By sinking the Publick Credit in King William's *Reign, reckoning the Effect it had on the* Bank, East-India *Company, Navy-Bills, Ordnance-Tallies, upon all the Funds,* Five Millions and a Half. *By* Ditto *since that time, according to the lowest Computation,* the same Sum. *In both* Eleven Millions.	*By Services in the late King's Reign ..... a* London Bank. *By* Ditto *in the present* New Scheme. *Amounting in both to* 00000,00

Ballance to be accounted for —— 11,000,000.

To which Account must be now added, the *Peace*, the *Dozen*, the *Catalans*, the *Commerce-Treaties*, and the like; and let the *Good* be put into the Scale with the *Bad*, the latter will not be a Feather the lighter. For the late *Managers*, when they declar'd for *France* and the *Pretender*, did only in an open manner, what they had been doing clandestinely ever since the Revolution; there being hardly a Debate in Parliament from that time to this, wherein the Chief of them did not distinguish themselves by opposing the Interest of their *Country*.

It was not two Years after the Revolution, that the *Har—ys*, the *Fo——ys*, the *P——n*'s, the *W—ns*, the *Har—ts*, I know not for what Reason, but their private Pique and Interest, quitted the *Whig* Party, in which they had been bred, and fell in with the *Tory*; and ever since, your Lordship will find them in all the black Lists with the *Seymours*, the *Musgraves*, &c. watching all Opportunities to embroil the Affairs of the Government, in order to bring about the grand Design of subverting it, which they had so nearly accomplished.

When the *voluntary Association* was offered in the House of Commons, upon the Discovery of the *Assassination Plot*, in the Year 1695, you have *William Bromley*, Esq; *Simon Harcourt*, Esq; *Francis Gwyn*, Esq; Lord *Hyde*, *Francis Grevil*, Esq; *Thomas Strangways*, Esq; Sir *John Levison Gower*, *&c.* among those that refused it.

When the Dispute about the disbanding the Army came up two or three Years after, and Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, who said in King *James*'s Parliament, It *was a deplorable thing the King had no greater Army than* 19000 *Men*, would not let King *William* have 8000; these were the Men that so strenuously stickled for disarming that King, and not letting him be in a Condition to prevent the

the *French* King's seizing upon *Spain*. You have almost all of them in the List of those Members who voted against the Court, and consequently at that time against their Country.

These were the Men that supported *J. How*, when he affronted King *William* by calling him *Felon*. For what did he do less, when he said the Partition-Treaty that King made, was a *Felonious Treaty?* though it is a much better one than the Treaty of *Utrecht*, after the Expence of Seventy Millions, and the Loss of 500,000 Men's Lives. That the *Har—ys* were the Foremost of the Faction, we very well remember; and there was not a Vote for the *French* Interest, which had not the Assent of every one of the late Managers, who were old enough to sit in the House of Commons: Nay, no sooner was *St. J——n* qualified by his Age, but he listed himself with them; and one of the first Votes he ever gave in Parliament was for violating the *Rights of the People*, in voting the Imprisonment of the *Kentish Petitioners*, who had petitioned the Commons to enable the King to begin the last War. They *discovered*, says the Ingenious Author of *Jura Populi Anglicani*, *a plain Inclination to leave* France *in the Possession of all the* Spanish *Dominions. And is not* R. H. *a Ring-leader in this Tory Party? Is not his Brother* E. *a Leading Member? Does not he attend all Ordinances, and as constantly every Week-Day frequent the Service of the Church (for his is a Church-Party) in St.* Stephen's *Chapple, as he does the Conventicle every Lord's Day? Are not the* F——s, Win——tons, St. J——n, H——y *of* Wey——th, Br——ston, R——y!, *and others of that Leven, Members of this Fraternity?* Again, *'tis not to be wonder'd that the Imprisonment of the* K——ntish *Petitioners should have the Voices of the major Part of the House of Commons, when (besides the great Inclination discovered by the Sp——r* [Har——y],) *Sir* Edward Seymour Bartholomew Shower, *Mr* John How, *Mr.* Hammond, *Mr.* Harcourt, *and others pressed violently for it*: And all with a View to prevent that glorious War to which they put such an infamous End; when by using still the *Church*'s Name, they had thrust themselves into the Ministry. So far did these ill Instruments go, that when the Elector of *Bavaria*, on the King of *Spain*'s Death, sent over an Envoy to King *William*, on purpose to promise he would keep *Flanders* till the War was declared, if the Court of *England* could then get the Parliament to declare for it; that they fell upon those who were of that Opinion, and by their Piques and Squabbles hindered the King's taking quick and vigorous Measures, forcing him upon a Necessity to dissolve the Parliament that was then sitting; and before another could meet *Flanders* and *Italy* were lost, and the War they would have prevented made absolutely necessary.

These very Men did afterwards fall in with the hated *Tack* to confound Matters in the last War, and were all of them to a Man *Sacheverell*'s Champions, that indeed was their only Merit. By that means did they acquire the *Power* which renders them so *guilty*. I am so *Ungentleman-like*, as to remind your Lordship of these Things, that you may see how *incorrigible* they are, as well as how *criminal*; and what little Hopes there are of doing any Good by *Forbearance* with them, they so fatally abused the *Moderation* of King *William*'s and the best Part of Queen *Anne*'s Reigns; and will abuse whatever *Moderation* they meet with in any other.

Should the People of *Oxford* ſo far defy the *Juſtice* of our *Laws*, as to chuſe Sir *Con. P——ps* to be one of their *Repreſentatives*, would it not be a ſure Sign of the *Inveteracy* of the *Faction*; and that they would every where be repreſented by the *King* and *Kingdom*'s Enemies, if they were as much Maſters in other Places, as they are at the Univerſity? but let them ſnarl and rail in Corners; the general Joy and Satisfaction of the People in the *preſent Government*, will not be long diſturbed by theſe *Murmurers*. All good *Britons* will chearfully acquieſce in his Majeſty's Meaſures; his *Wiſdom* being the greateſt *Security* of their Happineſs; and I can ſee no manner of Danger in *puniſhing* thoſe that have been in a *Confederacy* with *France*, to deſtroy our own *Liberties* and the *Liberties* of all *Europe*, but a great deal in letting them go off with *Impunity*. I know very well that there will be a *diſaffected* Party, and perhaps ſome half-witted diſguſted Hero may think it his Intereſt to countenance them; perhaps ſome hot-headed angry Clergyman may alſo *cry aloud and ſpare not*, as *Sacheverell*, *Welton*, *Higgins*, *Trap*, and the reſt of them, have done for theſe three or four Years, of the *Church's Danger*. But your Lordſhip knows that Pretence, ever *groundleſs* and *ſeditious*, was grown ſo ſtale that the *Faction* was aſhamed to make uſe of it in the latter Part of the laſt Reign: Beſides, the *Nation* having been *trick'd* by it into *Clamour* and *Confuſion* in King *William*'s Reign, and into *Ruin* afterwards, can we imagine, they will give an Ear again to ſuch vain and factious Inſinuations, for the Sake of half a Dozen *Criminals*, whoſe Principles and Morals are a Scandal to the pure Church, whoſe *Name* they have only in their *Mouths*, without ever having her *Intereſts* in their *Hearts*?

The Guilty being puniſhed for an Example to their Abettors, I agree with your Lordſhip, that it ſhould be all our Endeavours to ſuppreſs *Party*, and unite in Loyalty to the King, and Love to our Country. Perhaps the Number of the Criminals is too great to remember every one of them. But if two private Men ſhould dare to take on them a Commiſſion to treat with the *Common Enemy* in a clandeſtine Manner, contrary to the Engagements of the moſt neceſſary Alliances: If two or three bold ambitious Men ſhould in Oppoſition to the Senſe and Intereſt of all *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*, to our Honour and Safety, abandon our Confederates to Deſtruction, ſhould weaken and bully our beſt *Friends*, and careſs and ſtrengthen our profeſſed *Enemies*; ſhould *trample* upon our *Conſtitution*, ſhould make new *Lawgivers*, to ſkreen themſelves from the *Law*; and all this without having their Reward, I can't ſee what *Crime* a Man can commit againſt his *Country*, and not hope to be *enriched* and *ennobled* by it, inſtead of being condemned and puniſhed.

It is not a hundred Years ago that a *Treaſurer* who had been made a *Lord*, was *Unlorded*, and his *Eſtate* and *Dignity* made anſwerable for his *Male-Practices*; as was the Caſe of the Earl of *Middleſex*. And I could give many Inſtances out of ancient Hiſtory of the wiſe *Severity* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* towards the *Betrayers* of their *Country*. That *Roman* who ſhould have pitied a *Roman*, puniſhed for contriving to betray *Rome* to *Carthage*, would ſurely have been thought to have deſerved, and probably might have ſuffered the ſame Fate. The *Heads* of ſuch *Traytors* did not only pay for their *Treaſon*, their whole *Race* was involved in their *Ruin*, their *Palaces* demoliſhed, and *Corn* ſowed on their *Foundations* to bury even their very Memories in their *Rubbiſh*; their *Poſterity* renouncing

nouncing their *Names*, and every one thinking himſelf accurſed, that had the Misfortune to be of their *Family*.

We have the moſt glorious Proſpect of a great and flouriſhing Kingdom, of as much *Happineſs* as the late *Managers* threatened us with *Miſery*. And ſhall thoſe *Managers* enjoy peaceably the Bleſſing of that *Reign*, which they would have intercepted and given us inſtead of it a *Popiſh King*, and a *French Tyranny?* One cannot be too *Ungentleman-like* on this Occaſion, nor too often remember them of their *treaſonable Projects* againſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. I am ſo far from thinking that to let the *Laws* exert their Vigour againſt ſuch *Criminals*, would make any one, but their Fellow *Criminals* uneaſy, that I take it to be the only Means of quieting the Minds, not only of all good Subjects at *Home*, but of all our good Friends *Abroad*; and the only Way to recover our *Intereſt* and *Reputation* in *Europe*, by ſhewing the World, that it was not the *Britiſh Nation* who deſerted their Confederates, and betrayed their beſt Friends, but *Five or Six* tricking enterprizing *Managers*, who having by their wicked Arts uſurped the *Management*, had no other way to ſupport themſelves in it, but by ſacrificing our *Intereſt*, *Honour*, and *Safety* to their *Avarice* and *Ambition*. If they had been Men whom the *Allies* could have truſted; if their *Characters* had not deſtroyed all *Confidence* in them, perhaps they might not have ſo ſoon ſent their *Emiſſaries* to *France* to beg a Peace of the *Vanquiſhed:* But whether their having made a ſcandalous and ruinous Treaty neceſſary to their Preſervation will extenuate the Guilt of it, and plead for a ſecond *Indemnity-Bill* in their Favour, I ſhall leave to your Lordſhip to determine, there being nothing elſe to be ſaid for them.

As the *greater* Offenders ought not to eſcape the Hands of *Juſtice*, ſo ſhould an Eye alſo be had upon the *leſs*. It was the Neglect of the *Pulpit* and *Preſs*, which brought Matters to ſuch a fatal Paſs after *Sacheverell*'s *Tryal*. No ſooner was the Queen dead, and the King likely to come in as peaceably as he did, but the diſtinguiſhed *Trumpeters* of the *Town* began to alarm them with Fear of *Church-Peril: Smith* of *St. Sepulchre*'s particularly inſulted the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; and intimated to his *Auditory*, that the *Succeſſor* was not in the *Intereſts* of our Religion. And ſince his *Majeſty*'s Arrival, *Sacheverell* made an Harangue of the like Tendency: The Beginning of his Sermon was to ſet forth what Crimes, what Wickedneſs Men had been guilty of to acquire *Earthly Crowns*. It was plain, that his Diſſatisfaction in the Removal of his *Patrons* from the Poſts they had uſurped, was inſinuated as a very great Crime. This Point he touched with much Fervency in his *frothy* Way; but in the latter Part of his Sermon, where he was to urge how much more induſtrious Men ought to be to obtain the *Heavenly Crown*, he was as flat and inſipid, as if he had been ſpeaking of a Thing which he was ſure would never fall to his Lot.

Your Lordſhip will ſay to this, there is no help for it; and that we have paid too much for endeavouring to *roaſt a Clergyman*. I doubt not, if the State would vigorouſly enjoin all the *Dioceſans* to do their utmoſt to put a Stop to *ſeditious Preaching*, it would have the deſired Effect: And thoſe *Dioceſans* who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Neglect of ſuch Injunctions, would be too much expoſed to the Reſentment of an injured *Government* and *Nation*, to try the Experiment. It is certain, the late *Managers* did not put their Power to a worſe

Uſe,

Uſe, than in making the *Condemned Doctor* Rector of a *Pariſh* bigger than moſt *Cities* in *England*: His Carriage in it has indeed anſwered his Character, and he is abhorred and deſpiſed by much the greater Part of his *Pariſhioners*. But to pin ſuch a worthleſs Wretch down upon them for Life, to give him an Opportunity to *torment* them as long as he lives; for as to *corrupting* them, there is not much Fear of it, his *Practices* preventing any Attention to his *Precepts*; this was a Work none could have done but thoſe who cared for neither Men's Bodies nor Souls, ſo their vile Paſſions were pleaſed by it. This bad Man's Promotion will encourage all *Thoughtleſs Hair-brained* Clergymen to aim at Diſtinction, by defying the *Government*: An Evil, for which a ſpeedy Remedy ought to be found out by our *Spiritual* Fathers; and truly, if they can't find one, 'twill give us but a mean Opinion of our *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*, which is ſo imperfect that it cannot redreſs ſo flagrant a *Grievance*.

Equal Care ſhould be taken of the *Preſs*: It is already hard at Work to beat a new Alarm, and fright the *Rabble* into Mutiny. The late *Managers* were ſo far from ſending *Damere* and *Purchaſe*, the Leaders of the rebellious Mob, to the *Gallows*, to deter others from the like treaſonable Crimes, that they made *Damere* the Queen's *Waterman*, and ſuffered Contributions to be raiſed for them at the Door of the *Houſe* of *Commons*. This Encouragement keeps up the Spirit of *Rebellion* in the factious Multitude; and that Spirit is enflamed by the Libels hawked and bawled about the Streets; ſuch as, *Stand faſt to the Church*, *Trick upon Trick*, *The State-Gameſters*, *A Cat may look upon a King*, and the like. True, thoſe *Half-penny* Papers have nothing in them but the *Title*, and that's enough to produce the miſchievous Effects intended by it: For 'tis not only to get thoſe *Scoundrels* who cry them *Bread*, ſome of them have confeſſed they were hired to bawl their Sedition about the Streets; and we all know that the Faction have engaged them to cry nothing that makes againſt them. They will not touch a *Whig* Paper, though they are ſure to get as much by it. This Grievance has been neglected ever ſince the *Revolution*, and Mr. *Johnſon* foretold what would be the Conſequence of ſuch Neglect ſo long ago as that Time, offering a Method to redreſs it without infringing the *Liberty of the Preſs*; for which, as I pleaded in the *Worſt* of Times, ſo ſhall I alſo contend in the *Beſt*.

The meddling with *Hawkers* and *Ballad-ſingers* may be thought a Trifle; but it ceaſes to be ſo, when we conſider the crying and ſinging ſuch *Stuff*, as vile as it is, makes the Government familiar, and conſequently contemptible to the People, warms the Minds of the *Rabble*, who are more capable of Action than Speculation, and are animated by Noiſe and Nonſenſe. There was juſt ſuch a Cry of Sedition when the *Doctor* was *condemn'd*. The Miniſters deſpis'd it ſo long, that they were themſelves deſpis'd by it. Some of them ſaw their Error at laſt, but 'twas too late. The Mob were prepared for Violence, and they were hooted and bawl'd out of their *Miniſtry*. The greateſt Miſchief ariſes from the ſmall Papers, and their being nois'd about the Streets: It is the quickeſt and ſureſt Way *Sedition* has to take. *Pamphlets* work ſlowly, and the Operation of one *Pamphlet* is often ſpoiled by that of another. Beſides, the *Publiſhers* of them are to be come at, and the *Printer* and *Publiſher* being as much accountable for the *Offence* they give as the Author, the State will know how to find out and chaſtiſe the *Offenders*. Their *Liberty* therefore

ought

ought not to be *abridg'd*, but thoſe that abuſe it to be *puniſh'd*. If there is not due and ſpeedy Care taken in theſe Matters, the *Faction* will moſt certainly grow upon the *Government*. The Conſequence of which would be fatal enough, if it only ſcreen'd the *Chiefs* of it, the late *Managers*, from *Puniſhment*.

I have mention'd to your Lordſhip a certain and ready Way of putting an End to *Half-penny* Sedition and *Street* Politicks; and your Lordſhip having promiſed me to mention it to thoſe whoſe Duty it is to watch over ſuch Things, I hope that, or ſome other Method, will be put in practice to deprive the Enemies of the Government of this their laſt and moſt pitiful Reſource.

A LETTER to a Biſhop concerning the preſent Settlement, and the New Oaths.

My Lord,

I Have conſidered the Matter you mentioned to me with all the Care and Attention that my other neceſſary Affairs would allow, and I account it indeed, as your Lordſhip does, a great Unhappineſs, that any Proteſtants are diſſatisfied with our preſent Settlement, but eſpecially, that ſome of thoſe Biſhops are of this Number, who were ſo lately made Confeſſors for the Proteſtant Religion.

It is not without great Injuſtice, that ſome of thoſe Gentlemen, who have put Pen to Paper in Defence of the *New Oaths*, take the Liberty of charging theſe Biſhops, as if their preſent Diſſatisfactions did ſpring from Pride, Intereſt, Humour, Obſtinacy, or a *Fear of having their Wings clipt in this New Settlement:* I am confident that they, which charge any of theſe Things upon thoſe *venerable* and *excellent Men*, do not know *them*, and they write as if they had never heard any thing of *them*, before this unhappy Rupture. Undoubtedly they who could go to a Jail, and were ready to be ruined in their Eſtates, and to ſacrifice themſelves for the two beſt Things in the World, the *Church of England*, and the *Laws of the Land*, do deſerve no ſuch Character. I am perſuaded, that what their Lordſhips, and many others with them, do in this reſpect, proceeds purely from Conſcience; and that if themſelves were ſo happy, or others for them, to ſatisfy their Conſciences about the preſent Settlement, and the New Oaths, they would as heartily comply with the preſent Settlement, and act in it, as any other of their Majeſties Subjects.

But though, my Lord, this is my Judgment concerning their Diſſatisfactions, that they proceed from Conſcience, yet I am perſuaded that there are Miſapprehenſions and Miſtakes, which, if rectified, would make an Alteration in their Opinions; that too great Streſs is laid upon ſome Things, that do not deſerve it; and too little upon others, that are of much greater Moment. I ſay this, with Reverence of them that are ſo much my Superiors, not taking upon

upon me to judge what the Reasons of their Dissatisfaction may be; but for those of my own Rank, whom I am more conversant with, I may pretend to know most of their Reasons; and as far as I can recollect, all their Doubts and Dissatisfactions may be reduced into a very narrow Compass.

Your Lordship required me to contract my Thoughts into as small a Discourse as I could; I will not forget your Lordship's Command, I think that all may be reduced to these two Points, one is, the *Scruple* concerning the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy taken to King *James* the Second; and the *other*, about the new Oaths to their *present Majesties*, required of all Persons who sit in Parliament, or are in any Office Civil or Military, or in ecclesiastical Preferments. Now if I could prove, that the Oaths to King *James* have ceased to oblige us, and that the new Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary* may be lawfully taken; I presume that this will be allowed sufficient to remove the Scruples, and will give satisfaction to such as will do me the Right not to carp at, or be angry at any single Reason, but to consider them all together.

In relation to Oaths in general, I need not spend much time to enquire how they may cease to oblige those who have taken them; that they cease to bind, when the Government of that Person to whom they were taken is at an end, I think nobody will deny. This is all I will desire to be granted me concerning the Oaths to King *James*.

And in relation to Government, that may be said to cease several ways; as when the Person entrusted with it dies; or when he will govern no longer, and so withdraws himself from it voluntarily; or when he is conquered, and forced thereby to withdraw himself involuntarily, and can give no longer Protection to those who were his Liege Subjects.

These are the chief Instances, whereby the Government of any particular Person may cease.

There is no Doubt concerning the first of them, but all our present Dispute will be about the rest; that is, whether any one, or all of them are applicable to the Government of King *James*; whether he would govern no longer, and whether he did withdraw himself from, and leave his Government voluntarily; or lastly, whether he was driven out of it by a fair and just Conquest.

I think, my Lord, that the Proof of any one of these three Instances were sufficient to satisfy all honest Men, that the Obligation of the Oaths to the late King *James* is superseded by it; and I believe such a Proof to be no difficult Task.

For to begin with the first of them, the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were taken to King *James* as King, and oblige no further nor longer than he continued to be King, that is, to govern as King of *England:* Now that the late King ceased to govern as King of *England* a good while before the Prince of *Orange* either landed here, or, I believe thought of coming hither, may I think be made plain by these following Considerations.

I need not examine curiously here, my Lord, into the Nature of Government, and the Diversities of it; my Business only is to have it agreed what sort of Government our *English* one is.

That

That it is a mixt ſort of Government, is plain from our Conſtitution, whereby every one of the three Eſtates in Parliament, are neceſſary to the making any Laws whatever for the Nation, as well as the King's *Le Roy le veult.*

It is the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that make Laws; and not the King alone, or the Lords alone, or the Commons alone, nor the King himſelf with any one or two of the States of Parliament.

And as the King cannot here make Laws alone for the Nation, ſo he is according to our Conſtitution, obliged by a moſt ſolemn Oath and Promiſe, at his Coronation, to govern according to the Laws made by lawful Authority. This I am aſſured is the Eſſence of a King of *England*, that he is one ſetting upon the Throne, and governing, not by his own Will, or his own Edicts, but by the known Laws of the Land.

Theſe being, my Lord, the two main Hinges of our Government, that all the Laws of the People of *England* can be governed by are made in Parliament, and that the Government itſelf be adminiſtered according to theſe Laws; if either the King alone, or any one or both of the Houſes of Parliament, take upon them to make Laws, the one Hinge is broken off; and if the Government itſelf be not adminiſtered, that is, if the King do not govern according to the Laws, the other Hinge is broken off alſo, and then the Conſtitution is at an end, and our legal Government does ceaſe, whatever new, or better one be pretended to be ſet over us inſtead of it.

Having premiſed this State of our Government and Conſtitution, I think it will not be denied me, that wherever there has been a direct Contravention to either of theſe fundamental Supports of our Government, it hath cauſed a Subverſion of the Government itſelf.

I muſt now apply what I can of this to the late King, and ſee whether one or both of thoſe fundamental Supports of our *Engliſh* Government, were not ſorely ſhook or ſubverted by him.

As to the Firſt, that all the Laws the People of *England* are governed with, be made in Parliament, it is as plain as the Sun at Noon-day, that this was ſubverted by the late King: Notwithſtanding, at his firſt taking his Chair at the Council-board, upon his Brother's Death, he declared he would govern by Law, and that the Laws of the Land had made the King as great as he deſired to be; yet he did certainly change his Mind within leſs than ſix Months, and ſet up for an arbitary Power over the Laws, by diſpenſing with them.

Now that diſpenſing with the Laws of the Land, is to all Intents and Purpoſes, the making of Laws by his own Authority, without the Concurrence of Parliament, is what your Lordſhip heard ſo learnedly and ſo clearly proved at the *Seven Biſhops* Tryal by your Council, and what may be ſhewn in a very few Words. I will inſtance only in the Recuſants, who were not only made uncapable by the Laws of the Realm of Civil and Military Commands, but of keeping their Conventicles here? This was the Recuſants Condition by the Laws, and they could not be delivered out of this Condition, but by a Law which ſhould annul the former Laws againſt them, and make them as capable of Places of Truſt, as any of the Members of the Church of *England:* Now did not the late King by his diſpenſing Power and his ſole Authority make ſuch a

Law for them? Did he not annul all the Laws in Force againſt them, and qualify the Recuſants, and put them into Places of Truſt? What could any Law, made by the true legiſlative Authority, a King with his Parliament, have done more for them, than the King himſelf, without a Parliament's Concurrence, did?

I think my Lord, this Inſtance ſufficient to ſhew that the diſpenſing Power which King *James* uſed, was to all Intents and Purpoſes a legiſlative Power; ſince, as I have proved it, no Law could have done more for any Perſons aggrieved than this Power; and therefore that this was a direct Subverſion of our Government, the chief Fundamental of which was, that the Laws ſhould be made by the King and Parliament. And if our Conſtitution was ſubverted, I cannot ſee how his legal kingly Power was not ſubverted with it, nor that our Oaths to him were not at an end, when the Conſtitution we ſwore to was diſſolved, and he had of himſelf diveſted himſelf of, and laid aſide that Authority, which we only ſwore to ſubmit to and defend.

If your Lordſhip ſhould aſk me when this Diſſolution of Government happened, I think I ſhould be able to fix the Time: Your Lordſhip does remember that upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, the late King gave Commiſſions to ſeveral Popiſh Officers; this was the Forerunner of it: But when upon the ſitting down of the Parliament in *October*, afterwards, he not only in his Speech told his Parliament, that he had done it, but that he was reſolved to ſtand by it, and thereupon diſmiſt his Parliament for their oppoſition to it, he finiſh'd his Deſign and our Ruin; and from that Moment, I look upon the *Engliſh* Conſtitution to be altered, and muſt lay my Finger upon this as the compleat Subverſion of our legal Government.

I know ſome will be offended at my urging this Practice of a diſpenſing Power ſo far as to make it a Subverſion of our Government, and will not endure to hear, that a King of *England* can forfeit or fall from his Authority; I am very ready, my Lord to beg theſe Gentlemen's Pardon, if they would but allow me one ſatisfactory Argument to prove, that a diſpenſing Power is not of that fatal Conſequence to the legal Power of Legiſlature *, that I have ſuppoſed it to be: but till that is proved to me, I think I ſhould deſerve very great blame, if I did not make the diſpenſing Power, to be what in reality it is, a Subverſion of our Conſtitution.

And for a Forfeiture, I would only know, why ſuch a thing muſt be looked upon as monſtrous, intolerable, nay, impoſſible in *England*? Suppoſe the late King (beſides his letting Papiſts into all Places of Truſt, againſt the plaineſt and the ſevereſt Laws, and his ſubverting all the Laws made in Defence of the Church and Government of *England*, by laying them aſide for the Diſſenters ſakes) had been pleaſed to impoſe what Taxes he pleaſed upon his Subjects, and had levyed them either by his own Army, or by Dragoons borrowed from *France*, and had for the Future annulled all the Laws made in Defence of the Church of *England*, or the Rights and Properties of the Subject; and had laid every other Law aſide by his Royal Edicts, *which all Men ſhould obey without reſerve*, as much as he had done thoſe made for the Security of the Church of *England*, by his Declaration; I would only know by what Name to call ſuch Practices,

* *Non eſt Rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, & non Lex.* Bracton.

Practices, and whether our Business in such a case is only with Patience to suffer a King wholly to alter the Frame of the Government, and to make Bond-slaves of those who were his Freeborn-Subjects, born to the Protection and Priviledges of Laws.

This is, my Lord, no wild or unreasonable Supposition, I am afraid that we should have been able, had the late King continued but a Year or two longer upon the Throne, not to have been put to the Trouble of making these Supposals, but to have instanced in them, as we now do in the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

One would think that such Practices, which seem to be the plainest Instances of the Subversion of a Government, should be so most especially of his Share in it, who was guilty of them; and he that will not allow any Forfeiture or Destruction of a King's Share in a Government by such a Subversion of it, will find it hard to maintain that a Government subsists though it be destroyed, and that a King hath not destroyed his own Power, though he hath quite ruined that Government in which and by which he enjoyed it.

My Lord, I am not willing to aggravate the Faults of any, nor to make the Consequences of them look more ghastly than they are of themselves; much less would I be guilty of such a thing towards crowned Heads: However, I am not able to alter the Appearance of this, that the publick Safety and Happiness can never be secured in any Constitution whatever, and that the Ends of Government are quite lost, if that Person who subverts any particular Government, do not at the very same time destroy or forfeit, let Men call it what they please, his own Share in it.

To this Argument from the *dispensing Power*, it may be answer'd, that the Practice of it, as to the Instances which I have been able to mention, does not amount to a Subversion of our Government, if those Laws were unjust and void in themselves, which the King dispensed with. As for the Laws about Offices Civil and Military, from which Papists were excluded, They say the *Observator* has proved it often enough, that they were null and void, since no Laws can preclude a King from making use of his Subjects. And for all the Laws against Conventicles, the Author of a Paper, published very lately, and licensed too, called, *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters represented and argued, Pag.* 2. tells us very roundly, that they are void also, and that the Dissenters *must be excused if they have in their Practice expressed less Reverence for Laws made by no Authority received either from God or Man:* And complains, That they *are injuriously reflected on, when it is imputed to them, that they have, by the Use of their Liberty, acknowledged an illegal dispensing Power. We have*, says he, *done no other thing herein, than we did when no Dispensation was given or pretended, in Conscience of Duty to him that gave us Breath. Nor did therefore practise otherwise, because we thought those Laws dispensed with*, but because we thought them not Laws.

So that the Result is, that the late King ought not to be accused of subverting the Government, by setting aside those Laws which were void of themselves.

But I need not trouble your Lordship with any Answer to such an Objection, since I know your Lordship, nor any of those for whose Sakes I write this,

do not believe a Word of what these two do so dogmatically, and yet most unjustly assert. I suppose the *Observator* will not be fond of standing by his Assertions; and that the Author of the *Dissenters Case*, ought to have shewn some more Manners, than to cast such saucy and bold Slanders upon our Parliaments, while one is actually sitting. It is sufficient for my Vindication, that the present Parliament believes those Laws which the late King dispensed with, not only to be true, but necessary Laws, whatever these two Gentlemen with so much Confidence have said to the contrary.

I will pass now to the other Fundamental of our Constitution, which is, that the Government be administered according to the Laws of the Land. It is equally evident, that this Fundamental was subverted by the late King, as well as the former; for so far was he from governing according to Law, that his whole Government, from the Time of his claiming his dispensing Power, seems to be a downright Opposition to the Laws. He was pleased to make Privy Counsellors against Law, Judges against Law, Sheriffs against Law, Lord-Lieutenants and their Deputies against Law, and Justices against Law; to have Men hanged up for deserting in Time of Peace against Law; to have Popish Chappels, Jesuits Schools, and the Conventicles opened against Law: In a word, his Resolution, as well as his Practice, did shew, that the Laws were not intended to be made the Rule of his Government. This is the true State of King *James*'s Government, and this is inconsistent with that Essential of our Constitution, of governing according to Law.

Now if, my Lord, it be the Essence and the Definition of the King in our Government, that he is one who governs the People committed to his Charge according to Law, how can we reckon in this Rank the late King from the Time he was so resolutely set upon governing against Law? In our Constitution, he that does not govern by Law, does not govern at all; and he that does not, nor will not govern at all, can not nor will not be King; but ceases to be such from the Time he makes his own Will, or his evil Counsellors Advices, the Rule of his Government, and not the Laws.

I had almost forgot another Instance of the late King's dispensing Power, and that was his laying aside those Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which yet are the Grounds of most Men's Scruples. How can this be looked upon otherwise, than as a Condemnation of the Oaths as unlawful; and if they were so, we have the late King's Judgment also against the Obligation of these two Oaths; for if he to whom the Oaths were taken, thought them unlawful, then they are certainly fallen as to him. This is as if a Person who had a Bond from another, which he looked upon as unjust, should give it him up, and consent to the cancelling of it.

So that, my Lord, if the breaking *one* of our Fundamentals, by not governing according to Law, do not make such a Person cease being King, yet that Breach of the *other*, the assuming a Legislative Power, which quite alters and tears up the whole Frame of our Constitution, cannot do less than shake his Right to the Government, who was so solicitous to destroy it*. He that will

* See the Laws of King *Edward* the Confessor, §. 17. *Rex autem ad hoc est Constitutus, ut Regnum Terrenum & Populum Domini——& regat, & ab Injuriosis defendat,——quod nisi fecerit, nec Nomen Regis in eo constabit.*

will not govern as King of *England*, will not govern at all; and if he continue in this Humour, as the late King did, from the Time of assuming his arbitrary dispensing Power, how can he be longer King? And if he ceased to be King, by his leaving off to govern, the Oaths to him were as much at an End, as if he had ceased at the same Time to live. And as the Oaths could certainly have no further Obligation to him, when he had divested himself of his kingly Power, by destroying that very Government, whereby and in which he was King, so did the *Declaration about taking up Arms upon no Pretence against the King* fall with them. That Declaration every one will grant me, was made for the Preservation of the Government, which the late King took such indefatigable Care to destroy.

That Declaration was never intended for the Destruction and Ruin of our Government; and yet it must be the Ruin of the Government, if it puts it into a King's Hands, to turn Tyrant without Controul, and to subvert our legal Constitution and undo a Nation without gainsaying: And therefore that Declaration was intended for the Security of, and was to be made to, a King governing by Law, and therefore did not concern the late King from the Hour he set up his own Will against the Laws, and his own Power against that of the whole Kingdom in Parliament.

This, my Lord, is the first Case, whereby a King ceases to govern, or to be a King, for they are synonymous. I think by the Instances I have produced, and the Arguments I have offered, it may reasonably appear, that the late King had subverted our Government, and destroyed his own Share of enjoying the kingly Authority in it, and thereby ceased to be King: And if once he ceased to be such, no Body will deny that the Obligation of all Oaths to him as King, did expire at the same time.

But since, my Lord, we have commonly received a very transcendant Notion of our Monarchy, which will not allow the destructive Practices I have now mentioned, nor worse than these, to make a Forfeiture of the kingly Power here, or to be the Subversion of our Monarch's Rights, whatever they be of the People's, I shall wave the insisting further upon this Head.

Let it then be supposed, for that Opinion's Sake, that the King does not destroy his own Right, or the Exercise of his Royal Authority, though he does destroy our Constitution by ruling directly against the Laws, and making Laws by his own Power. The next Enquiry is, Whether a King can lay down his Government, and divest himself of all Authority, and whether King *James* did not voluntarily leave his Government by withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, and making no Provision for the Publick.

No Body will dispute with me, that the King cannot lay down his Government: The Case of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and, which comes nearer our own Concern, that of the Queen *Christiana* of *Sweden*, are Instances of it beyond Opposition. And I think it would be as little disputed, that the late King *James* did by a voluntary withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom recede as fully from his Government, if these few Things were fairly considered.

First, That he was at that time of withdrawing himself actually upon a Treaty with the Prince of *Orange*, and had three Lords Commissioners with him, who gave the King such an Account of their Negociation, in a Letter brought to him the very Night he withdrew, that he himself could not but

give

give this just Character of the Prince's Proposals, as to say of them, that they were fairer than he could or did expect; so that the King had no reason then to be afraid of his Person, but might have continued with Security in his Palace, and taken care of the Government, and called such a Parliament as both himself and the Prince desired, which might have quietly and effectually settled this Nation, and prevented all ill Consequences to his Person or to his Affairs.

Secondly, That it was the Design of the Popish Party to persuade him to withdraw himself; their End in it being to put us thereby into Confusion. This they did not boggle to speak out; the Lord *Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no Secret of it, but said it more than once, that the King would withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, above a Fortnight before he did it. Nor were these two the only Persons in this Secret, and of this Opinion. In the Letter that was sent down to the King, while he was at *Salisbury* with his Army, and can be produced, he was told, that it was the unanimous Advice of all the Catholics here at *London*, that he should come back from thence, and withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, and leave us in Confusion, assuring him, that within two Years or less we should be in such Confusions, that he might return, and *have his Ends of us*, as their Phrase was. Now if the King was pleased to take such desperate Counsellors Advice, and thereupon to withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, and command his Army to be let loose upon the People by disbanding them at such a Juncture, I can see nothing herein to make his going away involuntary.

If then his withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom was done out of Design and willingly, he did as effectually divest himself *pro Tempore* of the Government, as if he had left a formal Resignation of the Kingdom behind him, attested by all his Privy Counsellors Hands; and our Allegiance to him did fall with it, and our Oaths did no more oblige now, than the Oaths taken to *Christiana* Queen of *Sweden* did, when she resigned and went to *Rome*; since in both Cases the Government of these two Princes was equally at an End; but our Condition the worse of the two, since Queen *Christiana* left the Government to her Kinsman, but our King left us to the Rabble, and his disbanded Army.

There is one Objection, my Lord, which I have often heard made against this, that though the late King, out of a groundless Fear, or for any other Reason or Design whatsoever, did voluntarily withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, yet this ought not to be accounted a compleat Cession or Derelict on of the Government, unless it could be proved withal, that there was not *Animus revertendi*, that he never intended to return to us more.

But this Objection is of no weight in the Case of a Kingdom. For, whether the King intended to return back any more, or no, signifies nothing herein; since the withdrawing himself, and making no manner of Provision for the Government and Safety of the Nation, did actually put an End to his Government, at least for that time; and our Constitution can no more than any other Government in the World be left in such a Condition, or can be said to subsist in such a Case; and it is against all the Sense and Reason of Mankind, to think that any Nation either will or ought to continue without a Settlement till the Governor, who hath left it unawares and in Confusion, will

will be pleased to think of returning. Does any one believe, that if the late King (when he withdrew) intended not to return these ten Years, that we of this Nation should have continued in the Anarchy he left us, and have no Government till he would come back? Among all our Discontents, I hope none can be found so weak to imagine this; and the same Reason I am sure holds as fully against his leaving us one Month as ten Years: So that, whether the late King intended to return or no, when he went away, he ceased to govern us; and the very same Moment he was pleased to leave off governing, by withdrawing himself, he cancelled the Obligation of all Oaths and Allegiance to him as King.

But, beyond all this, I can grant, my Lord, that the late King, from the very Time of his withdrawing, nay, from the very Minute of resolving to do it, had *Animum revertendi*, did intend to return to us. I do believe, that those Papists, which advised him to withdraw, did design that he should return; and that he himself did concur in both Resolutions. But what was he to return for? Was it not *to have his Ends of us?* What those Ends are, I suppose no Protestant needs be told; none of those who make this Objection, can doubt of it since his late coming to *Ireland*. Should we have waited then till the late King could return with his borrowed Forces from *France*, to destroy our Protestant established Religion, and our Civil Constitution, because he had *Animum revertendi*; and therefore not have settled and provided for the Nation's Safety? Was the King's Government not at an End, though he had withdrawn himself from us, and left no Provision, because he was resolved to come back to destroy our Religion, and to be revenged of the Nation? My Lord, I think such an *Animus revertendi*, to be so far from making the Dereliction lame and void, that it is as good a Proof of making the late King's Action a compleat Dereliction, as if he had left it attested under his Hand and Great Seal, that he would never return to us, or this Government more.

For my own Part, I am persuaded, that the late King withdrew himself voluntarily, and by the Advice of Popish Counsels out of this Kingdom; I am persuaded that he went off with an *Animus revertendi*; and I am as fully persuaded, that the Intention of his returning was to ruin our Properties and Laws, and to destroy our Reformed Religion, or, to put it into the Popish Dialect, *to have his Ends of us:* From the first of these, to wit, his withdrawing voluntarily, I am satisfied that the late King *James*'s Government and our Allegiance to him are fallen; and the last of them, the Intention of his Return, will, I hope satisfy all others as much as it has done me, that we have no tempting Reasons either to wait for the late King's Return, or to accept of his Government, if he should get back.

I must now, my Lord, go on to another Consideration, for there are some who are little satisfied, notwithstanding all the Evidence that can be offered, about the King's voluntary withdrawing himself, as they were at his Misgovernment, being urged as the Destruction of his Royal Dignity; and though these Gentlemen have not agreed with me hitherto, yet in this last Consideration they must concur with me; and that is, that the late King was conquered by the Prince of *Orange*, and driven away involuntarily at least: So that, if by this Conquest he was put out of the Condition of governing and protecting

us, we were as much deprived of the Liberty of paying Obedience to him, who was now driven from us.

The Buſineſs to be examined here, is, what Sort of a Conqueſt this was; and whether it was a juſt one, ſuch a one as by reaſon of which the People of *England* might lawfully ſubmit to the Conqueror of their King.

To begin with the Expedition of his (then) Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, there appears to be all the Reaſons in it that could juſtify ſuch an Invaſion, or make a Conqueſt juſt and good. The Prince was no Subject of *England*, but a ſovereign Prince, who made this Deſcent into our Nation againſt our late King in Defence of his own Rights as well as of ours; and therefore his Action could upon no account be ſtiled a Rebellion.

But the Cauſe of his Expedition is above all other Things to be enquired after, for that muſt be the chief thing that can juſtify the Revolution here, and ought to be highly reaſonable, and ſuch as can give Satisfaction to all wiſe and indifferent Men; ſince though the Prince of *Orange* were never ſo much a ſovereign Prince, yet if he had not a very juſtifiable Reaſon of coming hither with an Army, his Expedition had been altogether a moſt unaccountable Action, and his Conqueſt unjuſt.

Now, to give all the Satisfaction requiſite to this juſteſt Scruple, the Prince's Reaſons for coming hither in that manner, appear to be as juſt and as good, as his Succeſs was great; and if ever one Prince's Invaſion of another Prince's Kingdom were to be juſtified, the Prince of *Orange*'s was. For, to inſtance in one or two of theſe Reaſons, he himſelf, as well as his Princeſs, had moſt undoubted Right to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and the Dominions belonging to it, after the Death of the late King *James*. This Right was notoriouſly ſet aſide, or made wholly uſeleſs to them, by the Arts and Counſels of thoſe Papiſts who were about the King, and did influence him. The Impoſture of a pretended Prince of *Wales* was thought of and pitched upon as the moſt effectual Bar to either of their Titles, and did ſet them as well as her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* aſide, and deprived all three together of their Rights of Succeſſion, and provide effectually againſt a Proteſtant Succeſſor, the only Perſon the People then in Power at Court were afraid of.

But, to wave the Inſtance of the ſetting up a pretended Prince of *Wales*, betwixt theſe Proteſtant Princes and their Right of Succeſſion, becauſe the Proof of that Impoſture has not been laid open, as it might have been to the World, and therefore cannot ſo ſtrictly be inſiſted upon; though moſt People, even thoſe who are diſſatisfied about the preſent Settlement, are ſatisfied of the Impoſture: The Right of Succeſſion, which was in the two Royal Princeſſes, and the Prince of *Orange*, was made wholly uſeleſs to them, by the late King's putting the Government of Part of the Dominions of the Crown of *England* into ſuch Hands as would not deliver them up, or ſubmit to any Proteſtant Succeſſor. *Ireland* is an evident Proof of this, where all Offices Civil and Military, contrary to the Laws of the Land, were put into Popiſh Hands, and ſuch a bigotted *Iriſh* Papiſt was made their Governor, as that whatever Rogueries or Violences the Papiſts ſhould be guilty of towards the *Britiſh* Proteſtants among them, they ſhould never need to fear being called to account, being certain

certain that his own Management of the Government as well as his Religion would keep him from ever delivering up *Ireland* to any Proteſtant, while he had the Sword in his Hands, and ſuch a thoroughly Popiſh Army at his Command.

Now in this caſe, when *Ireland* was wholly given up into ſuch Hands, and *Scotland* was almoſt in the ſame Condition, and *England* ready to be put into the ſame, it was high Time for the Prince of *Orange* to aſſert his own and his Princeſs's Right; and it was moſt reaſonable for him by all juſtifiable Ways and Means to prevent thier being debarred their Right of Inheritance of theſe Kingdoms, by bringing the late King to reaſonable Terms, or by depriving him of the Power of doing them or their Right any further Miſchief herein.

This therefore, together with the Prince's Concern for our Religion and our Laws, which were violated in ſo high a degree by the late King, and with which his own Right of Succeſſion was interwoven, was a moſt juſt Reaſon for the Prince of *Orange*'s coming with an armed Force, and if the King would rather put things to the Hazard of Battles, than the Deciſion of a free and legal Parliament, nobody elſe could help it; and if his Army would neither fight for, nor ſtand by him, but ſuffer him to be driven out of his Dominions, it was becauſe he had taken ſufficient Care to let all of them, as well as the reſt of the Nation, know how very unjuſt the War would be on his Part, and how very unreaſonable it would be for them, who were the greateſt Part of them Proteſtants, to aſſiſt him in depriving his Children of the hereditary Rights of Succeſſion, and ruining the Church of *England*, and the happy Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Government. Such Conſiderations as theſe made the late King's Army ſo uſeleſs to him, and the Prince's Victory ſo eaſy to him, whoſe Buſineſs was not to conquer here, but to do himſelf and his Princeſs Right, and to preſerve our Government in Church and State; which if he had tamely look'd on, and ſuffered to be deſtroyed, his own Right would moſt infallibly have ſunk with them, being ſo entirely linked with them.

Here ſome will be ready to call upon me, and tell me that if the Prince was a Conqueror, then all our Rights and our Poſſeſſions are in his Hands, and at his Diſpoſal; and that our Condition is far from being mended, ſince we are by this Conqueſt in that State which the late King was labouring to bring us to, ſubjected abſolutely in our Perſons and Fortunes to the arbitrary Will of a Conqueror. But it is very eaſy to anſwer this fearful Suggeſtion by ſhewing them, that the King alone was conquered and not the Nation with him. The Prince in his Declaration had aſſured the Nation, that his only Deſign of appearing in Arms here, was to ſecure his own and their Rights, and he did thereupon conjure them to aſſiſt him in ſo good and ſo juſt a Deſign; which the Nation did, either by not aiding the King, or by riſing up in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom for him: So that here was a true Contract betwixt the Prince of *Orange* and the Nation, which hath been faithfully obſerved, the Rights of the Nation being entirely preſerved to them, and not one of them invaded, nor the leaſt Pretence to a Conqueſt over the Nation made by him. Thus, my Lord we ſee our Rights are ſecure, notwithſtanding the late King loſt his, by bringing upon himſelf the Neceſſity of being driven out of his Dominions

and conquered, rather than he would do the Prince and the Nation that Right, which he was obliged to by the Laws and by his Coronation-Oath.

Now ſince the late King did loſe his Kingdom by theſe Means, and upon theſe Accounts, and was put out of the Capacity of either governing or protecting thoſe who were his Subjects, it is become as impoſſible for us to perform Allegiance to him, as it is for him to govern us; and ſince the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, by reaſon of this Conqueſt of the King, and by Vertue partly of their own hereditary Right, and partly of the Conſent of the Nation aſſembled in Convention, are in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and do protect and govern the Nation according to the Laws of the Realm, and have taken the Coronation-Oath, that they will always continue to do ſo; the only Queſtion is, Whether our Allegiance in ſuch a Caſe is not transferred from the late King, who was juſtly conquered, who does not govern us, and can no further protect us, unto thoſe Perſons who are now inveſted with regal Power, and in Poſſeſſion of the Government, and do protect the Nation.

The Reſolution of this Caſe would have been very readily made by any of us, had Providence placed us upon the Continent, in thoſe Countries which have lately been, and now are like to be, the Seat of War, and not in an Iſland ſo happily ſecured from the ſudden Deſcent of Enemies. Had we lived in *Germany* or *Flanders* for Example, we ſhould have learned how far Allegiance is neceſſary, and when it may be transferred from the Prince conquered to the Conqueror. No prudent Man thinks the People of any Town in *Flanders* perjured, becauſe, notwithſtanding their former Oaths to their hereditary Prince the King of *Spain*, the Fortune of War neceſſitates them to take new Oaths of Allegiance to a Conqueror. And I think Men ought to make the very ſame Judgment of Things here, that ſince the Government of King *James* is at an End, the Oaths to him have no further Force; and that ſince he was fairly conquered by that Prince, whom he was endeavouring to deprive of his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, and is by that altogether incapacitated from governing and protecting us, our Allegiance either wholly ceaſes, or is ſuperſeded as to him, and we may in our Circumſtances give Security to the Government, and pay Allegiance for that Protection we enjoy from it.

This, my Lord, is agreeable to the Laws and Practice of all Countries, to the Laws of our own Nation, to Reaſon, and, which is more, unto Scripture itſelf. I need not trouble your Lordſhip much with ſhewing its Agreement with the Laws of Nations, ſince almoſt every Day's Practice doth give Inſtances of it; whereby People and Countries that were under their own ſovereign Prince, and had taken Oaths of Fealty to him, are, by the Fortune of War, made another Prince's Subjects, and may lawfully, according to the Law of Nations, transfer their Allegiance to their new Lord. The Reaſon of all this is founded upon the Nature and End of Government itſelf, upon that mutual Obligation which is ſuppoſed to be betwixt a Prince and his People, who, upon his Power and his Promiſe of protecting them in their Lives and in their Properties, do engage to perform Allegiance, and to bear Faith to him: Now this Stipulation does naturally fall, when ſuch a Prince is no longer able or no longer willing to protect them; and the ſame Reaſon which obliged them to pay their Allegiance to that Prince, does direct them now to transfer it from him,

who

who is by the Fortune of War disabled from affording Protection, to the Conqueror, who will engage to protect them, and does preserve them in their Persons and their Estates and in all their ancient legal Securities.

And as this cannot be denied to be the Practice and the Law of all Countries abroad, so the Laws and Customs of our own Kingdom do not only countenance such a transferring of Allegiance to a Conqueror, but do indemnify the paying Allegiance to a meer King *de facto* who may be an Usurper, and the defending him in his Government: Thus in the Statute made the Eleventh Year of *Henry* VII. Chap. 1. it is declared *to be against all Laws, Reason, and good Conscience, that Subjects going with their Sovereign Lord in Wars, attending upon him in his Person, or being in other Places by his Commandment within the Land or without, any thing should lose or forfeit for doing their Duty and Service of Allegiance; and it is enacted by the King, by the Advice and Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in Parliament assembled, that from henceforth no manner of Person or Persons whatsoever he or they be, that attend upon the King, and Sovereign Lord of this Land* for the time being, *in his Person, and do him true and faithful Service of Allegiance in the same, or be in other Places by his Command in his Wars within this Land or without: That for the said Deed, and true* Duty of Allegiance, *he or they be in no wise convict or attaint of High-Treason, nor of other Offences for that cause*, by Act of Parliament, or otherwise, by any Process of Law, *whereby he, or any of them shall lose or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Possessions, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, or any other thing: But to be for that Deed or Service utterly discharged of any Vexation, Trouble or Loss.*

This Law doth authorise any Subject to pay his Allegiance to the King in being; and does secure him against all Penalties for the same; and therefore reaches our Case, where there is not a bare Possession, but all the Right that Conquest can give.

And in the famous Act of Parliament concerning Treasons, the 25th of *Edward* III. my Lord *Coke* says *, that by the King, against whom Treason is committed in that Statute, is meant the King in Possession of the Throne, whatever his Right to it be. These, my Lord, are his own Words, *This Act is to be understood of a King in Possession of the Crown and Kingdom: For if there be a King regnant in Possession, although he be* Rex de facto & non Rex de jure, *yet is he* Seignior le Roy *within the Purview of this Statute. And the other that hath Right and is out of Possession is not within this Act. Nay, if Treason be committed against a King* de facto & non de jure, *and after the King* de jure *cometh to the Crown, he shall punish the Treason done to the King* de facto: *And a Pardon granted by a King* de jure, *that is not also* de facto, *is void.*

This is sufficient to shew the Sense of our Laws in this case, and for its being agreeable to Reason to transfer our Allegiance in the Circumstances mentioned, I have already in part proved this, and I think it may be fairly deduced further from the Writings of that great and excellent Casuist Bishop *Sanderson*, whom all will allow to be a very competent Judge of the Dictates of Reason. Whoever will read his Case of the Engagement, may find a great deal to this Purpose, but I intend only to insist on what he hath delivered in his *Fifth Prælection* con-

 cerning

* *Coke's Institutes*, Part III. Chap. 1. of High-Treason.

cerning *the Obligation of Conscience*, where he disputes for, and gives several Reasons for the paying obedience to the Laws, and submitting to the Government even of an unlawful Usurper; and he puts this very case, that *where any one, having driven away by Violence the lawful Prince and true Heir of the Kingdom, or having oppress him so far as that he is unable to stand up for his own Right, doth, while the other is still living, take the Government upon him, and act as King, when he is in reality rather an Usurper than a King, and it is past doubt that downright Injury is done* [*to the oppressed Prince*]. *If it be asked,* (says he) *what I think a good Subject should do in this case, who hath taken an Oath of Fealty to his lawful Prince, or if he have not taken such an Oath, yet is as much obliged to the Prince, as if he had sworn it; My opinion is, that it is not only lawful for a good Subject to pay obedience to the Laws made by him that has the Supreme Power only* de facto, *and not* de jure, *and to do what other things are commanded by him, (so that nothing base or unjust be commanded) but that it is necessary oftentimes for him to do these things, and that he should be wanting to his own Duty if he did not* *.

What I would gather from this Case, put by the Great Bishop, is, that if such Obedience be lawful, and very often necessary to one who is a meer Usurper by unlawful Violence, the least he would have determined in our Circumstances must have been, that Obedience might lawfully be paid to our present King and Queen, who come to the Throne either by its being left empty by the last King, or by a lawful and just Conquest. And what the Bishop has afterwards urged in the Case of his violent Usurper, that, notwithstanding the Obedience to him, *the Fealty due to the lawful Prince must be preserved inviolate, and nothing done in prejudice of his Right*, can have no Place here; since the late King fell perfectly from all Sovereignty here by deserting his Government, and the Prince of *Orange* had a most just cause of War against him, and made as plain a Conquest over him, neither of which can be brought within the Bishop's Case: And therefore, if Subjects may, (to keep to the Bishop's Reasons upon the Case) for their own sakes, for the Preservation of their Lives and Estates, and for the Protection they receive under those who have possession of the Government, and for the Publick-sake, for the Trade and Commerce of the Nation upon which the Publick must subsist, live quietly under, and pay Obedience to an usurped Power; every one of these Reasons is more forcible upon us to pay our Obedience to their present Majesties, who have right of just Conquest, right of lawful Succession, and the Consent and Recognition of the Nation in Convention on their side.

And as Reason has directed in such circumstances to transfer Obedience to the Conqueror, under whom we can live safe and in Quietness, so does the Scripture itself the best Rule we can desire in our Case. As the scripture commands, under the greatest Penalties, Subjection to the supreme Power, so it does not put Men upon the Rack about the Right of Governors, or upon examining who has or who has not the true Right to a Crown; but directs Obedience to the Powers in being, to those who are in Possession of the supreme Power, how small soever their Claim to it may be. This I can make evident, my Lord,

* *Prælectio quinta de Oblig. Conscientiæ.* XVI. *Pag.* 176.

Lord, from the Inſtances of ſome in the Old Teſtament, and of thoſe to whom our Lord *Jeſus* himſelf and his Apoſtles did ſo ſtrictly command Obedience in the New.

Upon the Death of *Joſiah* King of *Judah*, the People of *Judah* took *Jehoahaz*, who was the fourth and youngeſt Son of *Joſiah*, and anointed him, [which was done by the Chief Prieſt] and made him King in his Father's ſtead, ſetting aſide the Right of his three elder Brothers, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 30. Now that *Jehoahaz* was *Shallum* no one will doubt, that will compare this Place out of the 2*d* Book of *Kings* with *Jeremiah* xxii. *Ver.* 11. and that *Shallum* was the youngeſt Son of four he can no more doubt that will conſult 1 *Chron.* iii. 15. In this Inſtance we do not find the Scripture to condemn the People's paying Allegiance to this Prince thus ſet up; but on the contrary, God calls upon them by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, (*Jeremiah* xxii. 10, 11, 12.) to *weep ſore for him that goeth away*, who was to return no more nor ſee his native Country, that is to lament for their King *Shallum* or *Jehoahaz*, who was carried by *Pharaoh Nechoh* into *Egypt*, and was to die there.

After the Diſpoſition of *Shallum*, *Pharaoh Nechoh*, who was his Conqueror, made *Eliakim* King, whom he called by the Name of *Jehoiakim*, though he was but the ſecond Brother: And no notice is taken of the eldeſt Brother *Johanan*, who, if he was then living, was certainly the true Heir to that Crown. This *Jehoiakim* reigned eleven Years, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 36. in the Third whereof he was conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel*, *Daniel* i. 1. who afterwards took him away, and ſet up his Son *Jehoiachin* or *Jeconia* or *Conia* in his ſtead. But he continued on the Throne but three Months, for *Nebuchadnezzar* came again and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, to whom *Jehoiachin* ſurrendered himſelf, and was by him carried into Captivity. Then *Nebuchadnezzar* made his Uncle *Zedekiah* King, who was the third of thoſe four Brothers, 1 *Chronicles* iii. 16. and he reigned near eleven Years as King of *Judah*, while the eldeſt Brother *Johanan* was living, and the ſecond Brother perhaps *Jehoiakim* in the *Babylonian*'s hands; without all doubt, if *Jehoiakim* was dead, his Son *Jehoiachin* the right Heir and true King was living, for we find him releaſed out of Priſon after 37 Years, 2 *Kings* xxv. 27. during all which time we never find God complaining of the People's ſubmitting and paying Allegiance to this King *Zedekiah* that was ſet up by *Nebuchadnezzar*; but we meet with *Jeremiah*'s Lamentation taken up for this very King, whom he calls, *The Breath of our Noſtrils*, *the Anointed of the Lord*, (*Lamentations* iv. 20.) tho' he was made King, while the true King and Heir of that Crown was alive. Here we have a Subject made King, and ſet up againſt the true King by the Conqueror, whoſe power herein God did ſo far approve as to call *Zedekiah*'s Defection from his Fealty to *Nebuchadnezzar* *, (whoſe power over *Judah* was no more than what a Conqueſt, and an unjuſt one too, did give) a Rebellion, and to give him and all that belonged to him up to Deſtruction and Captivity for it. Whoever will reflect upon theſe Examples, will ſee how far the People were from being condemned, or diſcouraged from transferring their Allegiance to theſe four Kings: The Firſt of which *Jehoahaz*, was ſet up by the People againſt the right Line and before his three elder Brethren;

* 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 13.

Brethren; the second, *Jehoiakim*, was by a Conqueror made King before his elder Brother *Johanan*; the third, *Jehoiachin*, was set up against his own Father; and the fourth was of a Subject made a King, while the true King and rightful Heir was still in being.

There is another thing very observable here, and that is about the Oaths taken to Kings, who were such meerly by Conquest. It was the Manner of the Subjects of *Israel* and *Judah* to take Oaths of Obedience to their Kings, as one may very justly collect from that Passage in *Ecclesiastes* viii. 2. where the Preacher advises *to keep the King's Commandment, and that in Regard of the Oath of God*, that is, of the Oath of Obedience which the Subject had taken to the King. Now this Oath was sworn, not only to Kings of God's own Appointment, or to their Hereditary Successors, but to those who had no other Title or Right than that of Conquest, when such Conquerors required it of them, though their own Princes were still living. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Zedekiah* swear by God (2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 13. with *Ezekiel* xvii. 13.) to be faithful to him, while his own Prince *Jehoiachin* was yet alive; and *Zedekiah* took Authority from *Nebuchadnezzar* to reign as King under him, which he continued to do according to his Oath for some Years, but afterwards rebelled against the Conqueror. This Oath God did approve as lawful, and calls it *mine Oath*, (*Ezekiel* xvii. 19.) and held himself obliged to punish the Breach of it, as he should have done if *Zedekiah* had taken it to *Jehoiachin* himself, and had broke it, as he did the Oath in this Case. This is plain from *Ezekiel* xvii. 15, 16, 18, 19.

And for those Kings in the New Testament to whom Allegiance is so strictly commanded to be paid, it is most evident, that *Augustus*, and those after him, were direct Usurpers upon the People and Senate of *Rome*, having gained the supreme Power into their hands by Craft and Arts, and chiefly by the Assistance of the Soldiery, whose Right to dispose of the supreme Power over the People and Subjects of *Rome* I cannot hear that any Man does maintain: And this was more particularly plain in the Advancement of *Nero* to the Throne by the Soldiery, whom his Mother *Agrippina* had tampered with against *Britannicus* the last Emperor's Son; and yet this is the very Emperor to whom St. *Paul* * teacheth Obedience, under pain of Damnation, for whom he exhorts the Christians to put up Prayers and Supplications, that under him (who had no better Right to that Government than what I have just mentioned) they might lead quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty †.

Whoever, my Lord, will compare our present Case in *England*, with the Instances I have produced out of Scripture, cannot deny me, that Scripture does allow the transferring of Allegiance in the Case of Conquest from one Prince to another; some of the Instances do reach further, which shew the Command for, and the Practice of Obedience to, those who had meerly the Possession of the Government, but no manner of Right or Title to it.

And now, my Lord, I have dispatched the Consideration of all your Lordship's Commands, and of all I have been able to say in so narrow a Compass, and amidst so many other necessary Avocations, upon this Subject; and yet I cannot

* *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2.
† 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 2.

cannot conclude without examining a little their Reaſons and their Intentions, who are ſo little ſatisfied with ours, or with the preſent Settlement.

If the preſent Settlement of this Nation under their Majeſties does not give them ſatisfaction, and is ſuch as they cannot with a Conſcience ſubmit to; it muſt be becauſe they have ſworn Allegiance to another Perſon, to whom they believe it to be ſtill due, becauſe he is ſtill alive. If they find themſelves under ſuch an Obligation, then their Endeavours or at leaſt their Wiſhes ought to be, that the late King might be recalled to his Government; or that, if he be unfit for Government, a Regency might be ſettled by the Conſent of the Nation in Parliament, he ſtill retaining the Title of King. Theſe Methods are the only ones that either themſelves, or any one for them thinks can ſalve their Allegiance. But examine them ſingly and ſee whether they can.

If the late King ſhould be recalled, either it muſt be upon Terms and Conditions, or it muſt be without them. To recall him to his Government without Conditions, I never yet met, nor heard of one Proteſtant that was for it; but they all cry out, upon Terms, or not at all; upon Conditions, or we are all ruined in our Properties, and ruin our Religion. One Queſtion then I have to make to theſe Gentlemen, and it is, by what branch of their Oath of Allegiance they are impowered to make Conditions with the King; and which of the Laws is it, that gives the Subjects ſuch an Authority over the King as to offer them? They are abſolutely againſt recalling or receiving the late King back without Conditions. If ſo, then I will ſuppoſe that equitable Conditions were offered the late King: And I can ſuppoſe very eaſily, that he will not be ſo obliged; but requires to be admitted into the Poſſeſſion of his Crown without any other Terms than the Oath he took at his Coronation, and the Promiſes he then made of defending our Church and governing us by Law. In this Caſe, upon their own Grounds, theſe Gentlemen muſt reſolve to reſiſt his reſuming his Government, and muſt never admit him, if he will never condeſcend to Conditions; and then I would know of them what is become of the whole Oath of Allegiance, or the Obligation their Conſciences were formerly under by it. This Matter is too plain to need more Words.

But, ſuppoſe Conditions for his Return were offered by the Nation, and accepted by him; and that as ſoon as he was ſecure of his Throne, he forgot them all, as much as he did his firſt Promiſe at Council-Board, and his Coronation-Oath; what muſt be done in this State, when the Nation will be in ten times worſe Condition than it was this time Twelvemonth, when his diſpenſing Power and arbitrary Government were at the Height? No Man can ſuppoſe Conditions of any worth, that have no Security in them; and the leaſt they can have in this Caſe muſt be, that if the King breaks them, then he forfeits the Benefit of them; to wit, his Reſtitution to his Government; and we, as well as he, ſhould immediately be in the very Condition we were in upon his leaving or loſing the Government. That ſuch would be our Condition inevitably, is the eaſieſt thing in the World to prove.

For, *Firſt*, No Conditions made for the ſecuring Property to the Subject, and the Proteſtant Religion to the Nation, can ſignify any Thing to him who is governed wholly in all his Affairs by *French* Counſels, and by the Jeſuits, who

who are not truer Enemies to our Reformed Religion, than *French* Counſels to the Liberty and Property of Subjects.

But, *Secondly*, His Religion is inconſiſtent with our Safety, either in our Properties or in our Religion; and this we had Experience enough of, one would think, already; too much, to make us fond of trying the Experiment over again. Let it but be conſidered, that by his Religion and by ſuch Power, he is obliged upon Pain of forfeiting his Kingdoms, to extirpate Heretics, to deſtroy every Proteſtant in *England*; and that by the Conditions made he will be at leaſt obliged to ſecure the Nation in their Proteſtant Religion, and in their Properties; and then I would aſk ſuch a Perſon, what the beſt and the ſafeſt Conditions can avail in theſe Circumſtances? If an Obligation to deſtroy us, and an Obligation to preſerve us, be inconſiſtent; and no Man in the World can perform both; I think the Talk about Conditions ought to be at an end, ſince there is no way to bring theſe Contradictions to agree.

The wiſeſt Part, my Lord, of thoſe who are diſſatisfied, do very eaſily ſee into the Vanity and Inconſiſtency of this Project about Conditions, and grant that they would be uſeleſs. And therefore ſince Conditions are vain, and that the late King was unfit for Government, they were for having a Regency ſet up during the late King's Life, he retaining only the Title of King; and this they thought would ſalve their Oaths to him, and their Conſciences. But this cannot do the Buſineſs, ſince it is plain that ſuch a Regency would have been as much againſt the Oath of Allegiance, as the preſent Settlement; and a ſubmitting to that would have been as direct a Violation of the Oath of Allegiance, as they ſuppoſe a Submiſſion to the preſent Settlement is.

To prove this then: By a Regency the King would have been diveſted of all Power, which the Regent muſt have been intruſted with; of the Revenue too, which muſt have been annexed to the Power wherever that is lodged, becauſe by it the Regent muſt have been ſupported in the Exerciſe of his Power; he would have had no Command nor Authority left him, nothing but the bare Title of King, and to have all Buſineſs run in his Name, though he have nothing to do with it. Now is not this as directly againſt the Oath of Allegiance as a Thing can be? By the Oath, as long as it obliges, every one is bound to preſerve to the King and maintain his Crown and Dignity. By a Regency the King is diveſted of all his Power and Authority of making Laws, of having the Militia in his Hands, and of the Adminiſtration of the Government, which are the chief, if not only Branches of Royalty of his Crown and Dignity. And yet theſe Gentlemen think that a Regency and their Oath of Allegiance to the late King are conſiſtent; whereas by a Regency he is deprived of every thing but his bare Title, and by their Oaths of Allegiance they are bound to preſerve to him every Thing elſe as well as his Title. I can ſee no more oppoſition in the preſent Settlement to the Oath of Allegiance, than would have been in their Regency, ſince the Kingly Power of King *James* is equally deſtroyed by both; and Oaths do concern Matters of ſubſtance and not meer Shadows, ſuch as the bare Title of a King is, where there is not the leaſt jot of Power left. So that there is not any conſiderable Difference betwixt the preſent Settlement, and their Regency, upon the Oaths Account; and I wonder that ſo much ado ſhould be made, and ſo much inſiſting upon leaving to the late King the bare Title of King,

King, whereas a Title is a Thing of no worth; and if the Laws of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor might but be heard, this Controverſy about the meer Title would have fallen; ſince by them a King by Miſgovernment, *verum nomen Regis perdit*, forfeits the Title of King as well as the Power.

But I will ſuppoſe further, that this Project of a Regency had taken, and that a Regent had been choſen for the late King's Life, I muſt now aſk what they would have done with the King himſelf? either they muſt have had him kept in ſafe Cuſtody, or let him, as he did, eſcape away. If they would have had him ſecured, I would fain know whether it had been conſiſtent with that Oath of Allegiance which they took to King *James*, and think themſelves obliged ſtill by. But if he was to be let go whither he would, and ſhould have got back into *England* with the ſame Aſſiſtance by which he is now got into *Ireland*, I aſk them whether they ſhould not look upon themſelves as obliged to defend that Regency which was ſet up for the abſolute good of the Nation, and to which they had ſworn Allegiance; and whether this would not have obliged them to oppoſe King *James*, who was come to break the Regency; and, though all had judged him and knew him unfit for Government, was yet for regaining it by Force. Either they muſt, notwithſtanding his Unfitneſs for our Government, have quietly ſubmitted, becauſe of their former Oath of Allegiance to him, or they muſt, in defence of the Regency, have fought againſt the late King himſelf, notwithſtanding that former Oath to him.

My Lord, if thoſe diſſatisfied Gentlemen who were for the Regency will but reflect upon what I have been able to ſay about it, I do not fear their being any longer of opinion that a Regency was the only way could ſettle the Nation in ſafety, and ſecure Men's Conſciences in Peace; and I hope they will for the future not be ſo ſharp and ſevere againſt the preſent Settlement, as contrary to our Oaths of Allegiance; ſince I have ſhewn, that their own Regency is every jot as much. I humbly beg of them, that they would examine things impartially, and lay by all Prejudices upon other Accounts, and then I am confident that they which did deſire and contend for a Regency notwithſtanding their late Oaths of Allegiance, will ſee reaſon to ſubmit to the preſent Settlement under their Majeſties, notwithſtanding thoſe very Oaths, which I am ſure are no more againſt the preſent Settlement than againſt their Regency.

I am afraid I have tired your Lordſhip, and muſt beg pardon for this tedious Letter; which, though it ſhould be ſo unhappy as to do no Service to any of thoſe Perſons for whom it was deſigned, yet will do myſelf a great one, in being a Witneſs for me, how ready I am to obey your Lordſhip's Commands, and in giving me this further opportunity of aſſuring your Lordſhip how much I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

and moſt Humble Servant.

O *Gloria*

Gloria Cambriæ: Or, The SPEECH of a Bold *Britain* in Parliament, againſt a *Dutch* Prince of *Wales*, 1702.

By Mr. *PRICE.*

[Robert Price, *Eſquire, was made a Baron of the Exchequer*, Anno 1701, *and in King* George *the Firſt's Reign a Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. He died at* Kenſington, Feb. 1, 1732, *aged* 75, *lamented by all.*]

Mr. *Speaker*,

THE Petition now preſented to you on the Behalf of ourſelves and Countrymen, though ſubſcribed by a few Hands, yet has the Senſe and Approbation of thouſands, who are not influenced by their own Intereſt, but for the Honour they have for the Crown, and the Welfare of the *Britiſh* Nation.

If I could conceive that the Glory of *England* was, or could be upheld by a poor landleſs Crown, and a miſerable neceſſitous People, I could then be eaſily perſuaded to believe, that his Majeſty was well adviſed to grant away all the Revenues of the Crown and that the Government thereby would be well ſecured, and the People beſt protected, when they had little or nothing left them, I am ſure they are not *Engliſh*, but Foreign Politicians, who may reverence the King, but hate us.

The Kings of *England* always reigned beſt, when they had the Affections of their Subjects; and of that they were ſecure, when the People were ſenſible that the King was entirely in their Intereſt, and loved the *Engliſh* Soil as well as the People's Money: When Kings had a candid Intereſt coupled with their Power, then it was moſt ſtable and durable; as is manifeſt by the antient demeſne Lands, and other the large and royal Revenues, the many and great Tenures which the People then held their Eſtates under, which cauſed ſuch an indiſpenſible Union and Dependency, that they ſupported each other; and 'tis obſervable, that the Separation of the Revenues from the Crown, has in all Ages been the Means of rendering the *Engliſh* Government precarious; and that it might not be ſo, the Petition (with a dutiful Deference to his Majeſty) does repreſent to you (the great Council of the Nation) this, theirs, and the People's Eaſe for Redreſs and Remedy, according to your Wiſdom.

Give me Patience, and Pardon, and I'll lay before you the true Eſtate of the Fact upon the Petition, and Manner of Grant, and what is granted.

The great Lordſhips of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield*, and *Yale* in the County of *Denbigh*, for ſome Centuries, have been the Revenues of the Kings of *England*, and Princes of *Wales*; by which Lordſhips, the Petitioners and fifteen hundred more are Tenants, pay Rents and Suits of Courts, and other Royal Services. Theſe Lordſhips are four Parts in five of the whole Country, and thirty Miles

in

in Extent; the preſent Rents to the Crown are but 1000 *l. per Annum*, beſides Reliefs, Miſes, Waſtes, Eſtreats, Perquiſites of Courts, and other contingent Profits; there are alſo great profitable Waſtes of ſeveral thouſand Acres of rich and valuable Mines, beſides other great Advantages, a mighty Favourite and great Courtier might make. The Petitioners being caſually informed the laſt Summer, That a Grant to the Earl of *Portland* was in the Treaſury, in order to be paſſed; The Petitioners did oppoſe the ſaid Grant, and they found, not only the three Lordſhips, but near 3000 *l. per Annum* of the Petitioner's and Countrymen's ancient Inheritance expreſly granted: So that if all had been preſented that was compriſed in the Grant, it had been a very noble Royal Gift, worth at leaſt 100,000 *l.* Nor was that Grant for any ſhort Time to this noble Lord, it being to him and his Heirs for ever; and yet not much to the Advantage of the Crown, having only a Reſervation of Six Shillings and Eight-pence *per Annum* to the King and his Succeſſors.

The Facts were laid before the Lords of the Treaſury by the Petitioners, who cannot ſay but they were all well heard, well underſtood, and I hope, well repreſented; only with this Remark, that the Day deſign'd by the Lords of the Treaſury for the Grant, was dated, and came to the Privy Seal, a Month before the Lords of the Treaſury had appointed the Petitioners to be heard at the Treaſury againſt the Grant. The next Stage that we had, was to attend the Grant from the Treaſury to the Privy Seal, where, I muſt confeſs, the Reaſon and Complaints againſt the Grant, were heard and received with all Candour and Goodneſs, of that noble Lord, who had the Cuſtody of the Seal; and I truly believe he has repreſented the whole Affair; and that is the Reaſon at preſent, that this Grant halts; I ſuppoſe, till the Parliament riſes, and then I doubt not but it will find Legs to take its Journey.

Having made the Applications in their proper Places to ſtop the ſaid Grant, and that without Succeſs, it became a Grievance, and we hope this honourable Houſe will redreſs it. Theſe Lordſhips have been for many Years the Revenues of the Kings of *England*, and the Support of many Princes of *Wales*, have been ſettled upon them and their Heirs, and the Kings of *England* by ſundry Patents, and confirmed by many Acts of Parliament.

Theſe royal Dominions in moſt Reigns have been attacked by great and powerful Favourites; for in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſome part of theſe Revenues were granted to ſome of her Creatures; but attended with ſo many Law-Suits, and general Diſtractions, that the Queen interpoſed, and the Freeholders gave large Compoſitions for their Peace, the Queen confirming their Eſtates by a Charter.

In the fourth Year of King *James* I. theſe Lordſhips were ſettled on Prince *Charles*, and his Heirs, Kings of *England*; but his Servants (as moſt Courtiers are willing to make uſe of the Opportunity) got ſome Grant, of moſt Part of that Revenue, which proved ſo vexatious and troubleſome to their Country, that the Freeholders came to another Compoſition, and gave 10,000 *l.* for their Peace, and had another Charter of Confirmation of their Rights, and for the ſettling of their Eſtates, Tenures, *&c.* which was confirmed in Parliament in the fifth of King *Charles* the Firſt; in the late Reign (however calumniated) there were many and great Applications made for ſome Grants of ſome Lands

of these Lordships, which were always rejected, as too powerful for a Subject. If Part were so, what would the whole be?

History and Records tell us, That the Grant of these Lordships have been very fatal to the Prince or Potentate, the one either losing his Crown, or the other his Head: It is therefore dangerous meddling with such ominous Bounties.

I must likewise observe to you, That the Long Parliament in *Charles* the Second's Reign, when they passed an Act for the Fee-Farm Rents, excepted those within the Principality of *Wales*, which is a plain Intimation, that the Parliament thought them not alienable, or fitting to be aliened; but rather to be preserved for the Support of the Prince of *Wales*.

There is a great Duty lies upon the Freeholders of these Lordships on the Creation of the Prince of *Wales*: They pay the Prince of *Wales* 800 *l.* for Mizes; which is such a Duty, Service, or Tenure, which is not to be sever'd from the said Prince of *Wales*; and it will be very difficult to find how this Tenure can be made reconcilable to this noble Lord's Grant.

If we are to pay these Mizes to this noble Lord, then he is *quasi* a Prince of *Wales*, for this Duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the Prince of *Wales*, and this noble Lord too, then we are doubly charged: But if it be to the Prince of *Wales*, when he has no Royalty left in that Dominion, and not to this noble Lord (who, by this Grant is to have the whole Lordships) it relates a Repugnancy in the Tenure of our Estates.

But I suppose the Grant of this Principality is the Fore-runner of the Honour too; and then I shall fancy we are returning to our original Contract: For, as Story tells us, we were brought to entertain a Prince of *Wales*, by recommending him to us, as one who did not understand the *English* Tongue; and our Forefathers thence inferred, that he must be our Countryman, and no Foreigner, but one that understood the *British* Language. How we were deceived therein, is plausible! I suppose this Lord does not understand our Language; nor is it to be supposed he will come amongst us, to learn it! nor shall we be fond of learning his!

But since I have minded you of the *Welch* Original Contract, which is of so long standing; I would not have you forget another Contract, made about seven or eight Years since, which is the Foundation of our present Government; I mean the Bill of Right and Liberties, and settling the Succession of the Crown, which is so much forgot, touching the Discourse, and Practice, that I have not heard it named in Parliament but once in the last Sessions, and I find it was much forgot in the Administration. I would gladly know from those who are better versed in the Prerogative Learning than myself, whether his Majesty can, by the Bill of Rights, without the Consent of Parliament, alienе, or give away the Inheritance, as an absolute Fee of the Crown-Lands? If he can, I would know to what Purpose the Crown was settled for Life, with Remainder in Succession, if the Tenant for Life of the Crown, can grant away the Revenues of the Crown, and what is incident to it? Or, can the King have a larger Estate in the Revenues, than he has in the Crown to which it belongs? Far be it from me to speak any thing in Derogation of his Majesty's Honour or Care for us; it cannot be expected he should know our Laws, who is a Stranger to us, and we to him,

any

any more than we his Councils (which I wish we did) I mean those new immediate Advisers, and Ministers, through whose Hands this Grant did pass, by advising the King to grant, what by Law he could not.

These Counsellors and Ministers are guilty of the highest Violation of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, and strike at the very Foundation of Succession, and tear up the Bill of Rights and Privileges by the Roots.

It was their Province and Duty to have acquainted the King of his Power and Interest, that the antient Revenues of the Crown are sacred, and unalienable in the Time of War and People's Necessities.

By the Old Law it was Part of the Coronation-Oath of the Kings of *England*, not to aliene the antient Patrimony of the Crown without Consent of Parliament; but as to these Oaths of Offices, most Kings have Court-Casuists enough about them, to inform them that they have a Prerogative to dispense with such Oaths; especially, when their Interest (as it generally does) goes along with their Council.

It has been the particular Care of all Parliaments, in all Ages, to keep an even Ballance betwixt King and People; and therefore when the Crown was too liberal in its Bounties, the Parliament usually resumed those Grants which were very frequent: For, from the Reign of *Henry* the Second, to the sixth Year of *Henry* the Eighth, there was one or more Bill of Resumption in every one of these Reigns, save one in the Time of *Henry* the Fourth, there was an Act of Resumption of all that was granted from the Prince of *Wales*, in all that Principality; and those Acts were looked not upon by those Princes (of which some were both good and great) as any Lessening or Diminution of their Prerogative; it being considered, that Kings have their Failings as well as other Men, being cloathed with frail Nature, and apt to yield to the Importunities of their Favourites and Flatterers; therfore it becomes necessary that the great Council of the Nation should interpose for the Interest of the King and People.

The Commons of *England* always entertained an honourable Jealousy of their Prince, when they perceived their Expences at Home, or Abroad, their Gifts and Boons to Favourites, to be too large and exorbitant. And as we are an Island, and subject to Invasion, so the Parliament of *England* were very watchful, that other Countries should not out-do them in Trade and Naval Strength: That Foreigners should have no more Footing, Strength, or Settlement, than was conducing to carry on the Trade and Commerce of the Nation; and whenever our Princes entertained Foreigners of their Council and chief Advisers, the People of *England* were restless and uneasy, till they were removed out of the King's Council: Nay out of the Nation; and in History and Parliament are many Instances, that great Men and Favourites, being Foreigners for procuring to themselves too large a Proportion of the Royal Revenues, especially in time of War, and People's Necessities. As for Instance: In King *Stephen*'s time, who usurped the Crown of *England* from *Maud* the Empress and her Son King *Henry* the Second: *William de Ipres*, a *Netherlander*, was brought over, with a great Number of his Countrymen, to which *William de Ipres*, the King *de facto*, gave an Earldom, and made him a great Confidant, that he was in all Councils, and obtained great Grants, not only for himself, but for his then called *Flemings*, who swarmed so thick about the King's Court, that *Englishmen* were scarce known or rewarded. At which time, the *English* were so exasperated, that they importuned

King

King *Henry* the Second, when he obtained the Right of his Crown, to ſeize on all King *Stephen* had given to his Foreign Favourites, and his Accomplices, and to baniſh him and his Friends the Kingdom.

The ſame Complaint was made to *Richard* the Firſt, for removing and taking away the Duke of *Saxony* his own Nephew and Siſter's Son, and all his *German* Friends, as being Foreigners by Birth. The ſame Addreſs was made to *Henry* the Third, to baniſh his half Brother, and all their Prince's Friends.

The ſame Addreſs was made by the People to *Edward* the Second, to do ſo with the Lineage of *Gaveſton*, and his *Gaſcoiners*. And did not *Edward* the Third do the ſame with his *Bohemian* Friends? *Henry* the Fourth, and other following Princes took the ſame Method, on the humble and hearty Petition of their People; ſometimes in Parliament, and ſometimes out.

And in theſe Caſes, the Kings ſeized, and took to themſelves all the Revenues of the Crown, that they had given them, and always ſent thoſe Foreigners to their own Country, which the People of *England* had diſliked, and oppoſed them, fearing both their Power and Council, and that they would become a Burden to the People; and that *England* was able to foſter none but her own Children.

I muſt confeſs, I am ſtrangely troubled with ſtrange Apprehenſions of our deplorable State: We are in a Confederacy in War, and ſome of thoſe Confederates are our Enemies in Trade, though planted among us; ſome in the King's Council, ſome in the Army, and the common Traders have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Out-ſkirts of the City; we find ſome of them Naturalized, others made Denizens: Every Parliament we find endeavouring for a Naturalization, and that warmly ſollicited by the Court Party: We ſee our good Coin gone, and our Confederates openly coining baſe Money and *Dutch* Alloy: We ſee moſt Places of Power and Profit given to Foreigners: We ſee our Confederates in Conjunction with the *Scotch*, to ruin our *Engliſh* Trade: We ſee the Revenues of the Crown daily given to one or other, who make Sale of them, and tranſmit their Eſtates elſewhere from amougſt us: But what they can get from us, they ſecure in their own Countries. How can we hope for happy Days in *England*, when this great Lord, and other Foreigners (though naturalized) are in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Councils? If theſe Strangers (though Confederates) ſhould be of a different Intereſt, as moſt plainly they are in Point of Trade; to which Intereſt is it to be ſuppoſed theſe great Foreign Councils would adhere? So that I ſee, when we are reduced to extreme Poverty, (as now we are very near it) we ſhall be ſupplanted by our Neighbours, and become a Colony to the *Dutch*. I ſhall make no ſevere Remarks on this great Man; for this great Man makes us little, and will make the Crown both poor and precarious.

And when God ſhall pleaſe to ſend us a Prince of *Wales*, he may have ſuch a Preſent of a Crown made him, as a Pope did to King *John*, who was ſurnamed *Sans-Terre*, and was by his Father made Lord of *Ireland*; which Grant was confirmed by the Pope, who ſent him a Crown of Peacock's Feathers, in Derogation of his Power, and Poverty of his Country.

I would have you conſider we are *Engliſhmen*, and muſt, like Patriarchs, ſtand by our Country, and not ſuffer it to be tributary to Strangers. We rejoice

joice that we have beat out of this Kingdom Popery and Slavery; and now, with as great Joy, entertain Socinianism and Poverty: And yet we see our Rights given away, and Liberties will soon follow.

Thus have I represented to you the Nature of this mighty Grant to this noble Lord, and the ill Consequence that must attend the Public; and more particularly our Country, by the passing of it. The Remedies our Forefathers took to cure these Ills are well known.

I desire more Redress than Punishment, and therefore shall neither move for an Impeachment against this noble Lord, nor the Banishment of him; but I shall beg that he may have no Power over us, nor we have any Dependency on him.

Therefore I shall conclude my Motion, That an Address be made to his Majesty, to put a stop to the Grant that is passing to the Earl of *Portland*, of the Lordships of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield* and *Yale*, and other Lands in the Principality of *Wales*; and that the same be not granted but by Consent of Parliament.

This before the Lords of the Treasury.

Minheer Benting, *Earl of* Portland, *begged of King* William *the Lordships of* Denbigh, Bromfield, *and* Yale, *in the County of* Denbigh, *to him and his Heirs for ever. The Warrant coming to the Lords of the Treasury; the Gentlemen of the Country, upon one or two Days Notice, were heard against the Grant before them*, viz. *the Lord* Godolphin, *Sir* Stephen Fox, *Sir* William Trumball, *and* John Smith, *Esq*; *on* Friday *the 10th of* May, 1695.

Sir *William Williams*

Said, That it is Part of the ancient Revenues of the Prince of *Wales*, and that the *Welch* were never subject to any but God and the King; and that none shewed their Allegiance more than the *Welch*. That in the Statute for granting of Fee-Farm Rents, there was a particular Exception of the *Welch* Rents, which imposed, *That the Parliament took the* Welch *Revenues not to be alienable:* Yet upon the Creation of a Prince of *Wales*, that there were Mizes of 800 *l.* payable out of these Lordships to the Prince of *Wales*; and though there were none, yet he hoped and doubted not but to see one of the present King's own Body.

Sir *Roger Puleston*,

That the Revenues of these Lordships did support the Government of *Wales*, by paying the Judges and others, their Salaries; and if given away, there will be a Failure of Justice.

Mr. *Price*.

It was said, That the Grant that was making was of a large Extent, being five Parts in six of one Country, which was too great a Power for any Foreign Subject to have; and the People of the Country too great to be subject to him. That there is fifty mean Lordships held under those Manors: That there was above 1500 Freeholders; and that there were Wastes and Commons of many Thousands of Acres; and that there were Mines of Lead and Copper

of

of great Value, and the preſent Rents received, about 1500 *l. per Annum.* That Courts were kept in all thoſe Lordſhips in the King's Name: That all or moſt of the Gentry of that Country were Tenants to the King, and Suitors to his Court, and thereby obliged to the King by a double Allegiance: Their general Allegiance as Subjects, and their particular Allegiance as Tenants. And if the King gave away one, it was to be feared it would leſſen the Bounds of the other, ſince it is obſervable, that Intereſt and Property have an Aſcendant over Duty. That thoſe Lordſhips were formerly Lordſhips Marches, which was occaſioned when *William* the Conqueror had *England* brought to Subjection; but could not ſubdue the *Welch* Country. He gave to his *Norman* Lords ſome neighbouring Lands in *Wales*, and furniſhed them with Men and Arms; and what Ground they could get from the *Welch* by Inſurrection or Conqueſts: Theſe *Norman* Lords were to hold as Lordſhips Marches, which were made Boroughs and Palatinates, and what they got or uſurped by their Power, they maintained by Severity or Oppreſſion; and under theſe Vaſſalages the *Britains* continued until the 27th of *Henry* VIII. which was the Time the Statute of *Timon* was made, and they eſteemed it their Happineſs to be under the *Engliſh* Laws and Government, and ſo have continued to this Day; none having more eminently ſignalized their conſtant Loyalty to their rightful King than themſelves. But if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to diſunite them by this Grant, and put them under a Foreign Subject, it is putting them in a worſe Poſture than their former Eſtate, when under *William* the Conqueror and his *Norman* Lords.

The *Britains* were always Men of Courage and Sincerity, and yet of Reſentment; though *Henry* IV. and *Henry* V. were Martial Princes, and had a Hatred againſt the *Britains*, becauſe they perſevered in their Duty to *Edward* II. who was their rightful, though unfortunate King; and made moſt ſcandalous and reproachful Laws againſt them: Yet it is worth Remark, that thoſe Kings had never peaceable or happy Days, until they reconciled themſelves to thoſe great People. Not to tell the Victory of *Owen Glendower*, who was an inferior Perſon of the Long Robe; but when a Stranger would have encroach'd upon the Waſte and Commons of his Neighbours, his Laws and Arms, with his Neighbours Aſſiſtance, became a Terror to the *Engliſh* Nation. It was worth Conſideration what little the King hath to grant, it is a Revenue that belongs to the Prince of *Wales*; and in caſe of Want of ſuch, it veſteth in the Crown, rather an *Uſufracture*, than a Property, till a Prince be created; to whoſe Creation the Revenues is annexed by theſe, though unuſual, Words in the Law: *To him and his Heirs who ſhall be Kings of* England. By the Statute of 21 *Jacob. cap.* 29. in the Preamble of which, it was doubted whether *Charles* Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Cornwal*, could grant Leaſes of the Dutchy Lands for three Lives, or any longer than his own Life? Though the Statute adds, he had of Inheritance in a ſpecial Form of Limitation, differing from the ordinary Rule of Inheritance of the common Law, and therefore neceſſary to have confirmed in Parliament, the Uſe that is made of that Statute in this Caſe, if the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Cornwal*, who have an Inheritance in their Revenues, cannot grant Eſtates without Parliament for any longer than their own Lives; how then can his preſent Majeſty, who is our King by modern Contract, and

has

has but an Eſtate for Life in Poſſeſſion in the Crown, by the Act of Settlement, grant away the Inheritance and abſolute Fee of the Principality of *Wales?* For it is as great Abſurdity to ſay that a Tenant for Life.

If the Aid of Parliament was neceſſary to help in one Caſe, it was more neceſſary in the other. It is well known in former Reigns, there have been frequent Acts of Reſumption, which always paſſed when the People groaned under the Weight of heavy Taxes, and the Nation in War. If that was a Reaſon for the Legiſlative Power to paſs a Bill of Reſumption, it is ſtill as good a Reaſon for his Majeſty not to grant; ſince we are both in War, and under the heavieſt Preſſure of Taxes Hiſtory bears Teſtimony of. Let it be conſidered, can it be for his Majeſty's Honour or Intereſt (when his People hear this and underſtand it) that he daily gives away the Revenues, and more, the Perpetuity of his Crown Revenues to his Foreign Subjects? Good Kings, after a long and chargeable War, were accuſtomed to tell their People, that they ſorrowed for Hardſhips the Nation underwent by long War, and heavy Taxes, and that now they would live on their own; but it is to be feared, if Grants are made ſo large, and ſo frequent, there will be nothing of the King or his Succeſſors to call their own to live upon.

It is to be hoped your Lordſhips will conſider, that we had but one Day's Notice of this Attendance, and muſt come therefore very much unprovided; but yet we doubt not but theſe Hints and broken Thoughts we have offered to your Lordſhips, you will by your great Judgment improve, whereby the ill Conſequences of this Grant may truly be repreſented to his Majeſty.

Lord *Godolphin*,

Had not the Earl of *Leiceſter* thoſe Lordſhips in Grant to him in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time?

Sir *Robert Cotton*,

I believe I can give the beſt Account in that Caſe: The Earl of *Leiceſter* had but one of thoſe Lordſhips, and that was *Denbigh*; he was ſo oppreſſive to the Gentry of the Country, that he occaſioned them to take up Arms, and to oppoſe him, for which three or four of my Wife's Relations, of the *Saliſbury*'s, were hanged; but it ended not there, for the Quarrel was kept ſtill on Foot, and the Earl glad to be in Peace, and ſo grant it back to the Queen, and it has been ever ſince in the Crown.

Lord *Godolphin*,

You have offered many weighty Reaſons, and we ſhall repreſent them to his Majeſty.

The exorbitant Grants of *William* the Third examined and queſtioned, ſhewing the Nature of Grants in ſucceſſive and elective Monarchies; and proving by Law and Hiſtory, that Crown Lands are inalienable; that Reſumptions were common all the World over; and likewiſe ſhewing, that where a Prince hath no Hereditary Title, he can make no Hereditary Right: And that Kings ſet up by Parliament, can diſpoſe of no Lands but with the Conſent of Parliament; which renders *William* the Third's Grants totally void. 1703.

To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Madam,

AS theſe Papers, which beg your Majeſty's Acceptance, are of the higheſt Importance and Concern to the Throne, ſo I cannot but lay them at your Majeſty's Feet, in hopes they may have their intended Effect, and bring back thoſe valuable Branches of the Revenue, which your Majeſty's Predeceſſor has lopt from the Crown.

Not that I would aſſume to myſelf to queſtion the Royal Prerogative, or the Title that is inveſted in the Crown, to reward ſuch as are well deſerving of Grace and Favour, but would diſtinguiſh between elective Monarchies and thoſe which are ſucceſſive, and make a Difference between a Prince that poſſeſſed the Throne by Vote of Parliament, and thoſe whoſe Acceſſion to it comes gradually, and by lineal Deſcent, and whoſe Call to the Imperial Dignity is the Voice of Nature. You have not only a Dominion over the Hearts of your People, but you are a Queen of their Vows and Expectations, and a Sovereign entirely their own in Birth and Education, which are Bleſſings never made known to a Nation under the Direction of a Foreign Ruler.

Wherefore, ſince your Majeſty's Reign has brought more Honour and Eſteem to the *Engliſh* Nation in ten Months, than your Predeceſſor in more than ſo many Years; and ſince an uninterrupted Series of Succeſs has hitherto kept Company with your Majeſty's Arms, and retrieved the Reputation of a Land that has been rendered inglorious by Miſcarriages in the laſt Reign, give me Leave, Madam, with all Humility to endeavour, by ways and means, to enable you to compleat that Happineſs you have given us ſo bountiful a Taſte of, and make us the Envy of the World in your Majeſty's Reign that had well nigh been the Contempt of it, in that of another, which ſhall ever be the repeated Buſineſs and Labour of him, who is, Madam,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, moſt obedient, and moſt devoted Subject and Servant,

The

The exorbitant Grants of *William* III. examined and queſtioned, &c.

SOME intereſted, deſigning Perſons, compoſed of Foreigners and Favourites, thought it (conſidering their lofty Stations in the laſt Reign) a moſt high Preſumption the Commons of *England* ſhould attempt to reſume the exorbitant Grants of *William* III. and to prove the Reſumption is no new Cuſtom, I humbly offer to make it appear by Hiſtory and Law, That the Commons attempted no more than what was cuſtomary all the World over, and that reſuming the Crown-Lands and Regalities is in Imitation of their Anceſtors, as by the Sequel will appear.

All Authors agree, that *Rome*, whether Monarchical or Republic, was founded by the choiceſt Policies that ever were practiſed in the World. And *Florus* tells us, That he that reads the Atchievements of the *Romans*, contemplates not the Actions of one ſingle People, but of all the World in them: Then let us conſider what Expedients this valiant and prudent People exerciſed in Caſes of national Danger, and when they were wearied with Fatigues, loaded with Taxes, and their Country drooping for Want of Money; which is the Life of the People, the Sinews of War, and the only Strength, and Prop of a State; which implies, that that Kingdom or Principality, whoſe Money or Treaſure becomes frivolouſly exhauſted, cannot expect to ſtand, but muſt ſink or periſh upon her own Bottom if not early relieved.

For when *Auguſtus Cæſar* had the ſudden News brought him of a vaſt Army raiſed by *Mark Anthony* to encounter with him for the Empire of the World, *Auguſtus*, by evil Counſel, ſqueezed the People with Taxes towards the Support of the War: The People finding themſelves beyond Meaſure oppreſſed, they mutinied to that Degree (as *Plutarch* reports it *in Vita Antonii*) that the wiſeſt of theſe Times took it for granted, that if *Anthony* had but approached, the *Romans* would have certainly revolted, and deliver up *Auguſtus* into the Hands of *Anthony*; but the imprudent Delay of *Anthony* gave *Auguſtus* Time for the Sedation of the People's Paſſion; and upon all Occaſions ever after, *Auguſtus* took contrary Meaſures, by reſuming all the Grants made his Friends and Favourites; ſo that, during his Reign, he made the People eaſy, which was the moſt prudent Policy any Prince could have thought of; ſince Experience teacheth us, That no Prince can be happy without the Good-will of his Subjects.

Having thus far treated of foreign Cuſtoms now we are arrived at Home, and ſhall ſhew what our own Statute-Laws ſay upon this Subject. And ſhew likewiſe, that it has been a laudable Cuſtom in *England* to revoke Grants, and reſume Crown-Lands, *exempli gratia*. See the great Reſumption in *Edward* the Third's Time, and 6. *Henry* IV. where it was enacted, That all ſuch Hereditaments, Liberties and Cuſtoms as were belonging to the Crown in the fortieth Year of *Edward* III. and ſince by any Means granted, be reſumed into the King's Hands for ever, provided that all Towns ſhall have their free Liberties; which are the expreſs Words of the Statute.

One of the principal Ends of calling Parliaments, was for Redreſs of Grievances. The Parliaments in thoſe Days did uſually hear and determine the wrongful Acts of the King, of the Queen, and of their Children; and did likewiſe read Petitions, and hear Complaints againſt the Inſolence of inſulting, imperious Miniſters, againſt whom the Subject could not have common Juſtice but in Parliament; in which High Court both Rich and Poor did uſe to find Eaſe and Refreſhment: Oppreſſions were enquired into, Grievances redreſſed, the State of the Realm debated, Foreigners, when found pernicious to the People's Rights, compelled out of the Kingdom, the Law, from the higher Sphere to the lower Orb, handed down with an impartial Diſtribution of Juſtice, the People eaſed of Taxes, the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the Subject aſſerted, Crown-Lands and Revenues reſumed, corrupt and vicious Favourites puniſhed, and all unworthy Perſons removed from Court: Theſe were the laudable, ancient Cuſtoms in former Parliaments. But of latter Years the Caſe has been much altered, and the parliamentary Proceedings run in contrary Channels. But it is to be obſerved, that whenever the Natives join with Foreigners in the Diſſolution of their own Rights, that then Ruin and Deſolation muſt neceſſarily attend the People.

If it be conſidered what Depredations were committed by the Expulſion of Kings in this Kingdom, the like has not been tranſacted in all *Europe* beſides; for, of all the Attempts made ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt for the Overthrow of *Engliſh* Liberty, that of the Dauphin of *France*, when one of our temporary Kings, was the moſt dangerous, and the more pernicious, by reaſon he entered the Land as a Friend and not as an Enemy, but he ſoon under the Umbrage of the former acted the latter.

Our *Engliſh* Chronicles ſay, The Barons invited the Dauphin to be revenged of King *John*, and that the *Londoners*, in Conjunction with the Barons, proclaimed the Dauphin King of *England*. It is notable, that at his firſt coming, he publiſhed two Declarations, in each whereof he condemned King *John* and his Miniſtry, and promiſed that he himſelf would govern *Engliſhmen* according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*. The Dauphin thus, by ſly Inſinuations, weaned the People's Affections and Allegiance from King *John*, and as ſoon as he got Footing, and the Poſſeſſion of all the Forts and Caſtles, an Army of Foreigners about him, and the Power of *France* to ſecond him, he forgot his Declarations, and of all his Promiſes never performed one Tittle. The *Engliſh* he deſpiſed and rejected, except ſuch devouring Wolves and mercenary Perſons, upon whom he prevailed, for Gratuities and Bribes, to betray their native Country, and to enſlave their Fellow-Subjects; the beſt of the *Engliſh* being removed, and the worſt preferred, the new King thought not to leave the Name or Memory of an *Engliſhman* in *England*. The *Engliſh* looked upon it ſtrange, that a Prince of their own Invitation and Election ſhould attempt to invade their Rights. But the Dauphin would give them no Reaſon, but daily threw them out of their Poſſeſſions, and filled their Houſes with his Favourites and Foreigners, which irritated the *Engliſh* againſt their new King, and having obſerved him prefer Tyranny to Mercy, and that in Ambition, Expences, Oppreſſions and Male-Adminiſtration, he had far ſurpaſſed King *John*; then they found the direful Conſequence of bringing in Foreigners, who, upon all ſuch Occaſions

Occaſions play the Waterman, Look one Way, and Row another ; then they concluded, that flying from King *John* for Refuge, to the Dauphin, was but leaping out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire. The *Engliſh* were not aſleep ; they had their Eyes open, and the Dauphin watched their Motion, and they watched his, both being ſenſible of each other's Hatred, which could not be reconciled but by mutual Injuries.

Here the Dauphin and his bloody Judges and Counſellors exerted their Power, and nothing but Blood and Murther in every Station ; but in Proceſs of Time the Dauphin found himſelf under as great Diſtreſs, as if he had been born under the Star of *Hercules*, who, when he had cut off one *Hydra*'s Head, has his Labour continued by the ſudden Production of many. The Dauphin, the faſter he cut off the *Engliſh*, the faſter they grew upon his Hands, until all declared againſt him ; yet the Dauphin did not ceaſe, but repeated his Crimes ; inſomuch, that he and his wicked Favourites filled the Nation with feigned Conſpiracies againſt himſelf, the better to encompaſs the Ruin of the *Engliſh*, and to murther and deſtroy the beſt Families in the Kingdom ; he cauſed Spies to be placed in every Family ; he broke public Unions, and diſſolved private Contracts ; he bribed Wives with their own Diſhonour to betray their Huſbands ; and encouraged Children with too early Hopes of Patrimony to rifle their Parent's Cabinets, and Servants beyond Manumiſſion to reveal more than their Maſter's Secrets ; he puniſhed the Suſpicion for manifeſt Crimes, and circumvented the Innocency of ſome, to cover his own Guilt ; for all thoſe whom he hated and feared he injured, and all he injured he feared and hated. He cauſed his Emiſſaries at public Feaſts to gather up the looſe Speeches of Men made free by Exceſs of Wines and other Liquors, till he had cauſed the innocent Form of Table-Talk to be turned into Compacts of Treaſon, and had made every Man's Houſe either his Grave or his Priſon. Theſe are the Fruits of bringing in Foreigners to rule over *Engliſhmen* ; here the *Engliſh* proclaimed, that the Dauphin, and all his foreign Cabals ſhould by a Day depart the Kingdom, which he did accordingly, and all his Grants expired with his Reign, and reverted to the former Owners ; then the royal Right of Succeſſion returned in the Perſon of King *Henry* III. and the Peace and Felicity of the People were uſhered in with the young King, who was then but nine Years old ; then the Crown-Lands were all ſettled and inſeparably united to Majeſty.

It was enacted in Parliament, in 1 *Henry* IV. That all the Strangers or Foreigners, who ſeemed to be Officers about the King and Queen, and obtained large Grants by Favour, or otherwiſe, ſhould by a Day depart the Kingdom, and all others of the Kind, or in Conjunction with them. Whereupon Writs to proclaim the ſame were, by Aſſent of Parliament, directed to the Sheriffs of *London*, that they ſhould bring in all Patents of Lands, and Annuities to Foreigners, and to all other Favourites, granted by the King or Queen ; and it was accordingly performed and done with great Rejoicings, and high Acclamations throughout *England*.

Our hereditary Kings, and the good old *Engliſh* Parliaments, underſtood the Intereſt of *England* much better, than to let Foreigners have any Land in *England* ; or to let fawning Favourites grow great by the Spoil of the Public. Our great Monarchs did uſually, towards the End of every Seſſion of Parliament,

return to the Lords and Commons ſpecial Thanks for their Aids and Subſidies, tho' given in caſe of public Defence, for their own and the Kingdom's Safety; and likewiſe gratified them with general Pardons, anſwer'd their Petitions, and redreſſed the Kingdom's Grievances: They confirmed the Liberties in the great Charter, enacted wholeſome Laws, eaſed the People of Taxes, and ſeldom made War, or Peace, without conſulting the great Senate. Whereby we may underſtand, that Parliaments in thoſe Days had a great deal more to do, than to be the Keys to open People's Purſes with. And that *Engliſhmen* were not Minors, but appeared unveiled in their own Colours; they would not be kept in the Dark, but were their own Agents and Ambaſſadors, and made their own Conditions at Home and Abroad. They knew their own Intereſt ſo well, that they did not believe *Engliſh* Liberties well ſecured, but when in *Engliſh* keeping; they did not look on it as good Policy, upon every Mutation or Whirlwind of State, to fill their Manſions with foreign Faces: The Kings of *England* in thoſe Days, were famous and victorious, and had none in their Council but *Engliſh*, who made it their Study as well as Intereſt, to promote the Honour of *England* alone, and to keep a fair Correſpondence Abroad; but the Policy of the laſt Reign differed and degenerated from the old, to the Damage of all honeſt *Engliſhmen*.

And if Matters be impartially conſidered, a Review of the *Engliſh* Chronicles will make it obvious to all People, that Foreigners and Uſurpers have committed more Depredations here, than all the hereditary Kings and Queens of *England*, *&c.* from the firſt of King *William* I. to the laſt of King *William* III. and ſhew how our Anceſtors laboured againſt all ſuch, as well in the Defence of their Liberties, as alſo to free the Nation from inſulting Strangers, as in the Caſe of *Stephen*, who having uſurped the Crown from the Empreſs *Maud*, brought in the *Netherlands*, and gave them large Territories in *England*, which ſo incenſed the Natives againſt *Stephen*, that as ſoon as he was dead, he was declared an Uſurper, all his Grants revoked, and the *Netherlands* expelled the Kingdom by King *Henry* II.

Henry II. was addreſſed in Parliament to baniſh his Half-brother, who was a Foreigner and an imperious Prelate, who having introduced ſo many Foreigners into that King's Favour, that he was for a Time governed by them, which gave the Foreigners an Opportunity to diſcover the Secrets of State to the Enemies of the King and Kingdom. And the Prelate being their chief Inſtrument, was with the Foreigners baniſhed, and all their Grants reſumed. The Prelate went to *Rome*, in whoſe Favour the Pope interceded, had his Baniſhment taken off; and in his Return for *England*, he died by the Way, which did not at all affect the Nobility and Gentry. *Richard* I. was addreſs'd to baniſh his Nephew the Duke of *Saxony* and all his *Germans*, to which that King aſſented and re-called all their Grants.

Edward II. was often addreſſed to baniſh *Pierſe de Gaveſton*, a Gentleman in thoſe Days of prime Quality of *France*, and who having got himſelf ſo deeply in the Favour of that King, was more than half King himſelf; he laviſhed a great Quantity of the public Treaſure, and did put the King upon many Extravagancies, to the great Detriment of the *Engliſh*. But the latter got the former under a double Baniſhment; and *Gaveſton* having returned again,

gain, the Barons without conſulting King *Edward* II. cut off *Graveſton*'s Head at *Scarborough* Caſtle; and all the Grants made to him and his, reverted to the Crown.

Hugo Grotius clears the Point betwixt an hereditary King, and a foreign Invader, *Sane cum Rege initum fœdus manet, etiamſi Rex idem aut Succeſſor Regno a ſubditis ſit pulſus. Jus enim Regni penes ipſum manet, utcunque poſſeſſionem amiſerit.* The League remains in the King, and if the ſame King or his Succeſſor be driven from his Kingdom by his Subjects, the Right remains in the King, however he loſt the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Cap* 16, *Sect.* 16, and *Sect.* 17. in the ſame Chap. *Contra, ſi alieni Regni invaſor volente vero Rege, aut oppreſſor populi liberi antequam Conſenſus accedat, bello impetatur, nihil eo fiet contra fœdus, quia hi poſſeſſionem habent, Jus non habent.* On the Contrary, if the Invader of another's Kingdom, the rightful King being willing, or the Oppreſſor of a free People (before he hath got ſufficient Conſent of the People) be aſſaulted by War, nothing will be done thereby againſt the League, becauſe they have Poſſeſſion they have not Right: *Qualitates autem iſtæ in fœderibus Regis ſucceſſoris & ſimiles jus proprie ſignificant, et odioſa eſt invaſorum Cauſa.* Thoſe Qualities of King and Succeſſor (ſaid he) and the like in Leagues do properly ſignify a Right, and the Invader's Cauſe is odious. This was a Caſe which not long ſince might have admitted of ſome Diſpute, if Power had not overcome Right; where the Invader got the Poſſeſſion, but the Right remained where it ſhould be, which left the Invader none at all? And the Grants of all ſuch carry in them no more Right than the Invader had in himſelf, and that being nothing, it is certain that out of that nothing, nothing could be; the Cauſe of a foreign Invader not having the Right of War, is odious to the Laws of Nations, and was condemned by *Valens*, who refuſed the Excuſe of the King of the *Goths*, for his having given aid to *Procopius* an Invader, for which *Amianus* likewiſe cenſured the ſaid King.

And as for the Lawyers who argued in Favour of the late pretended Abdication, they would not ſeem to be ſatisfied with the Excluſion of King *James* only, but would have all his Family anticipated and extirpated; in order to which, a vacant Throne and an *Interregnum* were declared againſt the Conſtitution and very Eſſence of the Monarchy; ſome of thoſe Lawyers are principally concerned in the *Engliſh* Grants in conjunction with other late Favourites and Foreigners, who were all equally intereſted in rooting up the Mouarchy, and in the extirpating of all civil Rights, having made it their whole Buſineſs, Study and Intereſt to ſupplant *Engliſh* Natives, and make themſelves the Maſters of their Lands and Poſſeſſions; for nothing ever appeared to the contrary, but that thoſe *Dutch* and *French* came over for no other Intent, but to enſlave the People, and trample upon the Rights and Liberties of *Engliſhmen*; and as for theſe *Engliſh* Favourites in the laſt Reign, none exclaimed higher againſt King *James* and his Miniſters, than they for Religion and Liberty; they pleaded aloud, until they had blown up the Government: But when they got a Prince for their own Purpoſe upon the Throne, inſtead of the little inferior Men before the Revolution; we had them trumped upon us Miniſters of State, and all the former Pretence of Religion and Liberty laid aſide, then the Divinity and the Divines ran counter, and the Laws turned in contrary Channels; and whilſt we expected to have inlargement of new Liberty, they fettered the

old,

old, so that nothing was so certain as Imprisonment, Banishment, Chains and Fetters, and thus we were delivered from the Cruelties attributed to King *James* II. And it is farther observable, that all the popular Champions composed of Natives, and Foreigners in the last Reign, voted as often as occasion offered, for a Court-Faction against the public Interest of the Nation, which is very well known to the better Part of the Lords and Commons in both Houses of Parliament, which shall rather oblige the Grantees to account for the mean Profits, than expect a Confirmation of their late Grants from an injured Princess, and a much abused People.

An injured Princess, and a much abused People I say, and all the World must allow it, a Princess who with her Family suffered the most of all the Families in *Europe*, by an open Invasion of all their Rights, contrary to all Laws, and a much abused People, without any Exceptions: For certainly there could not be a greater Abuse upon any Nation in the Universe, than to exhaust her Treasure, and squander away above sixty odd Millions Sterling in a loitering War, which returned to no other Account, but *Item* so much lost.

By her Majesty's Accession to the Imperial Throne of her Royal Progenitors, the Hereditary Kings and Queens of *England*, God has been pleased to free us from a Foreign Yoke, and to restore the Blood of our Kings to rule over us, and to pour such Blessings upon her Majesty's Arms in the first ten Months of her Reign, with little Expence, and render'd more to retrieve the Honour of *England*, than ever King *William* III. did at the Expence of about 70 Millions Sterling throughout his whole Reign, which makes a vast Difference between being governed by an *English*-born Princess, and a Foreigner; the latter progress'd Abroad, but the former does good at Home.

Let Whigs and Fanatics boast never so much of King *William* III. It cannot be denied but that he owed more to the Parliament of *England*, than to his own Policy or Conduct: As for his Conquests Abroad, they were never frequently known, neither did he in all his Time bring home more Trophies, Honours or Triumphs, than he had extraordinary Sums to accomplish.

The imprudent Policy of the best of Princes, King *Charles* II. has contributed to the Misfortune of his own Family? He left well Deservers to go with the Satisfaction of their own Consciences, and with the Hopes of a Reward in the next World. Whereas, had not that meek Prince by evil Council rendered his Enemies preferable to his Friends, there would be no Round-Heads, nor the Race of them left in any Station, to plead a vacant Throne, or an *Interregnum*; no, nor would there be any necessity to resume those Grants, nor to have the Land incumbered with Foreigners; but Providence has ordered things to the contrary, and sheweth that Statesmen are sometimes out of their Politics.

And thus Heaven ridicules the Vanity of Princes, and sends sometimes the worst Thought-of Men to rule over an unsatiable People, baffles the Policy of the one, and burthens and enslaves the restless Spirits of the other; and sometimes Providence, to exert its own over-ruling Power, shews human Policy to be short-sighted, where the latter requires the native Inhabitants to be dispossessed and exiled, to make Room for foreign Needymites, who with those in conjunction with them, are like the Exhalation of the Earth, when they are raised to the Height and Brightness of Stars, which portends Ruin to the greatest

Persons

Perſons and beſt Families: Even ſo, Inferiours when elevated to Power, aſcend ſo high, 'till they become boundleſs in Ambition, and then they conſpire againſt the beſt Perſons, and are commonly ſo deſperate in carrying on their Deſigns, that they hazard ſometimes their own Lives to gain their Point; which if they fail, they will be apt to ruin all by their Fall, that an univerſal Flame might be kindled by their funeral Pile.

And now to come to a Concluſion, from what was ſaid before, it is certain, that where a Prince hath no hereditary Right or Title, he can neither make nor convey any hereditary Right or Title: And King *William* III. being that Prince, makes all his Grants of no Value. Secondly, King *William* III. was a King ſet up by Parliament, and could not pretend to make any Grants of Lands to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, but with the Conſent of Parliament, and having no ſuch Conſent, makes all his Grants as void, as thoſe of the three *Henries* ſo declared, in the Firſt of *Edward* IV. Thirdly, thoſe Grants were ſurreptitiouſly and ſurprizingly obtained againſt the Authority of Parliament, as appears by the Votes, for having all the Forfeitures converted to public Uſes: But the Grantees by an over-ruling Intereſt, procured the ſaid Grants, which ſhould render all the Dates, Sealers, Keepers and Miniſters concerned, equally accountable for lopping the Public. And as every King ſet up by Senate or Parliament, is reſponſible to that Power, being but in the Nature of Truſtee for the Public, and King *William* III. having neither Right or Title, but what he had from the Parliament, obliged him to go no further in the Exerciſe of his Power, than the Parliament ſhould direct, and the Parliament having given Directions to have thoſe Forfeitures to the Uſe of the Public, it was not afterwards lawful for King *William* III. nor for his Seal-keepers, and Debtors, to convert the ſaid Forfeitures to the Uſe of obſcure private Men, becauſe all Grants of Laws from all Kings ſhall be void, if not granted according to their Will expreſſed in their Laws; and theſe Grants being not much, renders them all abortive.

Perhaps ſome violent Whig might put the following Queſtion, after this manner, how can you deny a Right in King *William*, and allow a Right in Queen *Anne?* By what you have ſaid of the Line of Succeſſion before, the Son is preferable to the Daughter? And by what Right then can the Daughter rule, and not the Son.

To which is anſwered, that by the Policy of King *W*——— to ſcreen himſelf, he got the *S*—— excluded, attainted and abjured, whether rightfully or wrongfully is not the Queſtion: But if rightfully, the Daughter ſtands where ſhe ſhould in her own Right, deſcended to her from her Father.

And on the other Hand, if the Son was wrongfully excluded, the Queen had no ſhare in the Excluſion? but it was one of the Legacies of King *William* III. to his K———n, having reſolved a little before his Exit, to be as kind to the S——n, as he was to the Father and Family. The State of Affairs now well conſidered, future Ages will not only applaud the Queen, but will render it the moſt glorious Action of her Life, to take the G——t upon her.

And as for the Grants of Lands, made by our hereditary Kings, (excepting thoſe of the Gown) they are as irrevocable as thoſe made by King *William* the Conqueror? and to queſtion the Conqueror's Grants, would be to arraign all

civil Rights in the Kingdom, and to confirm thoſe of King *William* III. would be to give hopes to Factions, to have all at laſt in their Powers, and be an Encouragement to freſh Revolutions, which would not only make the Government precarious, but would alſo extirpate the Monarchy, Root and Branch, and leave Noble, Gentle and Simple to ſeek for their Poſſeſſions in a ſecond Chaos? For the Prevention of all ſuch Evils, now the Cauſe is removed, let the Grants be reſumed, which will conduce to the re-eſtabliſhing of Church and State, and to the preſerving all civil Rights upon the old Foundation:

All which is humbly ſubmitted to the true Preſervers of the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People, the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament.

B. B.

And thus has this bold Author unworthily treated the beſt of Men, and the beſt of Kings, by trampling on the ſacred Aſhes of a crowned Head, who when living was the Glory of *England* and the Joy of all *Europe:* So that the above-ſaid impudent Reflections are viſibly apparent, to be nothing but the Product of Malice, Prejudice, and Ill-nature.

Legion's New Paper: Being a ſecond Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late Houſe of Commons. With *Legion*'s humble Addreſs to his Majeſty. By *T. G.* Gent. 1702.

Gentlemen,

THE greateſt Reſpect which could poſſibly have been ſhown to you by the People of *England*, had been to have let your Actions have ſunk into Forgetfulneſs, and in Kindneſs to you, have let neither you nor your Deeds have been named any more in your native Country.

But ſince thoſe People who (in your Houſe) were ſo reſtleſs in their Endeavours to ruin us, are not aſhamed to undertake your Defence: We are obliged in the juſt Vindication of our native Right further to expoſe your Errors, than in Charity to your Memory we deſigned.

We are bound to let the People know, that a late Pamphlet printed by your own Club, and induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole Nation, entitled, *A Defence of the laſt Parliament*, is calculated to wheedle the People to chuſe you again.

But we hope their Eyes will be opened. And we wonder you can ſuggeſt that the Freeholders ſhould ſo contradict the Language of their Addreſſes, and be found ſo to mock the King and the Nation, as to addreſs you out of Doors, and then put you in again themſelves; if they ſhould act ſo unaccountably, *Kings for the future will the better know what* Engliſh *Addreſſing ſignifies.*

Gen-

Gentlemen,

The ſame Hand that preſented your Speaker with a certain *Memorial*, called the *Legion Paper*, written, as Mr. *Harley* very well knows, in a Hand that ſtood the wrong Way; *that Paper* which came, as is ſaid, from two hundred thouſand *Engliſhmen*; *that Paper* which frighted Mr. *P.* and Mr. *H——t*, and ſeveral others into the Country; *that Paper* which Mr. *Howe*, in a lamentable Tone, told the Houſe, made him, *from the Senſe of his own Guilt*, afraid of his Life; *that Paper* which put you all ſo beſides yourſelves, as to make a ſenſeleſs Addreſs to his Majeſty, to defend himſelf againſt his People; which Addreſs you were afterwards aſhamed to preſent; *that Paper* which you had ſo little Wit as to read, and ſo much Modeſty, that *is Guilt*, as to bluſh at; *that Paper* which made you wiſh you had never committed the *Kentiſh* Petitioners, and made you afraid to proſecute them; *that Paper* which made you clap up the Seſſions in ſuch Haſte, as made the Lords baffle you, and all the Nation aſhamed of you; *that Paper* which made you paſs one good Vote at parting, to *deſire the King to make Alliances*, &c. which ſome of your Members called a Sweetner, that you might not be afraid to go Home: The ſame Hand preſents you with this Paper, as the true Senſe of the Nation concerning you.

The Author does not come *incognito* as before, but you may ſee it at the Corner of every Street, every Bookſeller can ſell it you, every *Engliſhman* has it in his Head; and your humble Servant the Author is to be ſpoken with at his Houſe, as conſtantly as a Quack-Doctor, from Eight to Twelve in the Morning, and from Two till Nine at Night.

It had been Time for your Defender to have voted the Author of *Legion* to *Tyburn*, when the Charge there given you in the Name of the People of *England* had been cleared.

And the Author tells you, he will be content with that Fate when you will fairly diſprove one Article of that yet unanſwered Paper.

There you may ſee, Gentlemen, that the Nation's Exceptions at your Behaviour, are not to be reduced to three Heads of your own making; the firſt of which no Body never charged on you, but your new Defender; but if we miſtake not, there are no leſs than fifteen Articles of illegal Proceedings, from one of which, you, nor all the Men alive, cannot fairly purge you, which for your better Satisfaction are here tranſcribed.

'I. To raiſe Funds for Money, and declare, by borrowing Clauſes, that 'whoſoever advances Money on thoſe Funds, ſhall be reimburſed out of the 'next Aids, if the Funds fall ſhort; and then give ſubſequent Funds, without 'transferring the Deficiency of the former, is a horrible Cheat on the Subject 'who lent the Money; a Breach of public Faith, and deſtructive to the Honour 'and Credit of Parliaments.

'II. To impriſon Men who are not your own Members, by no Proceedings 'but a Vote of your Houſe, and to continue them in Cuſtody, *ſine Die*, is illegal; a notorious Breach of the Liberty of the People; ſetting up a diſpenſing 'Power in the Houſe of Commons, which your Fathers never pretended to; 'bidding Defiance to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which is the Bulwark of perſonal

'Liberty, deſtructive of the Laws, and betraying the Truſt repoſed in you, 'The King at the ſame time being obliged to ask you Leave to continue in Cuſtody 'the horrid Aſſaſſinators of his Perſon.

'III. Committing to Cuſtody thoſe Gentlemen, who, at the Command of 'the People (whoſe Servants you are) and in a peaceable Way put you in Mind 'of your Duty, is illegal and injurious, deſtructive of the Subjects Liberty of 'petitioning for Redreſs of Grievances, which has by all Parliaments before 'you, been acknowledged to be their undoubted Right.

'IV. Voting a Petition from the Gentlement of *Kent* inſolent, is ridiculous 'and impertinent, becauſe the Freeholders of *England* are your Superiors, and 'is a Contradiction in itſelf, and a Contempt of the *Engliſh* Freedom, and con-'trary to the Nature of parliamentary Power.

'V. Voting People guilty of Bribery and ill Practices, and committing them 'as aforeſaid without Bail, and then upon Submiſſion and kneeling to your 'Houſe, diſcharging them, exacting exorbitant Fees by your Officers, is ille-'gal, betraying the Juſtice of the Nation, ſelling the Liberty of the Subject, 'encouraging the Extortion and Villany of Goalers and Officers, and diſconti-'nuing the legal Proſecutions of Offenders in the ordinary Courſe of Law.

'VI. Proſecuting the Crime of Bribery in ſome to ſerve a Party, and then 'proceed no further, though Proof lay before you, is partial and unjuſt, and a 'Scandal upon the Honour of Parliaments.

'VII. Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to *Europe*, becauſe it gave ſo much 'of the *Spaniſh* Dominions to the *French*, and not concern yourſelves to prevent 'their taking Poſſeſſion of it all. Deſerting the *Dutch* when the *French* are at 'their Doors, till it be almoſt too late to help them; is unjuſt to our Treaties, 'and unkind to our Confederates, diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Nation, and 'ſhews you very negligent of the Safety of *England*, and of our Proteſtant 'Neighbours.

'VIII. Ordering immediate Hearings to trifling Petitions, to pleaſe Parties 'in Elections; and poſtpone the Petition of a Widow for the Blood of her mur-'thered Daughter, without giving it a Reading, is an illegal Delay of Juſtice, 'diſhonourable to the public Juſtice of the Nation.

'IX. Addreſſing the King to diſplace his Friends upon bare Surmiſes, before 'any legal Trial or Article proved, is illegal, an inverting the Law, and ma-'king Execution go before Judgment, contrary to the true Senſe of the Law, 'which eſteems every Man a good Man till ſomething appears to the con-'trary.

'X. Delaying Proceedings upon capital Impeachments, to blaſt the Reputa-'tion of the Perſons without proving the Fact, is illegal and oppreſſive, de-'ſtructive of the Liberty of *Engliſhmen*, a Delay of Juſtice, and a Reproach to 'Parliaments.

'XI. Suffering ſaucy and indecent Reproaches upon his Majeſty's Perſon to 'be publickly made in your Houſe, particularly by that impudent Scandal of 'Parliaments *J——n H——w*, without ſhewing ſuch Reſentments as you ought 'to do: The ſaid *H——w* ſaying openly, *That his Majeſty had made a felonious 'Treaty to rob his Neighbours*; *inſinuating that the Partition-Treaty* (which was 'every way as juſt as blowing up one Man's Houſe to ſave another) *was a Com-*

'*bination*

'*bination of the King to rob the Crown of* Spain *of its due:* This is making a *Billingſgate* of the Houſe, and ſetting up to bully your Sovereign, contrary to the 'Intent and Meaning of that Freedom of Speech which you claim as a Right, is 'ſcandalous to Parliaments, undutiful and unmannerly, and a Reproach to the 'whole Nation.

'XII. Your S——r exacting the exorbitant Rate of ten Pounds *per Diem* 'for the V——s, and giving the Printer Encouragement to raiſe it on the Peo-'ple, by ſelling them at Fourpence *per* Sheet, is an illegal and arbitrary Exac-'tion, diſhonourable to the Houſe, and burthenſome to the People.

'XIII. Neglecting ſtill to pay the Nation's Debts compounding for Inte-'reſt, and poſtponing Petitions, is illegal, diſhonourable and deſtructive of the 'public Faith.

'XIV. Publickly neglecting the great Work of Reformation of Manners, 'though often preſſed to it by the King, to the great Diſhonour of God, and 'Encouragement of Vice, is a Neglect of your Duty, and an Abuſe of the Truſt 'repoſed in you, by God, his Majeſty and the People.

'XV. Being ſcandalouſly vicious yourſelves both in your Morals and Religi-'on, leud in Life and erroneous in Doctrine, having public Blaſphemers and 'impudent Denyers of the Divinity of our Saviour among you, and ſuffering 'them unreproved and unpuniſhed, to the infinite Regret of all good Chriſtians, 'and the juſt Abhorrence of the whole Nation.'

The beſt Shift that ever was found yet to help you was by Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, that you are not to be told your Faults, although they are true.

Forbid it Heaven that Truth ſhou'd ever be
Subjected to uſurp'd Authority.

And are you the Men who want to be choſen again, who think you deſerve ſo much Favour from the Nation, as to be truſted again with thoſe Liberties you betrayed? With what Face can you deſire the People ſhould be ſo blind to their own Intereſt?

What we have now to ſay, was true of you ſome time ago, but you had ſo fenced yourſelves by your uſurped unlimited diſpenſing Power, and by Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*'s new Doctrine, that an honeſt Man could not inform the World what you were, without the Danger of being abuſed by your Serjeant, and being refuſed the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and confined in a Garret, during the arbitrary Pleaſure of your Houſe.

But ſince you are diſſolved, and now reduced to an Equality with your Fellow-Subjects, we think the leaſt we can do, is to let you know. the Freeholders of *England* are ſenſible of your Behaviour, and thoſe who are not, may be informed from the following Particulars.

You are the Men who, ſitting in the Leets of Council, repreſenting the good People of *England*, veſted with legiſlative Authority, and having the Liberties and Eſtates of your native Country put into your Hands, miſ-improved that unlimited Power to oppreſs the very People who choſe you to defend them.

By

By unjuſtly impriſoning the Freeholders of *England* for coming to put you in Mind of your Duty, and oppreſſing ſuch as you had no Power to touch, they being under the immediate Protection of the known Laws.

By partial Proceedings againſt ſuch Perſons as the prevailing Party thought fit to expel, as guilty of Bribery, wiſely, though unjuſtly declining the Proceedings againſt others more guilty, whoſe Aſſiſtance to do Evil you wanted in the Houſe.

By not refuſing to declare War without Ground, for no body deſired it, but delaying the public Affairs, till the Enemy was at the Door. *Flanders* poſſeſſed, *Portugal* diſcouraged and fallen off, the *Dutch* beſieged, and his Majeſty obliged to turn Sollicitor, and to your Shame be it ſpoken, permitted almoſt to beg you to make good the Leagues and Stipulations of his Predeceſſors.

By impeaching Members of the Houſe of Lords, and ſhuffling off their Trial by miſerable Shifts and ridiculous Punctilios, the End being to blaſt their Reputation, not prove the Fact, that they might be put out of Places and yourſelves put in.

By quarrelling with the Houſe of Lords, at a Time when Peace at Home was the moſt neceſſary Thing in the World, at the ſame time the Circumſtances being unjuſt, and the Management ridiculous.

You are the Men who, ſince the laſt Receſs, have ſcattered yourſelves about the Kingdom to make yourſelves Advocates for your own Proceedings, and if poſſible to reconcile the People to your Actions, and poſſeſs them with a Belief of your Honeſty, a certain Sign your Deeds would not ſpeak for themſelves, who in all your fooliſh Diſcourſes take upon you to vilify and reproach the King, expoſe his Servants and Miniſters, though your Accuſation, to this Hour, remain unprov'd.

Who ſo far from giving the People any Hopes that you would recollect yourſelves againſt another Seſſion, and proceed to diſcharge your Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in you with more Fidelity and Moderation, have filled the Town with your Threatnings of what you would do at your coming together again.

How you would begin where you left off with your Diſputes againſt the Houſe of Lords?

How you would make the King agree to clip the Wings of their Authority, or give him no Money?

How you would enter upon no Buſineſs till you had humbled the Lords, that if they inſiſted on their Privileges, the Blame of the Delays might lie upon them, and ſo find a Way at one Act to throw your Spleen at the Peers and at the King together?

You are the Men to whom we owe the many Neutralities of the Princes and Circles of the Empire, and *Italy*, the League of the *Portugueſe* with the *French*, and the *French* King's venturing to acknowledge another King of *England*.

'Twas the Fears of your being corrupted by a *French* Party, made our Friends abroad ſhy of engaging in the Proteſtant Intereſt; and the Hopes of it has, on the other hand, encouraged the *French* to inſult the Chriſtian World, and bid fair for all the Liberties of *Europe*.

'Twas

'Twas a Creature of your Speaker's, and a fawning Dependent upon the Party, who scribbling for Favour, had the Impudence to affirm in Print, *That Leagues and Confederacies, Allies and foreign Treaties were useless and insignificant to* England; *that we were an Island separated from the rest of the World independent of any body; and if all the World leagued against us, if we were true to ourselves, we need not care. As to our Trade, our Manufactures had the Command of the World, and would force their Way, and our Fleet could protect, and continue our Trade in Spight of all Mankind; and that the Concern we had in the Safety of our Neighbours, was only a Pretence to raise Armies to enslave us at Home.*

You are the Men that have acted, as if ye believed this prepostrous Doctrine, endeavouring to possess the People with Fears and Jealousies of Slavery at Home, under the Protection and Government of the only King in the World that ever sincerely sought, and effectually restored our Freedom.

But that we may do Justice also to those Gentlemen, who to their utmost opposed all your treacherous Proceedings before we come more freely to tell you our Minds, we must plainly mark you out, that the Innocent may not suffer with the Guilty.

I. Such of you (for such as these were among you) who having been purchased *in former Reigns* by Court-Pensions, to assist arbitrary Princes, joined with them to enslave us, selling the Liberties of your Country to gratify the Lust of Dominion, and the Projects of *Popish Counsels*.

II. Such of you (who being poisoned with arbitrary Principles) gave your Consents to submit all our Laws and Charters to a dispensing Authority in the Crown.

III. Such of you as having forgot that the Original of all Right is derived from, and rested in the People, had complimented your native Country out of her Privileges, and elevated our Kings with a divine Right of Government, which neither God, Nature, or the People ever gave them.

IV. Such who having thus been the Tools of Tyranny in former Reigns, and by great Interests in small Boroughs, have obtained again to be trusted in Parliament with the People's Safety.

V. Such of you who having no Estate, nor able to pay your own Debts, should put such a Banter upon the People, as to desire to be Examiners of the Nation's Accounts without a Salary; as if we did not know that if the Nation did not pay them, somebody else must.

VI. Such of you who bribed by foreign Hopes and *French* Money, expect to make your Fortunes at the Expence of the Nation.

VII. Such as are blindly led by the Party, who pursue these devilish Designs, whereas they are trusted by their Country, not to act by the Directions of others, but ought either to be capable of judging, and acting for the People that chose them, or be sent Home in Hanging-Sleeves, and a Slaberring-Bib.

VIII. Such of you as should have been hanged at the Revolution, for your formerly betraying your Country, and are now like a true Thief, striving to cut their Throats who saved you from the Gallows.

IX. Such of you who cry out of the People of 41, for raising War against, and deposing their Sovereign, but are just sixty Years after, going in the same Steps,

Steps, and had you the ſame Prince to do with, would before now have brought it to the Sword.

Theſe are the Men which makes the People of *England* give Thanks to God and the King, that has free'd them from the Ruin deſigned for them by their own Repreſentatives.

'Tis for your Sakes that is come to paſs in *England*, which never was heard of before, that the People ſhould have Recourſe to the King, to ſave them from being undone by the Parliament.

What means all the Language of the Addreſſes which croud from the extremeſt Part of the Nation? That when ever it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to call a new Parliament, they will endeavour to chuſe ſuch and ſuch.

Had you not been a Parliament in being, and your unreaſonable and wrong extended Power formidable, it is preſumed the Language of thoſe Addreſſes would have been for God's Sake, and for the Nation's Sake, to beſeech his Majeſty to call a new Parliament, and to promiſe to chuſe honeſter Men than they did before.

As for all thoſe honeſt Gentlemen who had the Miſmortune to be overpowered by your Numbers, to be huffed, railed and Bear-beated by the Clamours and Noiſe of the Multitude; but ſtill to their Power, oppoſed your wicked Deſigns, and diſcharged their Duty to their Country.

The grateful Remembrance of their Fidelity will remain in the Hearts of every honeſt *Engliſhman*, and be on every Occaſion called to Mind, and rewarded to them and their Poſterity.

We unanimouſly are of Opinion, that the whole Nation ought to keep a Day of Rejoicing, and ſolemn Thankſgiving to God, who has put it into the Heart of his Majeſty once more to ſave this Nation from Deſtruction, by diveſting you of that Power, which you ſo viſibly exacted to the Ruin of your Country.

That his Majeſty has liſtned to the Voice of Things, as well as to the Voice of his People, and having a diſcerning Judgment, has timely diſcovered your wicked Deſigns, and timely prevented the Confuſion your Proceedings could have brought upon us.

That his Majeſty has once more put it into the Power of the *Engliſh* Freeholders to chuſe again, that they may if poſſible find honeſt Gentlemen enough in this degenerated Nation, who will ſtand up for Religion, and hold the Ballance of the State with that Equality, between every Branch of the Conſtitution, as neither may oppreſs the other; that the whole may be in its full and free Exerciſe, in order to bring more eaſily and effectually to paſs that which is the great Original of all Conſtitutions in the World, the Good of the People.

If we are ſtill ſo infatuate and blind, as not to ſet a Mark of Infamy upon every Man of you.

If ſome enſuing Parliament does not by legal Authority disfranchiſe you as *Engliſhmen*, and make you for ever incapable of being choſen, or of ſitting in the Houſe: As Traytors in an Army are made incapable to ſerve.

If every Borough, City, or Corporation be not deprived of its Privilege of choſing that ſhall ever ſend one of you up again.

If every County be not double taxed, that ſhall choſe any of you to repreſent them again.

Then

Then we deserve to be betrayed to the End of the Chapter, and *England* will fall unpitied by all the Nations of the World.

LEGION'S Address to his Majesty.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

AMONG the Throng of your loyal Subjects, and obedient Cities, Towns, and Corporations, who come to testify their Resentment of the Affront put upon your Majesty by the *French* King, in acknowledging the Titles of your Majesty's Kingdoms to a contemptible Impostor, and to make tender of their humble Duty to your Majesty, we beseech your Majesty to permit the humble Address of not the fewest nor the meanest of your most dutiful Subjects.

We humbly approach your Majesty in the Names of all the Freeholders of *England*, who love the protestant Interest, and seek the Prosperity of their native Country; and tho' we have not had time to take their Hands to this Paper, we presume to assure your Majesty that the Hearts of the whole Nation are here represented. Such excepted as will be hereafter express'd, because the Sincerity of this Address is such, and the Substance of it of such Moment, as no Man can dissent from, and remain either a Lover of his Country, or a faithful Subject to your Majesty.

We had come to your Majesty with our humble Petition, but that we find no room left to complain, your Majesty having been always so ready to redress the Grievances of your People in a parliamentary Way, that we have rather had cause to fear our Representatives too much of late falling into Parties, and led by furious Men, or separate Interests, should impose upon your Goodness, and injure the People they were sent to serve, than that any real Grievance of the Nation, should not be redressed, or any needful Laws passed by your Majesty, at the first Request of your People.

We cannot but represent to your Majesty, and humbly complain that a late House of Commons, having with more Freedom than they approved of, been told the Illegality of their Proceedings, and charged with the Facts, wherein they acted contrary to the Sense and Interest of the People they represented, should instead of rectifying or answering the same, address your Majesty to take care of, and defend yourself against your People, as if it could be possible your People of *England* could entertain any Thoughts to the Prejudice of your Majesty, who are so justly dear to them.

And whereas, the Prosperity of this Nation depends upon the unanimous Conjunction both of Hearts and Interest, between your Majesty and your People, and your Majesty has fully testified both your Sense of, and your Desire to cultivate, and if possible to improve such a Conjunction, we cannot but express our Sorrow, and Disappointment that it should ever come to pass that an *English* Parliament should be less careful to preserve it than consisted with our Safety, or your Majesty's Satisfaction.

'Tis not without a just Concern we have for some time past observed, that it has been possible even for so great an Assembly to err, their invading the Rights of the People who they were chosen to defend, by imprisoning such Gentlemen

as by humble Petition, according to Law, put them in Mind of their Duty; and by addreſſing your Majeſty to put them out of your Favour and Commiſſion in the Countries where they were ſeverally uſeful to your Majeſty and the Nation; their evading the Proſecution of Perſons of Honour, whom they had impeached of Crimes they did not think fit to prove. Their untimely and inconſiſtent trifling the Houſe of Lords; their unreaſonable Delays in paying the juſt Debts of the Nation; their Backwardneſs in aſſiſting our Proteſtant Neighbours, ready to be inſulted by the *French*; the Partiality of their Proceedings in ſeveral particular Caſes among themſelves. Theſe, and the like Miſcarriages, have often filled the Hearts of your moſt dutiful Subjects with Trouble, to ſee thoſe Gentlemen we ſent up as our Repreſentatives ſo ill purſuing the great End of aſſembling in Parliament, *viz.* the Service and Benefit of your Majeſty, and their Country.

Your Majeſty in your great Wiſdom, we doubt not, has been fully ſatisfied that wherein our Repreſentatives have been wanting in their Duty to your Majeſty in their Care of the Proteſtant Religion, and your Majeſty's Allies. So far they have acted contrary to the general Senſe of us, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subjects the Freeholders of *England*, who choſe them, and have betray'd the Truſt repoſed in them by their Country.

Your Majeſty has ſufficiently expreſſed in all the Actions of your glorious Life, your Value for, and Reſolution to maintain the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and we acknowledge the Freedom we now enjoy is owing to the happy Conduct of your Majeſty, in reſcuing us from thoſe who would have betrayed us and our Liberties to the Power of *French* and Popiſh Counſels; and 'tis to our great Sorrow, that we obſerve ſome of thoſe very Inſtruments of Tyranny have found Ways to be truſted again with the Liberties of their Country, not doubting but it is by their reſtleſs Contrivances that many of the Gentlemen of that Houſe have been deluded, and blindly led, under ſpecious Pretences of Liberty, to embroil us in Civil Wars and Diſorders.

Your Majeſty (more than any of your late Predeceſſors) has appeared fully ſatisfied with the conſtant Affections of your Subjects, and have therefore graciouſly granted them conſtant and uninterrupted Aſſemblies of Parliaments, and your People have, on all Occaſions, teſtified their Zeal for your Service, Loyalty to your Perſon, and their Willingneſs to ſupply your Majeſty with all needful Sums for the Support of your glorious Deſigns, firmly believing (as they have always found) that your Majeſty was ever entirely in the common Intereſt, and a true Defender of the Liberty of your People; and though to our unſpeakable Grief your Majeſty has not been ſo well ſerved, nor the Ends of the Nation ſo well anſwered by our Repreſentatives, yet we humbly beſeech your Majeſty not to entertain from thence any Reſentments againſt either Parliaments in general, which your Majeſty has ſo often declared to be the Safety and Glory of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, or againſt your loyal and loving Subjects (the good People of *England*) in particular.

And we take Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we cannot entertain any Fears that your Majeſty ſhould decline your Affections to Parliaments in general, in that your Majeſty has thought fit to give us an Opportunity to elect again another

another Repreſentative, which we hope ſhall more fully anſwer the great Ends for which they are choſen.

Wherefore, from our deep Senſe of your Majeſty's great Care, to preſerve the Affections of your loyal Subjects, and to prevent all Interruptions it may meet with from the private Deſigns of our Enemies, we come to preſent your Majeſty with our humble and unfeigned Thanks for your late Proclamation for the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and for your gracious Intentions therein declared for the ſpeedy calling another.

Nor can we forget to give your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks and grateful Acknowledgments, even for the very Words of your ſaid Proclamation; wherein your Majeſty is pleaſed to take Notice of the true Intent and Meaning of the repeated Addreſſes of your People; who coming with Hearts full of Reſentment at the Inſolence of your Majeſty's Enemies, and the Indignity offered your Perſon, in foſtering and acknowledging a ſcandalous and ridiculous Pretender to your Majeſty's rightful Dominions, cannot refrain expreſſing their juſt Fears that the late Houſe of Commons would fail in their Duty to your Majeſty and the Nation, by aſſuring your Majeſty what Care they would take to ſend up ſuch Men as ſhould fully anſwer the Expectations of all good People, if your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to give them an Opportunity, by calling a new Parliament.

And we humbly thank your Majeſty for that (by your gracious Proclamation) you have confirmed what the Conſtitution of *England*, the Reaſon and Nature of the Thing: And all impartial Men have allowed, that it is moſt reaſonable your Majeſty's concurring the Freeholders of *England*, ſhould have an Opportunity of a new Choice given them when they find Cauſe, in order to chuſe ſuch Men as are more likely to bring to paſs the juſt and pious Intentions of the Nation.

And becauſe it may ſeem a new Thing in *England*, for the People to thank their King for diſſolving the Parliament, we humbly crave Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that nothing could have led us to ſuch a Proceeding, but the Satisfaction of having an Opportunity put into our Hands, of ſending up ſuch Repreſentatives to attend your Majeſty in Parliament, as may, with unſhaken Fidelity to your Majeſty, and unbyaſſed Regard to the Intereſt of their native Country, proceed in the weighty Matters your Majeſty ſhall lay before them, with that Unanimity of Council, and Vigour in Reſolution, as is neceſſary, at this Juncture, to encourage the Proteſtant Confederacy Abroad, ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe*, reduce the exorbitant Power of our Enemies, complete your Majeſty's juſt and glorious Deſigns, and defend our Commerce in the World.

And we further humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that if ever a Parliament (which God forbid) ſhould proceed contrary to theſe juſt and reaſonable Ends, they muſt be acted by ſome ill Agents, contrary to the Senſe of their Country, their Duty to your Majeſty, and the honeſt Intentions of us your Majeſty's obedient Subjects who chuſe them.

And if ever that unhappy Time ſhould come again, and as often as it ſhall ſo happen, your Majeſty will infinitely engage the Hearts and Affections of

all your honeſt Proteſtant Subjects, by giving them opportunity to ſhow their Reſentments, by chuſing Men of more Honeſty in their Rooms.

So ſhall the Peace and Tranquillity of theſe Nations be preſerved, the Glory of your Majeſty's Reign increaſed, the Enemies of our Happineſs be defeated. Our Proteſtant Neighbours, your Majeſty's Allies, be aſſiſted and encouraged; our Religion, Liberty and Trade, ſecured; and your Majeſty's Satisfaction compleated, to the Glory of God, and the infinite Comfort of all thoſe who wiſh and pray for the Proſperity of your Majeſty and *Old England*.

Legion's Humble Addreſs to the Lords. 1703.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in Parliament.

[*A Proclamation was publiſhed, offering* 100 l. *Reward for diſcovering the Author, and* 50 l. *for apprehending the Printer of this Tract; but without Effect.*]

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

THE diſtreſſed People of *England*, betrayed and abuſed by their Repreſentatives, humbly fly to your Lordſhips as the only Refuge now left them, next under God and her Majeſty, where they can apply themſelves for the Safety of their Liberties, and Redreſs of the Grievances of the Nation.

And that your Lordſhips and all the World may know, that as it is not without great Reaſon that we come to your Lordſhips from that Houſe where all our Safety ought to depend, and where formerly it did depend; accordingly we crave leave humbly to repreſent to your Lordſhips,

1. That there is a Duty incumbent on the People's Repreſentatives, *viz.* the Care of the Liberties, Properties and Peace of the Perſons they repreſent, which they have no right to part with, or to expoſe, and that therefore all the Powers and Rights of us the Repreſented, are not committed to them our Repreſenters.
2. That whenever a Houſe of Commons ſhall part with, expoſe, neglect or ſuffer to be infringed the Liberties, Rights and Peace of the People they repreſent: They betray their Truſt, violate the general Reaſon and Nature of their being choſen; their repreſenting Power and Being ceaſes of courſe, and they become from that time forward, a mighty Conventicle, an unlawful Aſſembly; and may and ought to be depoſed and diſmiſſed by the ſame Laws of Nature and Right, that oppreſſed Subjects may, and in all Ages have, depoſed bloody and tyrannic Princes.

3.

3. It is the undoubted Right and Privilege of the People of *England*, that they are not bound to ſubmit to any Power but what is legal; and the known Laws of the Land are the ſtated Bounds of parliamentary, as well as regal Power; and the People therefore ought not to be oppreſs'd. On the Breach of theſe Laws, and oppreſſing theſe People, your Lordſhips noble Anceſtors have frequently taken Arms, and pulled down bloody Tyrants; depoſing their Power, and reſcuing your Country from Slavery and Oppreſſion: And having conveyed to your Lordſhips, and us the the People of *England*, the Right of being governed by known Laws, we have, till now, defended that Right, to the Deſtruction of all thoſe that ever attempted to invade it; and under your Lordſhips Protection, ſtill reſolve to do ſo, to the laſt Drop of our Blood.
4. As it is the undoubted Right of the People of *England*, that they may not be oppreſs'd; ſo when at any time they have ſuffered the Invaſions and Depredations of tyrannic Princes contrary to that Right, they have always made legal Claim of their proper Rights and Privileges: And it cannot be juſt, that what our Kings have no Right to take away, our Repreſentatives may give without Law; and that the People may endure the Tyranny of five hundred Uſurpers more than of one, ſince no Number or Quality of Perſons can make that lawful which in its own Nature is not ſo.

Theſe Things being undeniably true, we cannot without great Regret apply our ſelves to your Lordſhips; and humbly repreſent in our own Names, and in the Names of all the good People of *England*,

1. That 'tis the undoubted Right of all the Boroughs, Cities, and Towns Corporate, who by Preſcription, Charter, or other Right, are to chuſe Repreſentatives in Parliament, always to do ſo, unleſs they are legally diveſted of that Right: And that to deprive the Town of *Maidſtone*, for now two Seſſions of Parliament, of their Privilege of ſending two Members to repreſent them, is arbitrary and illegal, contrary to the Privilege and Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, who can forfeit no Right, but by legal Conviction, Attainder or Act of Parliament.
2. To throw out and put in Members of Parliament at Committees of Elections, by Intereſt of Parties, and poſitive Vote; not preſcribing that Vote by the true Merit of the Caſe, and plain Majority of the Electors, is deſtroying the People's Right of Elections, and diveſting the Towns of their Privileges, which by Law they ought to enjoy: And that to vote in ſuch Committees, that ſixteen Voices of Electors entitles any Perſon to be a Member of Parliament againſt twenty-two, is partial, unjuſt and deſtructive of the Being of Parliaments, and the original Rights of the People of *England*; and has nevertheleſs been notoriouſly practiſed of late in ſeveral other Elections beſides thoſe of *Weſtbury* and *Sudbury*.
3. For the Houſe of Commons to invade the Nation's Judicature, and take from any Freeholder his Right of Action, where the Law gives him the Privilege to right himſelf in caſe of Injury, is betraying the Truſt repoſed in them by the People of *England*, and exerciſing the ſame arbi-

trary

trary Power they are ſent thither to ſuppreſs: And no illegal Proceeding of the late King *James*, for which the Commons of *England* depoſed and dethroned him, were more directly againſt the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

4. To deprive any Freeholder of his Right in Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, or to encourage others to do ſo, as was practiſed in the Caſe of the Election at *Ayleſbury*, is a manifeſt Invaſion of thoſe very Liberties, which it is the Houſe of Commons Buſineſs to protect and defend.

5. The manifeſt Diſtinction of all Votes in the Houſe by Intereſt and Parties, and not by Merit and real Right, as it is too plain is now the Practice of that Houſe; a large Number of out-lying Members always being in the Speaker's Chambers, or in Publick Houſes near the Houſe, ready to be called in by their Party when a Queſtion is put, who having heard nothing of the Merit of the Caſe, enquire not after the Particulars, but how Sir *John* or Sir *Thomas*, or any leading Man of the Party, votes. This is a manifeſt Reproach to the Juſtice of the Nation, a Scandal to the Houſe of Commons, a Slight and Neglect of the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, and betraying the Intereſt of the Nation.

6. Voting the Proſecution of ſome Perſons entruſted with the Management of the public Revenue, but not of others equally guilty of Frauds and ill Practices, is a great Defect of Juſtice, a ſcandalous Partiality, and a Reproach on the Integrity as well as Duty of the Commons.

7. Reſolving to re-aſſume the Grants of King *William* on whatſoever Merit or valuable Conſideration they were made, and at the ſame time continue the extravagant Diſpoſitions of former Reigns, in which the ſtated Revenues of the Crown are alienated to Whores, Baſtards and Papiſts, and the public Enemies of the Nation, is a partial and malicious Proceeding, contrived to reflect upon his late Majeſty, and leſſen the Value all true *Engliſhmen* have for his Memory; and ſhews the Degeneracy in the Principle of the preſent Houſe of Commons from thoſe that joined with that glorious Monarch in the Redemption of this Nation from Slavery and arbitrary Government.

8. Careſſing the Queen's Majeſty with the Title of a Queen, as ſitting on the Throne of her Anceſtors by Right of Succeſſion from her Father, when at the ſame time they know her Majeſty's Right depends upon the Validity of Parliament-Limitation, and is built on the Foot of the late Revolution, and the Act of Settlement, is a barbarous Treachery to the whole Nation, an inſolent Affront to her Majeſty, an Inſinuation of the Title of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and a villainous Attempt to deſtroy the preſent Settlement of Succeſſion, and is conſequently High Treaſon by their own Act of Parliament.

9. That to addreſs her Majeſty to extend her Prerogative, and thereby to embroil her Majeſty with the Privilege of the Peers, is the moſt aggravated Piece of Treachery that ever Houſe of Commons was, or ever can be, guilty of.

1.

1. As it is an Affront to her Majesty, and reproaching her with not knowing how to manage her Government.

2. As it is a malicious Design on her Person, by persuading her to enter on that very thing, the exorbitant Practice whereof was the Ruin and Destruction of her Father and Grandfather.

3. As it is an apparent meddling with what they have no Power nor Right to touch; excepting only when it encroaches upon, or infringes the People's just Liberties; and then no farther than to cause it to return to its proper Channel.

4. As it is a notorious Discovery of a treacherous Plot against the People of *England*, to bring the Prerogative of the Prince in Play, and prompt it forward, which has cost the Nation so much Blood and Treasure to restrain.

5. As it is the most unparallel'd unprecedented Attempt upon the Liberties of the People, who sent them there to protect, settle and defend them, whose Servants they are, and whose Rights and Liberties they cannot expose without the most detestable Perfidy, and degenerating from all the Members that ever sate within those Walls before them.

6. As it is a terrible Precedent for future Ages, when some Prince of less Honesty may sit on the Throne, who may be with more Ease persuaded by a byassed and corrupted House of Commons to become Tyrants and Advancers of the Prerogative.

This being the distressed Condition of the Liberties of the free-born People, now given up, deserted and exposed by the House of Commons, whose proper Business and Duty requires them more particularly to defend them.

And your Lordships, like the true Posterity of those noble Ancestors, at the Price of whose Blood we received our Privileges and Liberties, having vigorously and gloriously withstood the treacherous and unfaithful Proceedings of these our degenerated Representatives.

We cannot but with a deep Sense of Gratitude and Affection present unto your Lordships, this our humble Address, heartily acknowledging your Lordships Zeal, Courage and Fidelity, both in vindicating your own undoubted Rights, invaded by the same House of Commons; in your diligent Care for the Safety of her Majesty's Person, in searching after the deeply-laid Contrivances of her Enemies in the late Plot; and in your Lordships asserting the Liberty and Rights of the People of *England*, against the Invasion and Usurpation of the House of Commons.

And as these three Heads, in which your Lordships have distinguished yourselves, to the immortal Glory of the *English* Nobility, do contain all the material Things which can make this Nation happy; so in your Lordships vigorous defending those three, we cannot but thankfully acknowledge your Lordships as the Sanctuary and Safety of this Nation, and the glorious Instruments of preserving her Majesty's Person and our just and undoubted Liberties.

And we cannot in Gratitude but assure your Lordships, that in the farther Pursuit of these just and glorious Ends, we, the injured Freeholders and Commons of *England*, will firmly adhere to, and faithfully defend your Lordships both

both in your Perſons and Authority; we will maintain your Lordſhips in all your juſt and legal Privileges, and in all the due Meaſures you have already taken, or ſhall further take, in the Defence and Vindication of your juſt Rights, her Majeſty's Perſon, and our own Liberties. In all which we humbly aſſure your Lordſhips, that we reſolve as One Man to live and die with you.

Our Name is Million, *and we are more.*

The humble Repreſentation of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, preſented to her Majeſty on *Tueſday* the eighteenth Day of *January*, 1703. And her Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer thereunto.

Die Lunæ 17 *Januarii*, 1703.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, find ourſelves under an unhappy Neceſſity of making this our humble Application to the Throne, upon Occaſion of an Addreſs preſented to your Majeſty by the Houſe of Commons, the twenty-third Day of *December* laſt, and ſince that time publiſhed to the whole Nation in Print; by which the Houſe of Lords is charged with the Violation of your Royal Prerogative, and of the known Laws of the Land; with wreſting Perſons ſuſpected of Treaſonable Practices, and taken into Cuſtody by Meſſengers out of your Majeſty's Hands, without your Leave or Knowledge, and in a moſt extraordinary Manner taking the Examination of them ſolely to themſelves; whereby a due Enquiry into the evil Practices and Deſigns againſt your Majeſty's Perſon and Government might in great meaſure be obſtructed. And they conclude their Addreſs by moſt earneſtly deſiring your Majeſty to ſuffer no Diminution of your Prerogative, and promiſe to ſupport you in the aſſerting it againſt all Invaſions whatſoever. It is not poſſible for us to remain ſilent under this heavy Charge, ſo unjuſtly and without the leaſt Ground or Colour endeavoured to be fixed upon the whole Body of the Peers, which tending directly to create an ill Opinion of us in your Majeſty, puts us under an inevitable Neceſſity of vindicating both the Legality and the dutiful Manner of our Proceeding.

The Expreſſions in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons are ſo very harſh and undecent, that we may truly affirm the like were never uſed of the Houſe of Peers in any Age, not even by that Aſſembly, which, under the Name of the Houſe of Commons, took upon them not only to aboliſh the Houſe of Lords, but

but to deſtroy the Monarchy. We ſhall carefully avoid making Returns of that Kind: We conſider too much what we owe to ourſelves; and we know too well the profound Reſpect due to your Royal Perſon, to let any Provocation tranſport us ſo, as to uſe Words unfit to be offered by us to our Sovereign.

The Matter of this Addreſs is no leſs injurious to us than the Terms, there was not the leaſt Occaſion for a juſt Objection to any Part of our Conduct in that Buſineſs to which the Addreſs relates. The Proceeding was ſtrictly juſtifiable by the known Laws and Cuſtoms of Parliament, it was carried on with the utmoſt Reſpect to your Majeſty, and with true Zeal for the Safety of your Perſon and Government, all that was done was agreed to by the concurrent Opinion of the Houſe, without the leaſt Objection from any of our Members, who have the Honour of ſerving your Majeſty in your great Offices and Employments.

We humbly repreſent to your Majeſty, that, by the known Laws and Cuſtom of Parliaments, the Houſe of Peers has an undoubted Right, in Caſes where they conceive it to be for the Good and Safety of your Majeſty and the Kingdom, to take Examinations of Perſons charged with criminal Matters, whether ſuch Perſons be then in Cuſtody or not, and alſo to order the Perſons ſo to be examined to be taken into Cuſtody by your Majeſty's ſworn Officers attending the Houſe during ſuch Examinations, or to commit them to any other ſafe Cuſtody that they ſhall think proper; and to reſtrain others, if they ſee Cauſe, from having acceſs to, or Communication with them: The Houſe of Lords has exerciſed this Right from time to time, as Occaſions have required, without Objection. Our Records are filled with Precedents which warrant our Claim in every Part of it, and we preſume to affirm to your Majeſty, That the drawing this Right into Queſtion at any time, cannot but be of dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties and Safety of the People, and to the Conſtitution of the Government, as tending to avoid or render in great meaſure ineffectual the Enquiries of Parliaments, which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially where many and great Perſons are engaged in dangerous Deſigns againſt the Government; or where ill Miniſters abuſe their Favour towards the oppreſſing or enſlaving of the People. Your Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs makes us ſecure at preſent againſt all Influences of that Kind, and we unanimouſly and heartily pray we may long enjoy the Bleſſing of your Reign. But if it happens in future Times, that ill Men ſhould gain too great a Degree of Favour with our Princes; how eaſily will it be for them to ſtifle or defeat all parliamentary Enquiries into their Crimes? For if the being in Priſon, or in the Hands of a Meſſenger, will protect Men from being examined in the Houſe of Lords, or from being put into the Cuſtody of the proper Officers of the Houſe, during the Examination, and debarr'd from converſing with others; it will certainly be always in the Power of Favourites to cauſe thoſe who can be Witneſſes againſt them, as well as the Accomplices of their Deſigns, to be taken into Cuſtody. And if Perſons in Cuſtody are out of the Reach of the Houſe of Lords, who are the hereditary Counſellors of the Crown, and in whom a judicial Power is lodged by the Conſtitution; it is not to be imagined that the Commons can pretend to a greater Power of examining, committing, or reſtraining them.

No House of Commons till now has given Countenance to this dangerous Opinion, which does so directly tend to the rendering ill Ministers safe from the Examination of Parliaments: And we are persuaded no House of Commons hereafter will assert such a Notion, because they are not wont easily to part with a Power they have assumed; and it is certain, that they have several times taken upon them to exercise an Authority like that which they have so severely reflected on in their Address.

This Consideration gave us the greater Astonishment, to find our Proceedings represented in the strange Terms of wresting Prisoners out of your Majesty's Hands, and taking the Examination of them solely to ourselves. We believe the ordering Persons to be examined in that High Court where your Majesty is always present in Consideration of Law, and in that Great Council where you may be present in your Royal Person, as often as you please, will never be thought an Exclusion of your Majesty from the Examinations, if that was intended to be insinuated by saying, we had taken the Examinations solely to ourselves. Having thus laid before your Majesty what it is we claim, and must insist on, as the indisputable Right of the House of Peers; which was never thought in the time of your Royal Ancestors to be prejudicial to the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and which is manifestly necessary for the securing of the Liberties of your People, whereof we are assured your Majesty will have an equal Care. We humbly beg leave to lay before you a short State of the particular Matter of Fact relating to these Prisoners, not doubting, but when the whole Proceeding is known to your Majesty, it will be approved not only as lawful, but every way respectful to your Majesty.

On *Tuesday* the fourteenth of *December* the House of Lords was informed, that several Persons had been seized by the Custom-House Officers on the Coast of *Sussex*, as they came from *France*, and that amongst them there was one *Boucher*, who was capable of making considerable Discoveries, having been in Arms in the *French* Service for many Years, and Gentleman of the Horse and Aid de Camp to the late Duke of *Berwick*, who stands attainted of High Treason, and who had been secretly in *England* several Times before; that it was probable, if he was strictly examined, he might be brought to confess, since he saw his Life in apparent Danger; but that he was a bold Man, and likely to attempt an Escape on that very Account if he was not carefully looked after; and the House was also told, that there was a general Remissness both in the taking, searching, and looking to such Prisoners, which did afterwards appear very evidently in the Examinations that were taken. Upon this Information the Earl of *Nottingham*, your Majesty's principal Secretary of State, acquainted the House that he had not heard of *Boucher*'s Name particularly, but had sent Messengers to bring one *Ogilby* and the other Prisoners who had been apprehended by the Custom-House Officers to Town, and that he believed the Messengers would do their Duty, but he would not be answerable for them.

After this Account of the Prisoners, and of what had been done in order to secure them, the House thought themselves obliged in Duty to your Majesty, and for the Publick Safety, at a time when the Kingdom is engaged in an open War with *France*, and that there are too just Grounds to apprehend the dangerous Practices of *French* Emissaries, to make an humble Address to your Majesty, that

that particular Care might be taken for ſecuring the Perſons of *Boucher*, and of thoſe who were taken with him, and that none might be ſuffered to ſpeak with them till they were examined.

The next Day your Majeſty's gracious Anſwer to this Addreſs was reported to the Houſe, that Care had been taken to ſecure the Priſoners, and that your Majeſty would give Orders that no Body ſhould ſpeak with them till they were examined. Thereupon the Lords entered into a farther Conſideration of the Importance of this Matter, and conceiving nothing to be more likely to bring Priſoners, who had forfeited their Lives, to a full Diſcovery of the Truth, than to find themſelves under the Enquiry of a Parliament, they thought it would be of Publick Service for them to take Examinations of theſe Perſons, and accordingly an Order was made, that no Perſons ſhould ſpeak with the Priſoners, till they had appeared at the Bar of the Houſe.

On the ſixteenth Day the Earl of *Nottingham* informing the Houſe of Lords, that the Priſoners were brought to Town; the Uſher of the Black Rod was ordered to take them into his Cuſtody, in order to their Examination, and to keep them ſeparate and in cloſe Cuſtody (as your Majeſty had before directed) and it being thought moſt proper, from the Nature of the Thing, that the Examination ſhould be by a Committee of Lords, rather than by the whole Houſe, it was reſolved accordingly.

We beg Leave to mention to your Majeſty a Matter of Fact which ſatisfied the Lords, that their Reſolution to take the Examinations of *Boucher*, and the Perſons apprehended with him, was neither unknown nor diſagreeable to your Majeſty, on the ſame Day when that was ordered, being the fifteenth of *December*, the Lords reſolved to examine Sir *John Maclean*, a very dangerous Perſon, as was repreſented to the Houſe, who then ſtood committed in the Hands of a Meſſenger; and for that Purpoſe ordered him to be brought to the Houſe the next Day, having, as they then thought very good Grounds to believe it might prove of great Service to your Majeſty. Sir *John Maclean* was brought to the Houſe, according to the Order, but your Majeſty being pleaſed ſo far to take Notice of this Order, as to ſignify to the Houſe by the Lord Steward, that Sir *John Maclean* had been in part examined already, but that your Majeſty thought it not proper to have that Buſineſs taken out of the way of Examination it was then in, but that your Majeſty would in a ſhort time communicate it to the Houſe; the Lords immediately acquieſced in your Majeſty's Opinion, and ſent back Sir *John Maclean* to the Place from whence he was brought. It was with this Diſpoſition of Mind the Lords acted in this whole Matter, and if your Majeſty, who, no doubt, had the ſame Notice of both Orders, had thought any other Method of the Examination of *Boucher*, and the Perſons taken with him, more proper than that of the Lords; they had Reaſon to conclude your Majeſty would have intimated it at the ſame time, and moſt certainly the Houſe would have had a like Deference for your Royal Judgment in that Inſtance alſo.

The Lords Committees appointed to examine the Priſoners proceeded with all poſſible Diſpatch, and made their Report to the Houſe on the twenty-firſt of *December*; upon Conſideration of the Report the Houſe found it requiſite to commit *Boucher* to the Priſon of *Newgate* for High Treaſon, and the Lords Committees having ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Houſe, whether ſeveral

Parts of the Examinations referred to in their Report, ſhould be laid open to the Houſe, or put into any other way of being farther enquired into, or proſecuted; the Houſe out of a full Aſſurance they had, that, when the Matter of Fact ſhould be laid before your Majeſty, you would certainly give ſuch Order thereupon as were every way ſuitable to your Royal Prudence, and tender Care of the public Safety, did unanimouſly reſolve, without ſo much as ſuffering thoſe parts of the Report to be laid open to the Houſe, that an humble Addreſs ſhould be made from the Houſe to your Majeſty by the Lord Steward and the Duke of *Somerſet* (two of the Lords Committees to whom the Examination had been referred) laying before your Majeſty the whole Report, with all Matters relating thereto, and humbly deſiring your Majeſty to give Order, that *Boucher* ſhould be proſecuted by Mr. Attorney-General for High Treaſon, and that as to the Commitment, Proſecution, or Diſcharge of the other Priſoners mentioned in the Report, you would be pleaſed to give ſuch Directions as ſhould ſeem moſt proper to your Royal Wiſdom. Thus as the whole Affair was entered upon out of Zeal for your Majeſty's Preſervation, and the Safety of the Kingdom, and was carried on and concluded with all poſſible Reſpect to you; ſo we had the comfort to reſt aſſured, that our Behaviour was no leſs graciouſly accepted by your Majeſty from the Anſwer you were pleaſed to make the ſame Day to our laſt Addreſs on this Subject, and which was reported to us on the twenty-ſecond of *December* by the Duke of *Somerſet*, whereby your Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify to the Houſe, with your accuſtomed Goodneſs, that you would give Order for every thing as the Lords had deſired.

Madam, this is a true and juſt Account of our Proceedings which have been ſo ſtrangely miſrepreſented, and to which no Exception can poſſibly be taken by any Perſons rightly informed. For as we had your Royal Approbation of all that was done; ſo the Houſe of Commons could have had no Pretence of Objection, if they had taken the uſual Parliamentary Methods of deſiring to be informed of what we had done, and of the Grounds of our Proceedings, before they had approached your Majeſty with ſuch a Repreſentation of them.

Their carrying this unprecedented Addreſs to your Majeſty in ſo haſty a manner, gives us almoſt as great Trouble as the hard Uſage we find in it. The ancient, known, and indeed only effectual Method of preſerving a good Correſpondence between the two Houſes of Parliament has been by Conferences. If at any time either Houſe conceived they had a reaſonable Ground to object againſt the Proceedings of the other, Conferences have been deſired, and the Matter in Debate between them fairly diſcuſs'd, and thereby Miſtakes have been cleared for the moſt part, and a good Underſtanding cultivated, and a mutual Reſpect preſerved, which is always highly requiſite in the Nature of our Conſtitution, but more eſpecially neceſſary in this time of War and Danger.

Had the Houſe of Commons thought fit to have purſued this Method upon this Occaſion, we ſhould have been able to have given them entire Satisfaction, not only of the Lawfulneſs of all we had done, but of all the juſt and weighty Grounds upon which we took the Examinations of theſe Perſons into our own Hands; or at leaſt if they could have convinced us of any Miſtake, we ſhould have given them any reaſonable Satisfaction.

But,

But, without making any such previous Step, the House of Commons have made an Appeal directly to the Throne against the House of Lords, and charged them, though most unjustly, with Attempts of the highest Nature. Nothing like this was ever done before, and out of our hearty Concern for the Preservation of our happy Constitution, we hope the same thing will never be done again. We know your royal Heart is unmoveably fixed on preserving the Liberties of your People, and transmitting them entire to Posterity; but if in after times the Houses of Parliament should be appealing against one another to the Crown (for if such a Course be justifiable in the House of Commons, the same Method may be taken by the Lords) as your Majesty is now sensible how great Difficulties it necessarily brings upon a good Prince; so it is easy to foresee (and we cannot think of it without Terror) how fatal the Consequences may be in the Reign of an ill-designing Prince, and what Advantages may be taken from it for utterly subverting the best ordered Form of Government in the World. There are Examples Abroad where Proceedings of this kind have ended in the Overthrow of the Liberties of the People, which make us the more apprehend the Beginning of them among ourselves. Your Majesty's great Judgment cannot but readily discern, whether it does naturally tend for one House of Parliament to be exciting and earnestly desiring the Sovereign to exert a real or supposed Prerogative against the other House. It is not easy to imagine what the Commons could expect of your Majesty from such an Application; the Lords have never entertained a Thought of using this dangerous Method, whatever Occasions may have been given within the Compass of late Years. And we promise your Majesty we will always endeavour to preserve a good Understanding with the House of Commons, and shall never think it too dear to procure that Union at any rate, unless that of delivering up those Rights and Powers which are lodged in us by the Law, and without which the Constitution cannot subsist.

We shall never be guilty of the Presumption of prescribing to your Majesty when or against whom you should exert your Prerogative, but we will be always ready to assist you in the Support of all the just Rights of the Crown, as well as in maintaining the Liberties of the Subject, which we know are no less dear to your Majesty.

It may with Modesty and Truth be affirmed, that the Lords have in all Times been the surest and most natural Bulwark of the Prerogatives of the Crown, they being (as your royal Grandfather of ever blessed Memory was pleased to express it) an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and the People, to assist each against any Encroachment of the other.

We will never contribute by any Act of ours to the Diminution of the Rights of the Crown, nor as far as we are able will suffer it in others. We cannot act otherwise without hurting ourselves in the highest Degree, being thoroughly convinced that the Preservation of the legal Prerogatives is not only the surest way to secure our own Privileges, but for absolute Necessity for the happy and rightful Administration of the Government. And we hope the House of Commons will in all Times to come speak and act with that Regard to the Prerogative which they seem to have taken up lately.

There

There remains one Particular more which we will only name to your Majesty, because we rest satisfied it cannot have Weight any where, that is the Insinuation in the Address, as if the Examination of these Prisoners by the Lords was in order to obstruct the Enquiry into the Designs against your Majesty's Person and Government; or at least that it was likely to produce such an Effect. Our dutiful Zeal for your Majesty's Government, and our warm Concern to discover all Designs and oppose all Practices against it, are too well known to the World, that any Suggestions of that Sort should make the least Impression to our Disadvantage; and we are very sure 'twas no Suspicion of that Nature which gave the true Rise to this very sharp Address. It is easy to determine whether a hearty and forward Undertaking to search into the Designs of your Enemies, or the seeking Occasions to object to, and interrupt such Endeavours, be most likely to obstruct the Discovery of the pernicious Practices of Traitors.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We most humbly ask Pardon for presuming to give your Majesty the trouble of this long Representation, which has proceeded from the passionate Concern we have to stand not only acquitted, but entirely approved in the Judgment of so excellent a Queen, and so justly beloved of all her Subjects.

We depend upon your Justice as well as your Goodness, that nothing can do us prejudice (from whatsoever Hands it comes) in your royal Opinion, while we continue to act in that Station where we are placed by the Form of the *English* Government according to the Laws and Customs of Parliament, with all imaginable Respect and Duty to your self, and all possible Zeal for the Safety and Happiness of your Kingdom.

Give us leave to conclude this our humble Address with this firm Promise, that no Dangers, no Reproaches, nor any Artifices whatsoever shall deter or divert us from using our utmost Endeavours from time to time in discovering and opposing all Contrivances and Attempts against your Royal Person and Government and the Protestant Succession as by Law established.

Her Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Representation.

My Lords,

I Am very sorry for any Misunderstandings that happen between the Two Houses of Parliament, which are so inconvenient for the Public Service, and so uneasy to me, that I cannot but take Notice with Satisfaction of the Assurances you give me, that you will carefully avoid all Occasions of them.

I thank you for the Concern you express for the Rights of the Crown, and for my Prerogative, which I shall never exert so willingly as for the Good of my Subjects, and the Protection of their Liberties.

The

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the QUEEN.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majeſty having with great Goodneſs declared from the Throne to your Parliament, That divers ill Practices and Deſigns had been carried on in *Scotland*, by Emiſſaries from *France*, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the Peace of theſe Kingdoms; and that you would lay the Particulars before your Parliament, as ſoon as the ſeveral Examinations could be fully perfected and made publick without Prejudice: We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Commons, reſting ſecure and ſatisfied in your Majeſty's great Wiſdom and Care, moſt thankfully acknowledged the Confidence you have been pleaſed to repoſe in us.

But finding upon the Lords Journals, that their Lordſhips the very ſame Day made two Orders, one to remove your Majeſty's Priſoners out of your Cuſtody into their own; and the other to commit their Examination ſolely to a Committee of ſeven Lords, choſen and appointed by themſelves; by which your Majeſty ſeemed excluded from any Power over the ſaid Priſoners.

Your loyal Commons, juſtly ſenſible of the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch Proceedings thought themſelves obliged to declare their Concern at this Violation of your Royal Prerogative, and the known Laws of the Land, in an humble Addreſs preſented to your Majeſty.

Your faithful Commons are well aſſured, when this Matter comes to be rightly ſtated and underſtood, a Zeal ſo well intended, and ſo well grounded, will rather be imputed to them as meritorious, than liable to Exception; and therefore ſince their humble Addreſs has been ſo artfully miſrepreſented by the Lords in their late Repreſentation, preſented to your Majeſty on *Tueſday* the eighteenth of *January*, and publiſhed and ſpread with unuſual Induſtry, through all Parts of the Kingdom, they look upon themſelves under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of appearing before your Majeſty in their own Juſtification.

Their Lordſhips think fit to take Offence at the Manner and Words of our Addreſs, and accompany this Exception with Reflections and Inſinuations more harſh and more odious than the moſt opprobrious Language: But as we made uſe of no Terms but what were ſuitable to the Occaſion, ſo it will appear by Precedents, that the ſame have been frequently and reciprocally uſed by both Houſes to each other; nor could the Commons, in reſpect to your Majeſty, aſſert your Royal Prerogative in Words of leſs Force than thoſe in which they have vindicated their own Privileges.

Whatever Expreſſions our Zeal for your Majeſty, and the Public, might have inſpired, we could never have offered to our Sovereign ſo ungrateful a Remembrance as the Deſtruction of the Monarchy, by a deteſtable Aſſembly, compoſed of Members of both Houſes, who being alike Partakers in the Guilt, ought equally to ſhare the Reproach.

With

With much more Reaſon might we obſerve, both on Behalf of your Majeſty and the Commons, that their Lordſhips not contented with preferring their own Examinations to yours, not contented with excluding your Majeſty and the Commons, to whom parliamentary Enquiries moſt properly belong, appropriate to their Houſe only, even in their Application to their Sovereign, the Name of a Parliament; an Inſtance not to be parallelled, unleſs by that very Aſſembly that ſubverted the Monarchy.

It is not the Queſtion at preſent, as ſtated by the Lords, Whether their Lordſhips have a Power of taking into Cuſtody, while under Examinations, Perſons accuſed of criminal Matters, cognizable in Parliament? But that their Lordſhips have a Right to take the Priſoners of the Crown, and the Examination of them ſolely into their own Hands, without your Majeſty's Conſent, and in ſuch a manner as muſt neceſſarily prove an Excluſion of your Majeſty, and this Houſe, is the Propoſition your Commons deny, and for which their Lordſhips have produced no Precedent.

This unhappy Occaſion has been at the ſame time accompanied with the moſt ſurpriſing Inſtances of Contradiction, and counter Orders to your Majeſty, both preceding and ſubſequent to it; but eſpecially on the twenty-ninth of *January* laſt, when your Majeſty, with your accuſtomed Goodneſs, communicated to the Lords the Papers relating to the *Scotch* Conſpiracy, with an Exception only of ſome Matters not yet proper to be made public, without preventing a further Diſcovery of Secrets of greater Importance, with which your Majeſty aſſured their Lordſhips they ſhould alſo be acquainted, as ſoon as it could be done without Prejudice. However their Lordſhips, upon what Provocation, or for what Reaſon, no where appears, immediately addreſſed to your Majeſty, preſſing you to lay before them the whole Matter, and all Papers relating thereunto; by which your Majeſty was put under a Neceſſity, either to give their Lordſhips a Refuſal, or to comply with their unexpected Importunity, to the endangering the public Service. Theſe Proceedings, ſo extraordinary in their Nature and in their Manner, could not but ſenſibly affect your faithful Commons, whoſe earneſt Deſire it is, to ſee both your Houſes of Parliament, and the whole Body of your People, entirely agreed to pay the Deference due to your Majeſty's Wiſdom, to confide in your Care, and to promote and maintain your Honour and Dignity.

Their Lordſhips, not ſatisfied with aſſuming this unprecedented Power, have endeavoured, with a great deal of Art, to perſuade your Majeſty, of the Neceſſity of it, to prevent the Deſigns of ill Princes and their Favourites: But as it may ſeem unreaſonable for their Lordſhips to begin to practiſe upon a good Prince ſuch Methods as are pretended only to be needful againſt an ill one, ſo it is our humble Opinion, that the Danger might be much greater, admitting this Precedent. Should the Lords combine to defend one another from Enquiries and Proſecutions, all parliamentary Impeachments might be eluded, ſecret Deſigns carried on, the Innocent aſperſed without Reparation, and the Guilty acquitted without Trial. Nor is that Inſtance mentioned by the Lords an unſeaſonable Caution, ſince that Revolution in a neighbouring Kingdom, alluded to by their Lordſhips, was occaſioned by the Encroachments of a prevailing Cabal of Lords, who endeavouring to enſlave the People, and to betray their King and their Country to a Foreign Power, obliged the Church and the Commons to unite in the public Defence.

Your

Your faithful Commons have found themſelves ſo happy under your Majeſty's Adminiſtration, that they pleaſe themſelves with more agreeable Proſpects, and renouncing ſuch Examples of unſeaſonable Jealouſies and Fears, moſt thankfully receive the Bleſſings of your Reign: Nor could they have made a more grateful Return for your Majeſty's generous Protection of their Liberties, than by a ſuitable Concern for your Prerogative.

If their Lordſhips had conſulted their own Journals, with the ſame Care that we always take to be rightly informed, they would hardly have affirmed, that a direct Appeal to the Throne, without any previous Deſire of Conference, had been an unprecedented Practice: Their Books are filled with Variety of Inſtances to the contrary; but without examining their Books, it ſeems very ſurpriſing, that their Lordſhips could ſo ſoon forget their Addreſs preſented to your Majeſty the laſt Seſſion, on Behalf of the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and their Addreſs to the late King, on behalf of *William* Earl of *Portland*, *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, *John* Lord *Somers*, and *Charles* Lord *Hallifax*, impeached by the Commons of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and when this Houſe formerly expoſtulated with the Houſe of Lords, for proceeding in the very ſame Method of which they now complain, their Lordſhips made a moſt ſolemn Declaration, in theſe Words:

> *That they muſt ever aſſert a Liberty in their Houſe, to apply to the Throne by themſelves, for the doing any Thing warranted by Law*, &c.

Nor can the Lords, we preſume, upon ſecond Reflection, deny the Commons the ſame Liberty, which their Lordſhips themſelves have ſo ſtrongly aſſerted, and ſo frequently practiſed.

Your loyal Commons ſincerely concur with their Lordſhips, in declaring, That we will never contribute by any Act of ours to the Diminution of the Rights of the Crown; and that we will not ſuffer it in others: Your Majeſty, their Lordſhips, and the whole World, may judge from the Example we have now given, if their Lordſhips do truly wiſh the Houſe of Commons may in all times to come, ſpeak and act with that Regard to the Prerogative, which they allow us the Honour to have now taken up; we ſhall be very unfortunate to continue under their Diſpleaſure at the ſame time, when they ſeem to hope that thoſe who ſucceed us will take pattern by us.

We wiſh their Lordſhips alſo on their Part may continue in all times to come to ſpeak with that Regard to parliamentary Impeachments, which they ſeem ſo lately to have taken up, ſince we have reaſon to apprehend, That the Miſunderſtandings which have of late Years ariſen between the Two Houſes, have been principally owing to the Artifices of ſome particular Perſons among themſelves, whom the Commons thought it their Duty for the public Safety to bring to Juſtice. How much more difficult will all ſuch Endeavours be rendered, ſhould their Lordſhips be once admitted ſole Examiners of Accuſations againſt each other, as they are already ſole Judges.

We are accuſed, but moſt unjuſtly, of exciting and earneſtly deſiring your Majeſty to exert your Prerogative againſt the Houſe of Lords: We appeal to

the Words of our Addreſs, if it is poſſible naturally to impoſe any ſuch Senſe upon any Expreſſion that is there: We are ſorry their Lordſhips ſhould deſcend ſo low as to the ſtraining and wreſting of Words, by which they rather diſcover an unfortunate Inclination to make us ſeem culpable upon any Terms, than that they in truth believe us ſo: We know how vain and how fruitleſs an Application it would be to excite your Majeſty to any Abuſe of your Power, which we are convinced you will always exerciſe for the general Good; and ſo far are your Commons from entertaining any ſuch Deſire, that we heartily wiſh to ſee a good Correſpondence preſerved between the Two Houſes; nor would forbear to purchaſe it at any rate, except the giving up the Rights of your Majeſty, by whom we are protected, and the Liberties and Properties of the People, by whom we are intruſted.

Theſe few Inſtances ſo plain and ſo unconteſtable, we preſume will be ſufficient, without treſpaſſing much longer upon your Majeſty's Time, to diſcredit whatever elſe has been alledged to create in your Majeſty, and thoſe we repreſent, an ill Opinion of us; we have been careful and induſtrious to avoid, as far as was conſiſtent with our neceſſary Juſtification, all occaſion of reviving Animoſities, and how great ſoever the Provocation has been, your Majeſty having declared how uneaſy you are under ſuch Miſunderſtandings, we ſhall make no difficulty to lay aſide our Reſentments, who ſhall always be ready to ſacrifice our Lives and Fortunes to your Quiet and Service; nor can we doubt, but we muſt ſtand fully acquitted to the whole World, and eſpecially to your Majeſty, ſince the Zeal that we have ſhewn, and the Reproaches that we have born, have been owing to no other Cauſe but the Defence of an excellent Queen, in whoſe Hands God Almighty has placed the executive Authority over theſe Nations; which Authority it has been the only Endeavour of your faithful Commons to preſerve as entire as our Laws and Conſtitution allow.

May it pleaſe your moſt ſacred Majeſty,

It is with the deepeſt Concern, and a Grief not to be expreſſed, That your dutiful and loyal Commons have found themſelves engaged in Diſputes of this Nature, by which they have been ſo unſeaſonably interrupted in finiſhing the Supplies, and other Matters of the higheſt Importance: How zealouſly they have applied themſelves to the Diſcharge of their Duty, appears from their having already preſented your Majeſty with the greateſt Part of their Aids, with a Diſpatch and Unanimity beyond Example; nor could the few Bills yet depending have met the leaſt Obſtruction or Delay, but from the indiſpenſible Neceſſity of vindicating your Majeſty's Royal Prerogative, the Privileges of our own Houſe, and the Rights and Liberties of all the Commons of *England*, in ſeveral Inſtances invaded almoſt at the ſame time; we wiſh there may have been more of Miſtake than Deſign in thoſe who have created theſe unhappy Differences: However we deſire the Remembrance may be henceforth blotted out, and that there may remain no other Impreſſion in the Hearts both of Lords and Commons, than a ſincere and paſſionate Concern for your Majeſty's Welfare and Glory; nor any other Contention ever hereafter ariſe, but by whom the

public

public Good ſhall be beſt advanced, the Proteſtant Succeſſion and the Church of *England* beſt ſecured, and the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown beſt ſupported.

A Chronological Account of the Life of *Pythagoras*, and of other famous Men, his Contemporaries: With an Epiſtle to the Rev. Dr. *Bentley*, about *Porphyry*'s and *Jamblichus*'s Lives of *Pythagoras*. By the Right Rev. Father in God, *William*, Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. 1699.

To the Reverend Dr. *Bentley*.

SIR,

YOU are pleaſed to aſk my Opinion concerning the Time of the Birth and Death of *Pythagoras*, and of the chief Paſſages of his Life; and alſo of the Lives of other famous Men, his Contemporaries. I am ſure you know theſe Things better than I; and therefore you need not come to me for Information. But if you have only a mind to know my Opinion of theſe Matters, I cannot deny you that; and in truth that is all I can tell you of that great Philoſopher. Not but that I have by me every thing that I obſerved, concerning *Pythagoras*, when I read the old *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; and to ſatisfy your Deſire, I have put my Collections in Order, to draw out a Chronological Account of his Life, if it were poſſible. But now they are here before me, I know not well what to make of them; they look like Moon-ſhine in rough Water, all over Diſcord and Confuſion: Out of which I am ſo far from making out that which I deſigned, a perfect Account of his Life, that I muſt confeſs, I cannot do any thing towards it. There is not in all my Collection, any one certain Year in which any thing happened to him, or was done by him.

Yet I cannot lament that great Man's Misfortune in this, nor ours neither: For as he was a perfect Juggler, ſo his Life being all faſt and looſe, I muſt needs ſay, is written worthy of himſelf; and it is not only come entire into our Hands, notwithſtanding thoſe Defects I have mentioned; but with many Improvements by later Writers, who have ſtriven to out-do one another in Stories to his Honour and Praiſe.

Of thoſe (*a*) many eminent Writers that have employed their Pens on this Subject, there are three that have given us his Hiſtory at large; *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*. Theſe three, I believe, have called out

 all

(*a*) *Jonſius de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ.*

all that was remarkable in any of the reſt; and the two laſt were his great Admirers, who would not omit any thing that might make for his Glory.

They deſcribe him as a very extraordinary Perſon, for his Parts and Inventions for the Good of Mankind: They tell us what Diſcoveries he made in natural Philoſophy: How much he advanced the Mathematical Sciences, as well by his Studies as his Travels. But above all, they magnify his Knowledge of the Gods, and of the Things of Religion. *Laertius* tells us (*b*), he was initiated in all the Sacred Rites, as well of the *Greeks*, as *Barbarians*. Thoſe other Writers of his Life take particular notice of this in every Stage of his Travels. And yet *Porphyry* will not let his Reader be ignorant, that *Pythagoras* was a *Deiſt*, as well as himſelf; and took both *Apollo* and *Jupiter* for no other than deified Men, which he ſhewed by the Verſes that he made in thoſe places where he was to ſee their Sepulchres. Indeed by thoſe Verſes one cannot but think that he deſpiſed thoſe made Gods in his Heart: And ſo did probably thoſe Philoſophers that tells us theſe Things; though, according to the Latitude of their Principles, they were nevertheleſs as zealous as he was for the propagating of Heathen Idolatry.

What Notions Men have of a Deity, one cannot better judge than by their Morals. For every one that hath any Senſe of Religion will endeavour to conform himſelf to the God whom he worſhips: At leaſt he will avoid any thing that he knows to be contrary to his God. If we judge this way of *Pythagoras*, according to the Accounts they give of him, we have reaſon to believe, that (as the Apoſtle tells us of them whom the Heathens worſhiped) his Gods were no better than Devils. It could be no otherwiſe, if there be any Truth in the Stories they tell, of his impudent diabolical Fictions, and of the fraudulent Ways that he took to make the People admire him; which they alſo that tell us theſe things ſeem to think were no leſſening of his moral Virtues.

Particularly, they ſhew how he perſuaded his Hearers to receive that Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls. That it was originally an *Ægyptian* Doctrine we are told by *Herodotus* (*c*). But if lying *Philoſtratus* may be believed, the *Ægyptians* had it from the *Bramins*. It is agreed, that *Pythagoras* was he that firſt brought it into *Greece*; and there it ſeems he had a mind to be thought the firſt Author of it (*d*). To make the People believe this, he told them an impudent Lye, that his Soul was in *Euphorbus* at the time of the *Trojan* War; and in the ſix hundred Years between that and his Birth, his Soul had paſſed through ſeveral other Bodies before it came into his. He faced them down that he knew this by a ſingular Gift of remembring all the Stages through which his Soul had paſſed in its Travels.

Firſt, when *Euphorbus* was killed by *Menelaus*, (which was in the Year before *Chriſt* 1185) then his Soul, as he ſaid, came into *Æthalides* the Son of *Mercury*. After his Death, it came into *Hermotimus*; then into one *Pyrrhus* a Fiſherman; and at laſt it came into *Pythagoras* (*e*). This is *Porphyry*'s Way of telling the Story.

But

(*b*) VIII. 2.
(*c*) Herod. II. *Diod. Sic. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. Ty.* iii. 6.
(*d*) Porph. *p.* 188.
(*e*) Porph. *p.* 201.

But from others we have it, that *Pythagoras* (*f*) himſelf uſed to ſay, that his Soul was in *Æthalides* before it came into *Euphorbus*. And for this, they give us the Authorities of them that had Reaſon to know things of him, much better than *Porphyry*; namely, *Diog. Laertius* (*g*) ſaith it from *Heraclides*, that lived near the Time of *Pythagoras*; and another from *Pherecydes*, the moſt intimate Friend of *Pythagoras*. They tell their Story with Particulars worth knowing, if there were any Truth in it. As namely, how *Pythagoras* came by the Gift above-mentioned: They tell us, that *Mercury*, whoſe Office it was to carry Souls into *Hades*, gave the Soul of his Son *Æthalides* in its way thither, the Privilege not to drink the Waters of *Lethe*, the drinking whereof makes Souls forget all that paſſed in this World; and ſo it is plain, how, as *Pythagoras* uſed to ſay (*h*), *Euphorbus* remembered his Soul had dwelt formerly in the Body of *Æthalides* and *Hermotimus*, that his Soul was in both theſe, and the Fiſherman that his Soul was in thoſe three, and *Pythagoras*, that his Soul was in them all. They alſo tell us how it came to paſs, that in ſix hundred Years that Soul of his was only in two Bodies, namely, of *Hermotimus* and the Fiſherman: For *Mercury*, as *Pythagoras* himſelf uſed alſo to ſay (*i*), gave the Soul of his Son *Æthalides* leave to reſt ſometimes in *Hades*, and at other times to travel above ground; and ſo *Pythagoras* himſelf ſaid, that after the Fiſherman's Death, his Soul had reſted two hundred and ſeven Years in *Hades*, before it came into that Body of his.

But what of all this? The Doctrine of Tranſmigration of Souls is ſufficiently proved, if the Soul of *Pythagoras* was at any time formerly in the Body of *Euphorbus*. And that, as *Porphyry* tells us (*k*), was poſitively affirmed by *Pythagoras* himſelf, and proved beyond diſpute, as likewiſe his Scholar *Jamblichus* tells us in the very ſame Words. But theſe Philoſophers were wiſe; they took care to hide that Part of their Ware which would have diſgraced all the Reſt. It was the *Egyptian* Doctrine (*l*), that Souls paſſed out of Men into Beaſts, and Fiſhes, and Birds. This alſo according to *Heraclides*, *Pythagoras* uſed to ſay of himſelf, that he remembered not only what Men, but what Plants, and what Animals his Soul had paſſed through. And, tho' this was more than *Mercury* gave to *Æthalides*, *Pythagoras* took upon him to tell many others how their Souls had lived before they came into their Bodies. One (*m*) particularly that was beating a Dog, he deſired to forbear, becauſe in the yelping of that Dog, he heard a Friend's Soul ſpeak to him. So *Empedocles* (*n*), that lived in the next Age after *Pythagoras*, and was for a while the Oracle of his Sect, declared of himſelf, that he had been firſt a Boy, then a Girl, then a Plant, then a Bird, then a Fiſh. *Apollonius* had the ſame Impudence, if *Philoſtratus* may be believed; who tells us (*o*) he owned that his Soul was formerly in the Maſter of a Ship; he ſhewed one young Man that had in him the Soul of *Palamedes*, another of *Telephus*, both killed at the time of the *Trojan* War; and in a tame Lion that was carried about for a ſight, he ſaid there was the

(*f*) *Schol. in Sophoclis Electram.* (*g*) *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 4. *Schol. in Apoll. Argonaut.* I. (*h*) *D. Laert.* VIII. 4. (*i*) *D. Laert.* VIII. 14. (*k*) *Porph.* p. 191. *Jambl.* c. 28. (*l*) *Herod.* II. *Diog. Laert. from Heraclides.* (*m*) *Porph.* p. 192. (*n*) *D. Laert.* VIII. 36. (*o*) *Philoſtr.* III. 707. VI. 18. V. 15.

the Soul of *Amasis* King of *Egypt*. How could such Fictions as these come into Men's Heads? There is more than idle Fancy in them. They shew plainly a pernicious deviliſh Deſign, to confound theſe two Doctrines that have ſo great an Influence into Men's Minds, to make them do good, and eſchew Evil: The Doctrines of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Reſurrection of the Body. For if thoſe Fictions were true, there would be no Difference between the Soul of a Man and the Soul of a Brute, or a Plant; and there would be many more Bodies than there would be Souls to animate them at the Reſurrection. What would not the Devil give to have theſe Things believed by all Mankind?

For the Tricks they tell us he had to make the People admire him, they are ſo agreeable to his Character, that his Hiſtorian *Jamblichus* with the ſame Deſign, aped him in ſome of them, unleſs he is belied by *Eunapius* the Writer of his Life. They were as one may properly call them, the Artifices of an Impoſtor. *Mahomet*, the greateſt that ever was of that ſort, when he ſet up to be a Prophet, though it is not likely that he had ever heard of *Pythagoras*, yet took the very ſame Methods that he did to impoſe upon Mankind. This will appear in ſeveral of the following Inſtances, if any one will take the Trouble to compare them with thoſe that are in *Mahomet's* Life.

The firſt thing we read *Pythagoras* did, to make way for the authentical (*p*) Publiſhing of his Doctrines, was to make himſelf look like a ſort of Demi-god to the People. For this Purpoſe, he provided himſelf a Cell under Ground; and then giving out he was dead, he retired into that Hole, and there for a long time together, ſeven Years, as ſome tell us, he lived unknown to all Mankind. Only his Mother was in the Secret, for ſhe was to ſupply him with Neceſſaries: But of theſe he took in no more than juſt what would keep him alive. Then at laſt, he came forth like a perfect Skeleton, and ſhewed himſelf as one that had been all this while in another World.

He that was ſo greedy of vain Glory, that he could afford to purchaſe it at this Rate, would not ſpare his Pains, or refuſe any Help to get into Poſſeſſion of his Purchaſe. And for this, it being requiſite he ſhould do Things above the Power of any Mortal, therefore of ſuch Things true or falſe, they tell us not a few in his Life.

Some of the Fathers (*q*) have ſaid that he wrought them by Compact with the Devil. But I ſee no Neceſſity of that, for he had other Ways by which other Men have obtained the Fame of working Miracles. He was doubtleſs both a natural Philoſopher, and a great Mathematician. He underſtood all the Secrets of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldæans*. And having many Diſciples on thoſe Accounts, it ſeems very likely that he might act in Confederacy with them. This at leaſt they could do for him; they might help deviſe Stories of the Miracles that he wrought? and then for their own Credit as well as his, they would be induſtrious to ſpread them among the People.

Such Lyes they were, I do not doubt, that *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* (*r*) tell us, of his laying Winds, Tempeſts and Earthquakes; for of theſe they do not

(*p*) *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 41. *from Hermippus.* (*q*) *Chryſoſt. Hom.* II. *in Joh. Cyril. in Julian* III. (*r*) *Porph.* p. 193. *Jambl.* c. 28.

not give any particular Inſtance, nor are theſe Things mentioned by any other Writers that I remember. So likewiſe they tell us of his curing Diſeaſes, whether of Body or Mind, which they ſay he did with Charms: That is, as *Cyril* (*s*) ſaith, he did them by the help of the Devil. For his hearing the Muſic of the Spheers, that *Porphyry* (*t*) ſpeaks of as wonderful Harmony, now we know this is a Lye framed upon a falſe Imagination. But if this were true, being an inviſible Miracle, and impoſſible to be proved, it could not be made uſe of to prove any thing elſe. Many other lying Wonders they tell of him, which ſeem to have been made only for Talk, being ſuch as could ſignify nothing to the Good of Mankind. As (*u*) namely, how to ſhew his Company what he could do, he took up Serpents that had killed other Men, and handled them, ſo as that they neither hurt him, nor he them. How for the ſame Purpoſe, by whiſtling to an Eagle that happened to fly over his Head, he brought her down to his Hand, and then let her go again. Another time ſeeing ſome Fiſhermen at their draught, he foretold them the exact Number of Fiſhes that their Nets ſhould bring up, and when they were told, threw them in again. How by ſtroaking a Bear, and whiſpering a Bull in the Ear, he brought them both to the Pythagorean Diet: The Bear to eat nothing that had Life, and the Bull to crop no more Bean-tops. How he ſpoke to a River that he was paſſing over with many of his Friends, and it anſwered him again in all their hearing, 'Goodmorrow *Pythagoras*.' But this goes beyond all the reſt, if there be any Truth in it; that when *Abaris* had been all over *Greece* to beg Money for the Temple of his God *Apollo Hyperboreus*; at laſt in an evil Hour for himſelf, he came to *Pythagoras* in *Italy*, where the cunning Philoſopher rooked him of his Money, by perſuading the poor Man that he was his God. And to convince him of the Truth of it, they ſay that *Pythagoras* ſhewed him his golden Thigh; and then, which was worſt of all, made him ſwear the People into a Belief that he was *Apollo* himſelf.

If any other Author mentions any of theſe wonderful Things, he declares that he hath it only from Report, or by Hearſay, and ſo leaves the Reader to judge of the Truth of it. But moſt of theſe Things are poſitively affirmed by *Porphyry*, and his Scholar *Jamblichus*; only they vouch nameleſs Authorities for them, to ſhew they were not of their own deviſing, which yet one can't forbear to think of as many of them as are not to be found in other Authors. But why ſhould theſe Philoſophers either be ſo wicked to abuſe the Faith of Mankind in deviſing ſuch Stories? or why ſhould they take the Pains to collect them and pawn their Faith to give them Credit in the World? Such great Men as they were, had no doubt great Reaſon for this. But what that ſhould be, deſerves a farther Conſideration; wherein if I do a little exceed, I know you will not only pardon me, but will take the Fault upon yourſelf, if theſe Papers ſhould come to be publiſhed through your Hands.

It is certain that theſe Men had a vehement Hatred againſt the Chriſtian Religion, not only through the Prejudicies of their Education, but much on the Account of that Way of Philoſophy, by which they ſo much valued themſelves, and had got ſo great a Fame in the World. They had no Patience to ſee

(*s*) P. 194. (*t*) *Porph.* p. 191, 192. *Jambl.* c. 28. (*u*) *Porph. ib.* & *Jambl.* c. 13. *Jambl.* c. 28. *Porph.* p. 190.

ſee that ſort of Learning, that had been ſo long in Poſſeſſion of Glory among all civilized Nations, now to be brought in Diſgrace by a Religion, which they accounted Nonſenſe, and yet pretended to divine Revelation, would ſhew that they by all their Wiſdom knew not God (*x*). Their Indignation at this was much the more, becauſe this new Religion ſprung up among the *Jews*, whom they looked upon as much the worſt of the barbarous Nations, and the firſt Teachers of it were juſtly, as theſe Philoſophers thought, both hated and contemned by the *Jews*, as much as the *Jews* themſelves were by all other Nations.

That the Author of this Sect, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, bore no greater Figure in the World, than that of a poor Carpenter; and that his Apoſtles and Followers (*y*) were unlearned and ignorant Men; this is owned, to the Glory of God, by thoſe among themſelves that writ his Hiſtory and their's in the Goſpels, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. And that theſe very Books were written by Men of that Sort, even by them whoſe Names they bear, this I think hath not been gain-ſaid by any that lived within ſome hundred Years after Chriſt: But it hath been acknowledged by thoſe learned Heathens, that writ againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and eſpecially by *Julian* (*z*), who of all others was the beſt able to inform himſelf.

But what is it that theſe Men ſay of their Maſter, in the Account they give of him, and of them that were the firſt Publiſhers of his Doctrine, how they came to have ſuch Authority in the World? They ſay he wrought in their Preſence an infinite Number of Miracles; and particularly, thoſe which they have publiſhed for the Proof, as well of his Authority, as of his Doctrine. They (*a*) ſay alſo of themſelves, that in their Preaching of him and his Doctrine, the Lord worked with them confirming their Word with Signs, following (*b*).

They laid the chief Streſs of their Proof upon his Reſurrection from the Dead: Of which, not only his Apoſtles were Eye-Witneſſes (*c*), but above five hundred Perſons, moſt of them then living, when St. *Paul* appealed to their Teſtimony. And that he did, in an Epiſtle (*d*) which was written within ſome twenty Years after the Matter of Fact. The Apoſtles (*e*) eſpecially took it on themſelves as their Office, to be Witneſſes of his Reſurrection. For the faithful Diſcharge whereof, as they could expect nothing but Sufferings in this Life, ſo they deſired nothing more than to finiſh their Courſe by dying for it. And they were not deceived in this Expectation; all of them being continually perſecuted as long as they lived, and many of them ſuffering Death for the Teſtimony of Chriſt. They were charged with no other Crime in this World.

As for what they write of his Miracles; and alſo of their own, which they profeſt they wrought only by a Power derived from him; the Truth of the Matters of Fact, we do not find was ever queſtioned by any that lived in that Age. On the contrary, we ſee it was acknowledged by the *Phariſees* (*f*) the moſt malicious and vigilant Enemies of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Holy Apoſtles. No doubt it puzzled their wiſe Heads to think how ſuch wonderful Works

(*x*) 1 *Cor.* i. 21.
(*y*) *Acts* iv. 13.
(*z*) *V. Hierocl. infra, & Julian. Apoſt. in Spanheim's Edition of Cyril. lib.* X. p. 327.
(*a*) *John* xx. 30, 31.
(*b*) *Mar.* xvi. 20.
(*c*) 1 *Cor.* xv. 6.
(*d*) *V. Uſſ. Annal. A. D.* 54. *& Pearſon. Poſthum.*
(*e*) *Acts* ii. 32. iv. 33. v. 32.
(*f*) *John* ix. 47. *Acts* iv. 16.

Works ſhould be wrought by ſuch ſimple illiterate Men. For one cannot think they could ſatisfy themſelves with the Account which they gave others of the Way that *Chriſt* had to caſt out Devils, when they ſaid that he did it by the Prince of Devils (*g*); for as he there anſwered them, it was viſibly againſt the Devil's Intereſt to do this; the Miracles of Chriſt being plainly in thoſe Inſtances, to diſpoſſeſs the Devil of Men's Bodies; and by that and other beneficial Works, to oblige them and others, to receive a Doctrine that would alſo diſpoſſeſs him of their Souls. But beſides the Abſurdity of this, it is plain the *Jews* did not believe themſelves in this Accuſation of Chriſt. For if they had, they would have inſiſted on this, as being a capital Crime, not only by their Law, but alſo the *Roman*: And therefore to be ſure, they would not have been to ſeek for other Crimes (*h*), if they had thought they had any Colour to charge him with this.

But that which the *Phariſees* ſaid then, of that one ſort of Miracles; though it was againſt all Reaſon and againſt their own Conſcience; yet, for want of a better Colour for their Unbelief, the *Jews* in aftertimes have alledged againſt all the Miracles of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles and Followers. This we ſee in thoſe Objections of the *Jews*, whom *Celſus* brings in arguing againſt the Chriſtian Religion (*i*): Theſe *Jews*, on this very Account, rank our bleſſed Saviour with *Pythagoras*, of whom enough has been ſaid, and with ſuch other heathen Impoſtors, of whom more will be ſaid afterwards (*k*).

But for thoſe *Jews* whom *Celſus* produces, ſince it hath been ſufficiently ſhown that they ought not to be admitted as Accuſers in this Cauſe, therefore they might be diſmiſſed; but that the ſame *Celſus* give us Occaſion to make uſe of them as our Witneſſes, as to thoſe Matters of Fact which he denies, when he comes to ſpeak in his own Perſon as a Heathen, and one that was an epicurean Philoſopher. For then he is pleaſed to ſay (*l*), that what Things our Scriptures tells us of the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, are all Fictions and Tales. This he ſaith more than once: And yet he doth not pretend to prove the Writers of them were Liars, or to ſhew any Inconſiſtence, either in the Miracles themſelves, or in the Accounts that are given of them. So that he expected Men ſhould take his Authority for this. But why ſo? He could ſay nothing of theſe Matters on his own Knowledge; for (*m*) he writ in the Emperor *Hadrian*'s Time, or ſomething later; and that was at leaſt fifty Years after any of thoſe Miracles that are mentioned in our Scriptures. Nor doth he pretend to have any ground to ſay this, either upon Hear-ſay, or from what he found in former Writers. If he had referred us to other Writers, it would have been very great News. For, of all that have written in the Times of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, there is none, *Jew* or *Heathen*, that makes any mention of their Miracles; which is a plain Sign they knew not what to ſay againſt them. Otherwiſe, they would have ſpoken as ſpitefully of them, as they ſpared not to do of Chriſt himſelf.

But how could *Celſus* anſwer this to his own Conſcience? that whereas of the Miracles wrought by Chriſtians in his own time, he ſaw there was no de-

(*g*) *Mat.* ix. 34. xii. 24.
(*h*) *Mat.* xxvi 59, 60. *Luke* xxiii. 14.
(*i*) *Origen. contra Celſum.* I. p. 30, 55. II. p. 93. 94.
(*k*) *P.* xx, xxv.
(*l*) *Origen. contra Celſum.* III. p. 126, 127. & VIII. p. 407.
(*m*) *Origen. contra Celſ.* I. p. 8.

nying the Matters of Fact; and (*d*) therefore he affirmed that these Miracles were wrought by Invocation of the Devil; which was the same in Effect, that by his own telling (*e*), the *Jews* said of the Miracles that were wrought by Christ and his Apostles: He should nevertheless have the Impudence to say, that these were Fictions and Tales, as if he knew Christ and his Apostles, better than the Jews in whose Country they lived, and whose Ancestors were conversant with them; or as if Christ himself could not work as true Miracles, as were done in *Celsus*'s Time, and to his own Knowledge, by Christians that wrought their Miracles in his Name?

This learned Man (*f*) took surely a likelier Way to disparage the Miracles of Christ to the unthinking Part of Mankind; by likening the great Things that are said of Christ, to those that we read of (*g*) *Aristeas Proconnesius*, and of *Abaris*, in heathen Writers. But they that think what they read, will consider, that of the former of these, the first Account we have is from *Herodotus* (*h*); and he tells it only by Hear-say. He says, they say that *Aristeas* died at *Proconnesus*, and appeared there again seven Years after; and having made some Verses disappeared: But that two or three hundred Years after, he appeared again at *Metapontum*, where by special Directions from *Apollo*, he was worshipped as God. Of *Abaris*, *Celsus* (*i*) tells us himself, that he had such a Power or Faculty, that he rode about upon an Arrow through the Air, over Mountains and Seas, in his Travels out of *Scythia* into *Greece*, and back again into *Scythia*, as both *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* tell us at large.

These things *Celsus* tells us without any Censure, as if he believed them to be true. And so they are, as much as his Book is a true Discourse, which is the Title he gives it. Whoever considers these Stories, I think will not much regard the Judgment that he passeth on the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

But the Way that he took to bring them in Disgrace, by ranking them with those incredible Fables, this took mightily with the learned Heathens that came after him. And therefore I doubt not, it was that both *Philostratus* writ the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, and that *Porphyry* writ the Life of *Pythagoras*, which led me into this Digression. They seem to have been written both of them with this Design. I am sure they are both of them made use of to this Purpose; to shew, that all the great Things that are told of our Saviour in the Gospel, were equalled, if not out done by these heathen Philosophers.

As for *Porphyry* (*k*), his Hatred of the Christian Religion he shewed sufficiently, in writing fifteen Books against it; the Loss whereof, though some of our Deists complain of, yet they may be assured for their comfort, they will not want the Help of any of our learned Men to bring them to light. We want them indeed on many Accounts; but especially, to shew them, that as they have *Porphyry*'s Malice, so if they had his great Learning too, both these joined together, would not hurt the Christian Religion. We should want his Books the less, if we had any of those (*l*) Answers that were written against him

(*d*) *Orig. cont. Cels.* I.
(*e*) *P.* xvii.
(*f*) *Origen. contra Cels.* III. p. 125, 129.
(*g*) *Orig. cont. Cels.* III. 125, 129.
(*h*) *Herod.* IV.
(*i*) *Orig. cont. Cels.* III. p. 129.
(*k*) *Holstein de vitâ & scriptis Porph.* c. 10.
(*l*) *Hieron. præf. Dan.*

him by three learned Christians, *Methodius*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinaris*. But as *Holstein* well observes (*m*), the *Roman* Empire being turned Christians within very few Years after the writing of these Books, as the Emperors took Care by their Edicts, to keep them from coming into the Hands of the Vulgar, so for learned Men, they had now no Occasion to transcribe them, or preserve the Copies that were written.

Of the Time of *Porphyry*'s writing these Books (*n*), we have nothing certain, save that we are told they were written when he was in *Sicily*. And the Time of his coming thither, as he tells us himself, was about the fifteenth of *Galienus* the Emperor (*o*); that is, about the Year of *Christ* 267. He acknowledgeth, that, being in *Rome* at that time, he had a mind to kill himself, which *Plotinus* discovered; and, upon his chiding him for it, he left him, and went away into *Sicily*. What it was that enraged *Porphyry* to that degree that he must needs kill himself, he doth not say (*p*). Probably it might be out of Madness, to see that Emperor's Favour to *Christians*, whom his Father *Valerian* had done all he could to destroy. If that was the Reason of this Philosopher's being weary of his Life, he had some Ease within a few Months in the Death of that Emperor, and then a Succession of others that wanted only a fit Season for the renewing of the Persecution. And it might be as well to quicken them to that Work, as to ease his own Passion, that he set himself to the writing of these Books. Wherein, as all that quote from them observe, he out-did all others in virulent Railing and Scoffing at the *Christian* Religion (*q*). As for his Arguments, it cannot be imagined, that there was any thing of Strength in them, more than what *Julian* the Apostate took into the Work that he writ afterwards on that Subject. And, to our Comfort, as well as the Deists, that Work is not lost. It hath been often published, with *Cyril*'s Answer to it; but never so much to the Reader's Advantage, as now lately in the excellent *Spanheim*'s Edition.

Whether it was before or after these Books, that he writ the Life of *Pythagoras*, we cannot certainly know; for the Life itself is imperfect, both at the Beginning and the End; and the whole Book is but a Part of his History of the Lives of Philosophers. But whereas these Lives of his, as *Holstein* observes (*r*), were all made of Patches taken out of the ancient Writers; and so is this among the rest; yet here, after all the Heap of Stuff that he hath collected from others concerning the Life of *Pythagoras*, at last, he brings in those Stories of Miracles wrought by him, Part of which are in no other Writers, and the rest he hath made his own, by vouching for them, as I have shewn (*s*). This I cannot imagine why so wise a Man should do, but in pursuance of his malicious Design against the *Christian* Religion, by making his Reader believe, that the Miracles of *Christ*, upon which the Credit of our Religion is built, were of no greater Credit themselves, than those which were wrought by *Pythagoras*. That I am not mistaken in this, the Reader will see in the following

(*m*) *De vit. & scr. Porphyr.* c. 4
(*n*) *Euseb. Hist.* VI. 19.
(*o*) *Porph. v. Plotini*, p. 4.
(*p*) *Euseb. Hist.* VII. 12. VIII. 4.
(*q*) *Holst. ib.* c. 10.
(*r*) *De Vit. & Scr. Porph.* c. 7.
(*s*) P. xiii.

ing Instance of *Hierocles*; who, writing some few Years after *Porphyry* had so highly advanced *Pythagoras*, set him up in Competition with our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as I shall presently shew.

Hierocles, being chief Judge at *Nicomedia*, in *Diocletian*'s Time (*c*), was a chief Instigator of that bloody Persecution that was then against the innocent *Christians*. And to justify this, he writ two Books against the *Christian* Religion, which he published under the Title of φιλαλήθης, a Lover of Truth. No doubt by these means he won the Heart of the Emperor *Galerius*, who was the first Mover of that Persecution; and therefore by him he was advanced to the most profitable Government of *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (*d*). There also he went on in his butcherly Trade; till an End was put to it, by the wonderful Providence of God, which by *Constantine*'s Means brought Christianity to be the Imperial Religion. Then *Hierocles* betook himself wholly to Philosophy, and, among other Things, writ his *Commentary on the Golden Verses*, that bear the Name of *Pythagoras*; which I mention, to shew how much he was addicted to the Honour of *Porphyry*'s Saint.

Of his two Books against the *Christians*, it seems that *Eusebius* saw but one (*e*), and of that, he tells us, the most Part was stolen out of *Celsus*; and was long since answered by *Origen*. It appears that in that Work of *Hierocles*, to pull down the Honour of *Christ*, he first set up *Aristeas*, as *Celsus* had done: Next, he sets up *Pythagoras*; and, lastly *Apollonius Tyaneus* (*f*). All this we learn out of that Fragment of *Hierocles*, which is published in the End of his Works, and also at the End of *Eusebius*'s Answer to his Book; though *Eusebius* meddleth only with that Part which concerns *Apollonius*, because that was all that was new in this Controversy. In this Piece *Hierocles*, having magnified *Apollonius Tyaneus* for the great Things that were recorded of him by *Philostratus*, in his Life; and having villified our Lord *Jesus Christ*, whom the *Christians*, as he saith on the account of his doing a few σημεῖα call a God; he concludes in these Words: "It is worth the considering, that those Things "of *Jesus* are bragged of by *Peter* and *Paul*, and some others of that Sort of "Men, Liars, and illiterate, and Impostors: But for these Things of *Apol-*"*lonius*, we have *Maximus*, and *Damis* a Philosopher that lived with him, and "*Philostratus*, Men eminent for their Learning, and Lovers of Truth."

What a Lover of Truth *Hierocles* himself was, we are to judge, not by the Title of his Books, but by the Things contained in them. And though his Books against the *Christians* have been lost many Ages since, (as those blasphemous Books of *Porphyry* were,) yet here we have a kind of Summary of them in this Fragment. For here we see in short, what he had to say against the Apostles of *Christ*, and what to say for the Evangelists of *Apollonius*, whom he sets up against him: And it cannot be denied that, on either Side, the Truth of the Matters of Fact is to be judged of chiefly by the Sufficiency and the Honesty of the Witnesses. Therefore, knowing what he has to say of them, we know in effect the Validity of all that is contained in his Books.

First,

(*c*) *Lact. de Justit.* v. 2.
(*d*) *Lact. de Mort. Persec.* c. 16. *Euseb. de Mart. Palæst.* c. 5.
(*e*) *Euseb. cont. Hier.*
(*f*) *Edit. Oxon.* 8vo. p. 264.

First, In his Charge againſt the Apoſtles of *Chriſt*, to ſay that *Paul* was illiterate, this was certainly an impudent Calumny (*g*). For beſide his Knowledge of the *Greek*, that was his native Language, wherein alſo we ſee he writ a large Epiſtle with his own Hand, and quotes the *Greek* Poets in ſeveral of his Epiſtles: I ſay, beſide this, he had the *Hebrew* Learning in great Perfection, being brought up at the Feet of *Gamaliel* (*h*), a Doctor in great Fame among the *Jews* to this Day. And he gave ſuch Proofs of his Learning before the *Roman* Governor, and King *Agrippa*, that the Governor ſaid *too much Learning had made him mad* (*i*). So far was he from calling him an illiterate Man.

Then to call him and *Peter*, Liars and Impoſtors, what Occaſion did they give him for this? Only by their preaching and writing for the *Chriſtian* Religion. But did they believe that Religion, or not? If they did, ſuppoſe they might err in this, yet they could not be Liars and Impoſtors; for they both knew and writ, that all ſuch are in a State of Damnation, according to the Rules of their Religion (*k*). But if they did not believe it, then indeed they might do wicked Things for their Religion, if that would recommend them to the Emperor's Favour; and ſo to get Preferment, as *Hierocles* did. But they were ſo far from that, the Government being againſt their Religion, that they could get nothing by it but Dangers and Sufferings. Thoſe they met with in all Places whereſoever they preached. And they looked for nothing elſe in this World, but Sufferings, and thoſe to end in a cruel Death, for *Chriſt*'s Sake (*l*). This both of them declared in the laſt Epiſtles they writ. And in this, we ſee, they were not miſtaken. For both of them ſuffered Martyrdom, as *Clemens* tells us, in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which he writ within two or three Years after their Death; the Truth of which Epiſtle hath never been queſtioned by any learned Men whatſoever.

But what ſhall we ſay of a Man that was perfectly blinded with Prejudice and Malice, or with Ambition and Covetouſneſs? If *Hierocles* had not been ſo, he could not but have ſeen that thoſe two Apoſtles of *Chriſt* had nothing about them that would ſuit with thoſe two ugly Characters of Liars and Impoſtors. But he had thoſe in his Eye that would certainly have been taken by thoſe Marks, if there had been a Hue and Cry after them. I cannot think any learned Man in his Age, being aſked of all the Writers, whoſe Works were then extant, which was the greateſt Liar? Would name any other than *Philoſtratus*. I am ſure he could not, if he would ſpeak impartially. And yet this *Philoſtratus*, and his two Authors, *Maximus* and *Damis*, known to none but himſelf, are the Men whom *Hierocles* calleth learned Men, and Lovers of Truth. And for an Impoſtor, if ſuch a one had been enquired for, I know not whom a learned Man, that had no Deſign to ſerve with a Lye, would have named before *Apollonius Tyaneus*: Whom yet *Hierocles* ſo much admires, that he thinks himſelf modeſt for ſaying only this, *He was a Favourite of the Gods*; whereas the *Chriſtians* ſay, *that Chriſt was God himſelf, for thoſe few ſtrange Things that are told of him.*

First,

(*g*) Gal. vi. 11.
(*h*) Acts xxii. 3.
(*i*) Acts xxvi. 24.
(*k*) Rom. iii. 8. 2 Pet. iii. 3.
(*l*) 2 Tim. iv. 6. 2 Pet. i. 14.

First, For *Philoſtratus*, on whoſe ſingle Word all the Credit of this Story of *Apollonius* depends; of what Value his Word is, muſt be judged by conſidering how he was qualified for an Hiſtorian. To begin with the Opportunities he had to inform himſelf; it is certain, he could ſay nothing of his own Knowledge. For, as himſelf tells us (*m*), *Apollonius* died a few Weeks after the Emperor *Domitian*; that was in the Year of our Lord 96. But *Philoſtratus* did not write this till above an hundred Years after. How came he then by all the Stuff, with which he hath filled a large Hiſtory? He tells us, that while he lived in the Court of *Julia*, that moſt infamous Empreſs, the Mother and Wife of that horrible Brute *Caracalla*, the Minutes of *Apollonius*'s Life, written by one *Damis* (*n*), that lived with him, were preſented to her by one of *Damis*'s Relations; and ſhe being a Lover of fine Language, delivered them to this Sophiſt *Philoſtratus*, to put them into a handſome Dreſs. But that we may not think theſe Minutes were all that he had for the furniſhing of his Hiſtory, he tells us, he had beſides, an Account from one *Maximus* of *Ægæ* (*o*), how *Apollonius* paſſed his Time in that Town, for the two or three Years that he lived there, being then about twenty Years of Age, almoſt a Boy, as *Hierocles* words it. And this is all the Help he had from theſe two Lovers of Truth, as *Hierocles* calls them. But there was beſides, one *Mæragenes*, that writ four Books (*p*), *on* or *againſt Apollonius*; but he is not to be heeded, ſaith *Philoſtratus*, becauſe he was ignorant of many of our Stories; ſo he loſt the Honour of being recorded by *Hierocles*, for one of the Lovers of Truth. In ſhort, except the little Things that happened in the ſhort Time that *Apollonius* was at *Ægæ*; for any thing elſe of his Life, *Philoſtratus* doth not pretend to have any Author but *Damis*. Yet all that he had of *Damis* was no more than a Table-Book of Minutes, as *Philoſtratus* owns. And thoſe might be written by any one elſe, for ought he knew. For it was an hundred Years after *Damis*'s Death, before he ſaw or heard of them. Till then they were not known. And then a nameleſs Man, pretending to be a Relation of *Damis*, brought them, and ſaid they were written by *Damis*. This is all the Authority we have for *Philoſtratus*'s Legend.

But he ſaith in the Chapter before (*q*), he had ſome Things from Town-Talk, in the Places where *Apollonius* had been; and ſome Things he had that other Men ſaid of him; and ſome Things from Epiſtles, that *Apollonius* had written to Kings, *&c.* As for the Talk of Things done an hundred Years ago, that is very uncertain; but of what Authority were theſe Epiſtles? There may well be a doubt of this. For the Epiſtles in *Diogenes Laertius* were generally forged by Sophiſts (*r*). And *Philoſtratus* being a Sophiſt, and one that knew how to write to Kings, might be the very Man that forged the Epiſtles now extant. We have reaſon to like them the worſe, for agreeing too well with his Hiſtory. But beſides, he ſeems to doubt that his Reader might ſuſpect theſe Epiſtles, and therefore queſtion his Hiſtory. To fence againſt this, he ſaith (*s*), he

(*m*) *Philoſt.* VIII. 12.
(*n*) *Philoſt.* I. 3.
(*o*) *Ibid.*
(*p*) Εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον *Ib.* I. 3.
(*q*) I. 2.
(*r*) *Philoſtr. Soph.* II. p. 617. He writ a Book of Love-Epiſtles, *Suid.*
(*s*) I. 1.

he took Things that were more certain from the Authors that he names afterwards; *Damis*, *&c.* Of how little Credit thoſe Authors were, we have ſeen. And if Things taken out of them were more certain, as he himſelf tells us, then there is no Credit at all to be given to his Epiſtles.

So much for the Authority: Now for the Matters of his Hiſtory. Some of them, I dare ſay, were ſuch as *Lucian* had never heard of, and yet he lived mid-way between *Apollonius* and his Hiſtorian (*t*). Particularly, I cannot believe he ever heard of that Story of *Apollonius*, how he made the People at *Epheſus* ſtone an old Beggar; who, as he told them, was a *Dæmon*; and when the Stones had made a Hillock over his Body, he bad the People remove the Stones, which they did; and found under them, not a Man, but a Maſtiff, as big as the biggeſt Sort of Lion, and foaming at Mouth, as if he had been mad. So likewiſe he tells how *Apollonius* being invited, with many other Gueſts, by his Friend *Menippus* to his Wedding; he found that the amiable Bride was a She-Devil (*u*), that was in Love with *Menippus*, and pretending to be a great Fortune, had provided the Wedding Dinner, with a noble Attendance, and all manner of Delicacies; but upon his telling his Friend what ſhe was, ſhe, together with her Attendance and Dinner, vaniſhed, leaving *Apollonius* to make her Excuſe to the Bridegroom and his Company. Here were Subjects for *Lucian* to have bantered upon, beyond any that are in his Book; ſo that, becauſe they are not there, I ſay again, one may be ſure he never heard of them.

He that could thus deſcry Devils, might as well know Souls, one would think, and tell what Bodies they had paſſed through; eſpecially being a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher (*x*). I have ſhewn *Apollonius* could do that, as well as *Pythagoras* himſelf; though *Philoſtratus* doth not tell us, that ever his Soul dwelt, as that of *Pythagoras* did, in the Body of a Son of *Mercury*, that had that Gift from his Father. But he was not to be meaſured by *Pythagoras*, being as *Philoſtratus* tells us, far the greater Man of the two (*y*). He out-did him in many Things; and particularly in this, that he would call up the Souls of any of the Heroes, and entertain himſelf with them at his Pleaſure. Particularly, at the Tomb of *Achilles* (*z*), where that Hero appeared ſometimes frightfully to others, who therefore warned *Apollonius* not to come near him; he laughed at them, and ſpent a whole Night there in Converſation with *Achilles*, till the Cocks-crowing; which, it ſeems, warns the Sprights away (*a*). But the next Day he told his Company all this; how the Ghoſt appeared to him, at firſt but five Cubits high, but roſe up by Degrees to be twelve; perhaps ſwelling with Indignation againſt his Countrymen of *Theſſaly*; of whom he bitterly complained, That whereas they uſed to worſhip him formerly, now they had this good while left it off. He called *Apollonius* by his Name, and told him, I am glad you are here, for I have long looked for ſuch a one as you to tell them of this. But for one thing he expoſtulated with *Apollonius* too; that he had received into his Company one *Antiſthenes*, that was of the Race of King *Priamus*,

(*t*) IV. 3.
(*u*) IV. 8. *Empuſa.*
(*x*) P. ix.
(*y*) L. I. c. I.
(*z*) IV. 3.
(*a*) IV. 5.

mus, and that uſed to ſing the Praiſes of *Hector*; whom, belike, *Achilles* hated, even after Death. But it ſeems *Apollonius*, having done this ignorantly, now he was told of it diſcarded the young Gentleman. All this, as *Philoſtratus* ſays, was in the Minutes of *Damis*, who was preſent at that time.

And with him I go next to *Apollonius*'s Travels, of which *Philoſtratus* tells us many Wonders, that he ſaith *Damis* ſaw; among which are the moſt incredible Things that we read in the Travels of Sir *John Mandeville*. But he tells us many more and greater than the Knight has in his Book. Particularly this (*b*), which *Damis* confeſſeth made him ſtare. When he was among the *Bramins*, they brought him to a Treat; where he ſaw four Tables, that walked and placed themſelves in an apt Figure; each of theſe was ſupported by an Image, that ſerved them with Drink: Two of theſe Images poured out Wine, and the other two Water; one hot, and one cold, to every Gueſt according to his Drinking: And for Dinner, there came in Diſhes of all the beſt Fruits of the Seaſon; inviſible, till they were upon the Table, and there they ſet themſelves in order for eating: Then the Earth thruſt up Heaps of Graſs, that were ſofter than Beds, for the Gueſts to lie upon. *Philoſtratus* ſaith, indeed, that how they did theſe Things, *Apollonius* neither aſked, nor cared to learn; that is, he took all to be done by Magic. But he liked theſe Magicians never the worſe for it; as appears, by the high Praiſes he gave them at every mention that he made of them afterwards. Which ſo pricked the *Gymnoſophiſts*, when he was with them in *Æthiopia* (*c*), that they, to ſhew him a Proof of their Skill, made an Elm-Tree ſpeak to him. It ſpoke, he ſaith, articulately; but it was with a Woman's Voice; perhaps becauſe the *Greek* Word for an Elm is of the Feminine Gender (*d*). Theſe are very rank fulſome Lies; but they are but a ſmall Taſte of the Abundance that *Philoſtratus* gives us out of his *Damis*'s Minutes.

What he tells of *Apollonius* (*e*) without that Authority, himſelf, as I have ſhewn, doth acknowledge to be very uncertain. Such he owns theſe Stories to have been, that he tells us, of a Choir of Swans (*f*), that, happening to be in the Meadow, where his Mother fell in Labour, ſung him into the World; and alſo of a Choir of Virgins, that ſung him into Heaven (*g*); if the lying *Cretans* may be believed, that gave *Philoſtratus* the Words of their Song. For the Diſtance of Time between his Birth and his Death, he owns it to be very uncertain: He ſaith it was, as ſome ſay (*h*), 80 Years, as ſome 90, and as ſome above 100. But therein, as well as in many other Things, he ſhewed his want of Chronology. For if, as he tells us, *Archelaus* rebelled againſt the *Romans*, when *Apollonius* was at *Ægæ* (*i*), being then but ſixteen Years old; then he muſt have been born in or very near the firſt Year of our Lord (*k*): For it was certainly *Anno Domini* 17, in which *Archelaus*, after a very ſhort Struggle, yielded,

(*b*) III. 8.
(*c*) VI. 5.
(*d*) Πτελέα.
(*e*) P. xxxi.
(*f*) I. 4.
(*g*) VIII. 12.
(*h*) *Ibid.*
(*i*) I. 9.
(*k*) *Tac. Ann.* II. 42.

yielded, and was depoſed for his Rebellion (*l*). And, as I have ſhewn from *Philoſtratus* himſelf (*m*), *Apollodorus* died *Anno Domini* 96. Therefore, according to *Philoſtratus*'s own Account, he died at the Age of 96 or 97 Years old; which is none of the Years above-mentioned. So uncertain was alſo the Place of his Death. For, as *Philoſtratus* ſaith, ſome ſay he died at *Epheſus* (*n*); ſome ſay in the Iſle of *Candy*; and ſome in *Minerva*'s Temple, at *Lindus*. For *Philoſtratus*'s Part, not daring to ſtrain the Credit of *Damis*, by making him ſide with any of them, he declares that *Damis* ſaid nothing of the manner of his Death. But then, delivering the Opinions of others (*o*), he ſaith, Thus died *Apollonius*; adding, if he died at all. O rare Hiſtorian! that, having not only aſſured us he was born, but having given a particular Account of his Father, and his Mother, and the green Chamber he was born in, comes at laſt to make a doubt, whether he ever died or no? What would this Man have the Reader think of his *Apollonius?* That he was greater than *Apollo?* Or, than *Jupiter* himſelf? So it ſeems. For both theſe died, as we have ſhewn from *Pythagoras* himſelf (*p*); who owned, it was after their Deaths that they were made Gods: And *Pythagoras* could not but know this; for, as this Writer tells us, *Pythagoras* was among them ſometimes (*q*); and *Apollo* came to him, and owned that it was he that ſpoke to him. Yet here, *Philoſtratus*, that told us all this, though he durſt not ſpeak out, that *Apollonius* did never die; yet he intimates this was his Opinion, and would incline his Reader to believe it. Certainly your *Tzetzes* did not exceed in calling him the moſt lying *Philoſtratus*. Among all the Writers that I know, there is ſcarce a greater Liar in the World.

Nor was there a greater Impoſtor, than *Apollonius*; whom, on the ſole Credit of *Philoſtratus*'s Hiſtory, *Hierocles* ſo much extols, as the great Favourite of the Gods, and fitter to be called a God, than our bleſſed Saviour. But to ſhew more particularly what *Apollonius* was, we muſt not wholly reject his lying Hiſtorian. For, if we do, we are quite in the dark; there being no other that writ of *Apollonius* within two hundred Years after his Death, *Lucian* only excepted. And therefore to make the beſt of what we have in theſe two Writers, I ſhall begin with *Philoſtratus*, and take the beſt Information we can get of him.

Now, according to this Hiſtorian, *Apollonius* was bred up at firſt among the *Pythagoreans*, and always affected to be thought a Philoſopher of that Sect. For he ſtrictly obſerved the Rules of *Pythagoras*, though he underſtood not his Doctrine (*r*). But he not only imitated, but much out-did him in his Travels. And according to the Way of that Sect, which was much addicted to the Worſhip of *Dæmons*, he made it his Buſineſs, whereſoever he went, to reſtore the *Gentile* Idolatry; which was then much ſunk by the preaching of the *Chriſtian* Religion. This, no doubt, might entitle him to the Devil's eſpecial Aſſiſtance, by which he might do wonderful Things; and might, as he boaſted he did, know more than all the Men in the World. That was nothing to

(*l*) *Tac. Ann.* II. 42.
(*m*) P. xxix.
(*n*) VIII. 12.
(*o*) *Ibid.*
(*p*) P. v.
(*q*) I. 1, 2.
(*r*) *Euſeb.* in *Hier.*

him. He would be thought to be a God, and therefore he boasted of Things which no Man could know or do (*s*). He declared, he knew all the Languages of Men, without any teaching; and that he understood, not only their Words, but even their silent Thoughts. *Damis*, as soon as he heard this, fell down and worshipped him; he could do no less, looking upon him as a *Dæmon*, saith the Historian. Others that saw his Tricks, and heard such Things from him, soon found both what he was, and what he would be at. They saw, he was either a Magician, or a grand Cheat. This was the common Opinion they had of him, according to *Philostratus* (*t*), who notably fenceth against it. They also saw what he drove at, even to be thought a God. Of this he was accused to the Government (*u*): And that by Philosophers, even by *Euphrates* the greatest of them in his Age. These learned Men, no doubt, had seen the Books that he published; namely, his four Books of *Judicial Astrology* (*x*), and his Books of *Sacrifices*, to shew what Sorts of them would best please every God. I find no other Books that he writ. And these could not but confirm those Philosophers in their Opinion of him. We have these things, and much more of this kind, from *Philostratus*; whom we have reason to believe in these things, though not in many other; for in these he agrees with him that lived nearest *Apollonius*'s Time.

Of all the Writers now extant, the nearest to the Time of *Apollonius* was *Lucian*, as I have shewn. And what Opinion he had of him, we may see in his Account of another of the same Trade, one *Alexander*, a famous Impostor (*y*). *Lucian* tells us of this *Alexander*, that being at first a handsome Youth, he was abused by one of *Tyana*, that made him his *Catamite*. This execrable Sodomite, being, as *Lucian* saith, not only a Countryman of *Apollonius*, but also one of his Companions, that knew all his way of acting the Part of a Philosopher (*z*); to make this young Man the more passive to his Lust, trained him up to Magic, and taught him the Use of Charms, and made him a great Proficient in all the other Arts of Cheating, in which he excelled. This is all that we have of *Apollonius*, from *Lucian*. And we had not known so much of him as this, but that *Lucian*, having occasion to speak of a Companion of his, that set up at his Trade, and took Apprentices at it; thereupon brings him in, as the Master-Workman of his Age in all that way of diabolical Practice.

This was the Reputation he had, as it seems, till above a hundred Years after his Death. Then out comes this Book of his Life; composed, as I have shewn, out of unknown Memoirs (*a*), brought into the World by an unknown Hand. They are said to have been brought to the Empress *Julia*, as I have shewn. That might be, though they were first born in her Court (*b*). She might as well order the first devising, as the composing of them into a History. *Philostratus* owns, that what he did was by her Order. And she was herself a Philosopher (*c*), as he tells us; a great Intriguer, all acknowledge. No doubt she had very great Reasons for such an extraordinary Thing as this was to canonize a Magician a hundred Years after his Death, and to advance him even to be

(*s*) I. 13. p. 25.
(*t*) I. 2, 3.
(*u*) VII. 1.
(*x*) III. 13.
(*y*) *Lucian* in *Pseudo-Mant.* p. 476.
(*z*) Τραπεζίτα.
(*a*) P. xxx.
(*b*) P. xxix.
(*c*) *Philost. Soph.* II. p. 617.

be a God: Whether ſhe had a mind this way to draw off her Son, the young Emperor, from the Eſteem he had of the *Chriſtians*, whom he favoured on his Nurſe's Account (*d*), that was of that Religion; or whether to do honour to a Diſciple and intimate Friend of the *Magi* (*e*), that were noted to lie with their Mothers; and thereby to countenance her wicked Deſign of drawing her Son to her Bed (*f*). Theſe are but Conjectures. But whatſoever the matter was, it was ſhe (*g*), as *Philoſtratus* owns, that ſet him upon the Deſign of writing the Life of *Apollonius*; at ſuch a rate, that whoever believed it, could not but look upon him as a fit Rival for our Bleſſed Saviour (*h*). Her, and her Son *Caracalla*, I take to have been the Emperors that ordered him to be worſhiped, at *Tyana*, where he was born. That Emperors did order this, *Philoſtratus* tells us in a Chapter which I take to be an Addition to the end of his Book (*i*). And ſure this could not be done by any Emperors before *Lucian*'s Time: For if it had, he durſt not have writ thoſe Things that I have quoted from him. Conſidering alſo that her Siſter or Neice *Mammæa*, the Mother of *Alexander Severus*, was a *Chriſtian*; I do not wonder at that which *Lampridius* hath in this Emperor's Life (*k*). Where he ſaith, he had the Images of *Chriſt* and *Apollonius* together in his *Lararium*. Of his Mother he had his Birth and Education; and it was his Aunt *Julia* that raiſed him to that Greatneſs; in which, being to furniſh a Cloſet for his Devotion, he thought to pleaſe them both, in ſetting up his Aunt's God, together with his Mother's.

As the bigotted Heathens could not but be pleaſed with the Honour done to *Apollonius*, in order to the leſſening of our bleſſed Saviour; ſo, no doubt, the Devil would promote it what he could. And therefore I am inclined to be of Dr. *More*'s Opinion (*l*); that the Devil might make that Appearance to *Aurelian*, in the Name of his Saint *Apollonius*, to perſuade that incenſed Emperor to ſpare his City of *Tyana* for his Sake. Though otherwiſe it is not improbable that *Vopiſcus* might invent this Part of his Hiſtory (*m*). For, as my moſt learned Friend Mr. *Dodwell* ſhews (*m**), he writ it in the firſt Heat of *Diocleſian*'s Perſecution, and dedicated it to the *Præfectus Urbis*, who had the ſame Concern in this Matter at *Rome*, that *Hierocles* had at *Nicomedia*. And by the high Encomium he gives *Apollonius*; out of a *Greek* Book, as he tells us, which could be no other than his Life, written by *Philoſtratus*; it is plain he had the ſame wicked Deſign with *Hierocles*, namely, to ſet up this Magician for a Rival to our Saviour; and thereby to bring Contempt on his holy Religion, and on all them that ſuffered and died for it in that Perſecution.

But when God's Time was come to ſet up the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, three or four Emperors that oppoſed it with the utmoſt Malice and Rage (*n*), were ſucceſſively taken away by the viſible Hand of God; the Juſtice whereof two of them at their Death did acknowledge. Then the Devil being thrown out of

(*d*) *Euſeb. Hiſt.* VI.
(*e*) *Phil. Vit. Apol.* I. 18, 24.
(*f*) *Sext. Empir. Pyrrh.* III. 24.
(*g*) I. 3.
(*h*) *More*'s Myſtery of Godlineſs, IV. 3, 4. V. 7. 1.
(*i*) *Phil.* VIII. 13.
(*k*) *Euſ. Hiſt.* VI. 21. *Lamtr. Alex. A.* Sect. 29.
(*l*) Myſtery of Godlineſs, V. 7, 8.
(*m*) *Vopiſc. Divus Aurel.* c. 24.
(*m**) Mr. *Dodwell*'s *Prælect. Prolem. in Hiſt. Aug.* V. 6.
(*n*) *V. Lact. de Mort. perſec.*

Heaven, all his Angels fell with him. Chriſtianity came to be the eſtabliſhed Religion. And then (to uſe the Phraſe of a Gentleman that had more Wit than did him good,) Religion having taught the People to ſay Grace, there was no more Danger of the crooked Pin in the Pudding: Thoſe palpable Lies of *Apollonius* would not go down; and ſo, for ought I find, *Hierocles* quite loſt his Labour.

Next, *Jamblichus*, who, as *Eunapius* ſaith in his Life, was a greater Scholar than his Maſter *Porphyry*, and who was no leſs a Hater of *Chriſtians*; yet living under *Chriſtian* Emperors, as he did all the Time of his Age for writing Books, he durſt not write profeſſedly againſt the *Chriſtian* Religion. But taking this to be a ſafe way, he went on with his Maſter's Deſign, of ſetting up *Pythagoras* to be a Rival to our Saviour. In order to this, he took up all the Stuff that *Porphyry* in his Life of *Pythagoras* had gathered ready to his Hand. He worked it over again in his own way, oftentimes making uſe of *Porphyry*'s Words. Then, for farther Embelliſhment, he added out of his own Invention, whatever he thought would either adorn his Subject, or promote the Deſign of his Writing. His Deſign was plainly to ſubvert the *Chriſtian* Religion. But ſo, as not run himſelf in any Danger on that Account; and therefore, without ever mentioning *Chriſt* or *Chriſtians*, which he could not do in this Book without ſeeming to make ſome kind of Reflection upon them, he only endeavours to make *Pythagoras*, and thoſe of his Sect, outſhine them in the Luſtre that he gives them with his Eloquence, ſuch as it is. Which, together with other Services that he did to the Cauſe of Heatheniſm againſt the *Chriſtian* Religion, did ſo far endear him to *Julian*, that wretched Apoſtate, that, after he came to ſhew himſelf, which was not till he took the Empire upon him (*o*), he writ more Epiſtles to *Jamblichus* than to any other while he was living; and after his Death never mentioned him, but with the higheſt Encomiums (*p*), calling him ſometimes the Hero, ſometimes the divine *Jamblichus*, and one whom he admired next the Gods.

Julian, having been ſometime a Reader in the Church, might very well underſtand him, as I do in the following Inſtances of his Book; which I take to have been written in a kind of abuſive Imitation of the Goſpel (*q*). Namely, where he tells us, how the Mother of *Pythagoras*, being with Child of him, which was more than her Huſband yet knew, was brought by him to the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, at *Delphi*; and there the Propheteſs told him both the firſt News of his Wife's Conception, and alſo that the Child ſhe then went with ſhould prove the greateſt Good to Mankind. Thereupon he ſaith, her Huſband changed his Wife's Name from *Parthenis* to *Pythaïs*; and afterwards, when the Child was born, called him *Pythagoras*; as being foretold by *Apollo Pythius*, for ſo he ſaith that Name ſignifies (*r*). *Jamblichus* will not take upon him to ſay, (as he tells us ſome others did) that the Child was of *Apollo*'s own getting: But he ſaith, none can doubt it was one of *Apollo*'s Companions in Heaven (*s*), that came down to be the Soul of that Child. He ſhould have ſaid rather, one of *Pluto*'s Companions in Hell; for the Soul of *Pythagoras* came then

(*o*) *Juliani Epiſt.* xxxiv, xl, xli, liii, lx, lxi.
(*p*) *Juliani Orat.* IV. *Orat.* VII. *Ib.*
(*q*) *Jambl. Vit. Pyth.* c. 2. p. 28.
(*r*) c. 2. p. 29.
(*s*) Ibid.

then out of *Hades* (*t*), if *Pythagoras* himſelf may be believed. But *Jamblichus* was aware that *Pythagoras* overſhot himſelf ſometimes, and did it particularly in his Account of the Stages that his Soul paſſed through in its Travels. Therefore *Jamblichus* takes notice of no other but *Euphorbus*, in whom that Soul formerly dwelt. He ſmuggles all the other Names we have mentioned, not only from his Maſter *Porphyry*, but even from *Pythagoras* himſelf (*u*).

But however, he ſaith, it hath been affirmed by many, and that with great Probability, that *Pythagoras* was the Son of God. Nay, that he was one of the heavenly Gods that then appeared upon Earth for the Good of Mankind (*x*); a greater Good than ever did come before, or ſhould ever come after. His Diſciples indeed could not agree among themſelves what God he ſhould be. Some would have it that he was *Apollo Pythius* (*y*); others, that he was *Apollo Hyperboreus*; others, that he was *Æſculapius*; others, that he was one of the *Dæmons* that dwelt in the Moon. They that ſaid he was *Apollo*, ſeemed to be the greateſt Number; and they had the greateſt Authority on their ſide (*z*), even his own; for ſo *Pythagoras* himſelf told *Abaris* [to entitle himſelf to the Money, as we have ſhewn (*a*)] that he was the very God himſelf: And proved it by ſhewing him his Golden Thigh, ſuch, as it ſeems *Abaris* had told him that the Image of his God had in *Scythia*. But then, leſt *Abaris* ſhould aſk him what he made here (*b*)? *Pythagoras* added, that he put on human Shape, that Men might not be afraid to converſe with him; as they would, if they knew the Excellence of his Perſon, and ſo they would deprive themſelves of the Benefit of his Doctrine.

Such Stuff as this runs through his Book; which, being written for the deifying of an Impoſtor, plainly ſhewed that the Deſign of it was to banter the Goſpel of *Chriſt*. He begins like one of the Heathen Poets, with invoking the Gods, and *Pythagoras*, to aſſiſt him in the Work. How he ended it, we cannot tell; for his Book is imperfect. But probably he continued it with an Account of this Impoſtor's Diſciples, in Imitation of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. In ſhort, as well for Hiſtory, as for Doctrinal Matters, from one End to the other, it hath ſo much of the Devil in it, that it ſeems to have been wholly written by his Inſpiration.

But all this I do acknowledge to have been a Digreſſion, as well as all the reſt of what I have written, that doth not concern the Writers of *Pythagoras*'s Life. For it was my proper Buſineſs to ſhew of what Credit they are, as to Matter of Hiſtory. Now the two chief of theſe, being *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*, who were great Philoſophers themſelves, and ſuch great Admirers of *Pythagoras*, as they ſhew in the Writing of his Life; one ought to expect they would have taken care to gather all that was true of him out of all the former Hiſtorians, and to have mingled nothing with it that was inconſiſtent with the Truth of Hiſtory. How well they have performed this in other reſpects, I ſhall not take upon me to examine. But I ſhall take Account of it only as to Matter of Chronology. And that I think ſufficiently ſheweth how much at random it is that *Jamblichus* pretends to give the Years of *Pythagoras*'s Life, and his chief Actions and Events: And alſo how groſly both he, and *Porphyry* before

(*t*) P. viii.
(*u*) p. vi, vii, viii.
(*x*) P. 43.
(*y*) c. 27. p. 127.
(*z*) c. 19. p. 94.
(*a*) P. xiii.
(*b*) c. 19. p. 94.

before him, have abuſed their Readers in the Accounts that they give us of his principal Diſciples.

As to the Years of *Pythagoras*'s Life, *Jamblichus* tells us, that it was much about his eighteenth Year that he ſet out to travel (*c*) : And that after ſome Time, (which I take to be four Years) ſpent in other Conntries, he came into *Ægypt*, and there he ſtayed twenty-two Years (*d*). He goes on, and ſays that the Philoſopher being taken there by *Cambyſes*'s Soldiers, was carried to *Babylon*, and there he ſtayed twelve Years ; and then returned home to *Samos*, being now about fifty-ſix Years old. There he ſtayed for ſome time, (it ſhould ſeem for another four Years) and then in *Olympiad* LXII he went into *Italy* (*e*). There, he ſays, he governed his School forty Years wanting one (*f*), and lived in all very near an hundred Years.

So diſtinct an Account as this is of the Years of *Pythagoras*'s Life, whereof there is not the leaſt *Item* in any of the ancienter Writers, did, I confeſs, not a little rejoice me, when I firſt met with it; and ſo much the more, becauſe of two *certain* Notations of Time, by which, if they were true, all thoſe Years might be reduced to the like Certainty. There is nothing better known in antient Hiſtory, than the Year of *Cambyſes*'s conquering *Ægypt*. We are certain it was in the End of the third Year, or the Beginning of the fourth of *Olymp.* LXIV. So that according to *Jamblichus*, this was the very Year of *Pythagoras*'s being carried to *Babylon*. And the Time of his going into *Italy* is as certain, according to *Jamblichus*, who ſaith it was *Olymp.* LXII wherein *Eryxias* was Victor. There is plainly ſix Years diſtance of Time between theſe Years that are here mentioned. And the ſame, one would think, there ſhould be between his being carried to *Babylon* and his going into *Italy*. But that cannot be *Jamblichus*'s Meaning. For he ſaith, it was twelve Years that *Pythagoras* ſtayed at *Babylon* ; and then, to make up his Life very near an hundred Years, as *Jamblichus* reckons it, there muſt be three or four Years more that he ſtayed in *Crete*, and at *Samos*, before he went into *Italy*. Add theſe to the twelve Years before mentioned, and they make ſome fifteen or ſixteen Years. And yet here *Jamblichus* makes his going into *Italy* to be in *Olymp.* LXII. that is, to be ſix or ſeven Years before the certain Time of his being carried to *Babylon*, which muſt be in the third or fourth Year of *Olymp.* LXIII. if he was carried thither by the Forces of *Cambyſes*, as *Jamblichus* tells us. So in ſhort, he brings *Pythagoras* Captive to *Babylon* ſome fifteen or ſixteen Years before his going to *Italy* ; and yet he makes his going into *Italy* ſix or ſeven Years before his being carried to *Babylon*. Here are two of the chief Accounts of Time in his Hiſtory which ſo manifeſtly contradict one another, that to believe him in both is impoſſible.

This is a great Diſappointment, but it will make us ſome part of amends, if there be any truth in either of them. To begin with that which he ſaith of *Pythagoras*'s being taken in *Ægypt* by the Soldiers of King *Cambyſes* ; that muſt be in the third or fourth Year of *Olymp.* LXIII, as I have ſhewn. But as herein he contradicts himſelf in his other Notation of Time, ſo in this he doth not agree with the ancienter Writers ; who generally ſpeak of *Pythagoras*'s coming from

(*c*) c. 2. p. 31. l. 5.
(*d*) c. 4. p. 36. l. 27. c. 4. ending. c. 5. beginning.
(*e*) c. 7. p. 47. l. 23.
(*f*) c. 36. p. 220. l. 4.

from *Babylon* to *Samos*, and his going from thence into *Italy*, before the Reign of *Cambyſes*. Now that he that lived near eight hundred Years after thoſe Times, ſhould preſume to publiſh this to the World, without naming any Author for it, but as if he had ſaid it of his own Knowledge; this I cannot look upon as any other than a very impudent Fiction. As for that which he ſaid of *Pythagoras*'s going into *Italy* in *Olymp.* LXII, it is very likely he had Authors that ſaid ſomething like it. There are enough that ſay he was there in *Olymp.* LXII; and it is very likely *Jamblichus* might miſtake them, and that might occaſion him to ſay that *Pythagoras* went thither at that time. This is the beſt I can ſay of it. And ſo in ſhort, I have loſt all the Joy that I had of both his Diſcoveries. For having examined them, I ſee the laſt is a mere Blunder, the former a bold Fiction, and they both contradict one another. What Credit can one give to ſuch an Hiſtorian?

For his Account of the Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, he takes what he will out of the rude Heap that his Maſter *Porphyry* had thrown together, and much more he adds very laviſhly out of his own Head.

Zamolxis the Law-giver of the *Getes*, they will have to be one of *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples. *Porphyry* makes him one of the firſt. For he ſaith, that *Zamolxis* being yet a Boy, was brought out of *Thrace* by the Father of our Philoſopher (*g*), who gave him to his Son, and he taught him all Matters of Religion. *Jamblichus* owns he was Slave to *Pythagoras*; who, as he ſays, taught him, and then gave him his Liberty (*h*). And yet he had reckoned him before, among the young Men, that came to be Diſciples to *Pythagoras* in his old Age. All this is true alike. For *Herodotus* (*i*), that lived among them, who remembered *Pythagoras*, ſaith, *Zamolxis* was much antienter than he. And therefore *Jamblichus* was once in the right, though perhaps it was through Forgetfulneſs when he left him out of the Catalogue of *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples.

Zaleucus and *Charondas* he hath in the Catalogue; for which, he hath not only *Porphyry* on his Side, who tells us from *Nicomachus*, that by theſe he gave Laws to their People (*k*); but alſo in *Diogenes Laertius* there is a mention of them to this purpoſe. But *Jamblichus* of his own head reckons both theſe among them that came young to be *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples when he was old: Which is no truer of them than of *Zamolxis*; for theſe alſo were much antienter than *Pythagoras*. *Zaleucus* lived *Olymp.* XXIX, according to *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*. Of *Charondas* (*l*) you have ſhewn that he was the Scholar of *Zaleucus*, or as others ſay, older than he. So that, if theſe three were *Pythagoras*'s Diſciples, it muſt have been ſome time after the Wars of *Troy*, before his Soul came into that *Samian* Body of his; which, if it could be made out, would be a wonderful Proof of his Doctrine of Tranſmigration.

They reckon three other Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, on whom he ſet no ordinary Value, if it be true that they tell us of the Names that he gave them. Theſe three were *Epimenides*, by him ſurnamed *Purger* (*m*); *Empedocles*, called *Wind-Charmer*; and *Abaris* called *Sky-rider*. And very fine Stories they tell of the Reaſons

(*g*) c. 30. p. 154. l. 22.
(*h*) c. 23. p. 103. l. 15.
(*i*) *Herodot.* IV. 56.
(*k*) c. 23. p. 103. l. 11, 15.
(*l*) *Differt.* p. 362.
(*m*) Καθάρτης. Ἀλεξάνημος. Ἀβροβάτης. *Porph. Vit. Pyth.* p. 193. *Jambl.* c. 28. p. 127, 128. p. ix.

Reasons of his giving them these Names; all tending to this, that he imparted to them some of those *Romantic* Powers which these Historians were pleased to ascribe to *Pythagoras*. I indeed called them Lies, but I shall ask their Pardon, if I do not prove that they belie *Pythagoras* in what they say of these his Disciples.

First, for *Epimenides*, whom both *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* do reckon among his Disciples (*n*); there is much more Probability in what *Laertius* says, that makes him one of the Masters of *Pythagoras* (*o*). But certainly *Jamblichus* over-shot himself, in saying that he also came a young Man when *Pythagoras* was old. And both he and his Master are extravagant in making *Pythagoras* teach him to conjure. For *Epimenides*, as all Writers agree, had purged *Athens*, whence he had the name Καθάρτης, before he could see *Pythagoras*, who, as they say, gave him that Name. And he was a very old Man when he died. And that was either before *Pythagoras* was born, or not many Years after. See my Account of him in the Year 594 before *Christ*.

To fetch *Empedocles* into his School, they seem to stretch hard on the other hand. For, though all agree, that he was of the *Pythagorean* Sect, yet that ever he was taught by *Pythagoras*, seems very improbable (*p*). That *Alcidamas* said this, is true; but he makes *Empedocles* a Hearer of *Anaxagoras*, either first, or together with *Pythagoras*. This could not be; because *Pythagoras* was dead, either before, or a very little after the Birth of *Anaxagoras*. See my Account of him in the Year 500 before *Christ*. But that *Empedocles* came too late into the World to be at all a Disciple of *Pythagoras*, it sufficiently appears by the Accounts we have of him in *D. Laertius* (*q*). Who saith, that they flourished in *Olymp*. LXXXIV. and that *Aristotle* saith he died at fifty Years old; tho' others of less Credit say, he lived seventy-seven or an hundred and nine Years. But if he was in the Flower of his Age in the LXXXIVth *Olympiad*, that is above sixty Years after *Olymp*. LXVIII. 3. in which I place the Death of *Pythagoras*; or placing it in *Olymp*. LXX. 4. which is but nine Years after, and that is the lowest I can go (*r*). I must needs say, *Empedocles* was a very young Conjurer, or he flourished in a very old Age; or, which I rather believe, there is no Credit to be given to these two Historians.

This will farther appear by the Account they give of *Abaris*, whom also they make a great Conjurer, and trained up to it by *Pythagoras* (*s*). So much *Porphyry* had said. But *Jamblichus* much outdoes his Master. For having told us that *Abaris* came for Improvement in Knowledge in *Greece*; he saith, that in his way home from thence, being now well stricken in Years, he came to see *Pythagoras* in *Italy* (*t*). There he gave *Pythagoras* the Arrow, upon which he used to ride aloft in the Air; though elsewhere he saith *Pythagoras* took away his Arrow, and kept it till he made him confess all he cared to know of him. When there, in *Italy* (*u*), they had spent as much Time together, as *Jamblichus* pleased, then he brings them to *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*; and there he lets them to try if they can work any Good upon *Phalaris*. In his thirty-second Chapter *Jamblichus* sheweth his Talent in the making of Speeches for them, and

(*n*) VIII. 3.
(*o*) c. 23. p. 103. l. 15.
(*p*) *D. Laert.* VIII. 56. *Ibidem.*
(*q*) VIII. 74.
(*r*) Ἀλεξάνμ☉, p.
(*s*) Ἀβάρβατος.
(*t*) c. 19. p. 92. l. 32. p. 93. l. 10.
(*u*) c. 28. p. 131. l. 28.

and of Answers for *Phalaris*; till they came to be upon ill Terms. Then he makes *Phalaris* resolve to kill them both; and he makes them for Prevention set the People against him; by whom, he saith, *Phalaris* was killed the same Day that he had determined to kill both *Pythagoras* and *Abaris*.

Now, this is so fine a Romance, that it is pity there should be no Truth in it; but only that there was such a City, and that there were such Persons. It is civil to grant that in the Time of *Pythagoras* there was such a one as *Abaris* living, though Authors differ much about the Time of his coming into *Greece*. For as *Harpocration* tells us, *Hippostratus* placed it in *Olymp.* III, others in *Olymp.* XXI. *Pindar* in the Time of King *Crœsus*; and *Euseb. Chronicon* hath it twice, namely there, and in *Olymp.* LXXXII. But granting that *Abaris* was in *Greece* in *Crœsus*'s Time, which is the only Time that consists with *Jamblichus*'s Story: Then, according to *Euseb. Chronicon*, his coming was in *Olymp.* LIV, 2. that was while *Pythagoras* was abroad in his Travels, according to *Jamblichus*'s Account, which makes his coming into *Italy* to be in *Olymp.* LXII; that is, full thirty Years after. By this time *Abaris*, though he came out of *Greece* with him, must needs be very well stricken in Years; much more, if he came after *Pythagoras* was settled in *Italy*. But what becomes of *Phalaris* in the mean while? See in my Account, 572 before *Christ*. There it appears, the latest we can bring *Phalaris* to die, is in *Olymp.* LVII, 4. that is sixteen Years before *Jamblichus* makes *Pythagoras* come into *Italy*. After this, *Phalaris* could neither kill, nor be killed, but in a Romance; and I take all this Story of *Jamblichus* to be no other.

For the rest of the two hundred and eighteen Names of Disciples in his Catalogue (*x*), I can bring none of them within the Time of *Pythagoras*'s Life, but *Milo*, and *Parmenides*, whom I mention in my Account in the Years 539, and 504 before *Christ*. There are scarce two more of them that ever saw *Pythagoras*, for ought that appears in any good Author; though here are the Names of several more that were Philosophers of the *Pythagorean* Sect. Yet even these, together with them before mentioned, will not make up the odd number of eighteen. For the other two hundred, I take them to be insignificant Names, invented by *Jamblichus* only out of vain Obstentation.

To conclude, I do not lay any weight at all upon the Testimony of *Jamblichus*, nor much on that of his Master *Porphyry*, were he doth not mention his Author. But I quote them sometimes in the following Account, as in a History of the *British* Kings I would *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*. But then naming my Author, for want of a better, where I think what he says may be true, I should leave all I said from him to the Reader, with a perfect Indifference whether he believed him or not. With the like Indifference, as to every Thing but what I have Scripture for, I commit these Papers into your Hands; desiring you to take them only as my Opinion, which is all that you ask of,

(*x*) c. 36. p. 221, &c.

SIR,

Your affectionate Friend, and Servant,

March 30, 1699.

W. Cov. and *Lich.*

A Chronological Account of the Life of *Pythagoras*, and of other famous Men his Contemporaries.

N *is here put for the Birth, and*
O *for the Death of any Perſon.*

OF *Pythagoras*, the *Samian* Philoſopher, there is nothing ſaid by any of the Ancients, that I know, which can make us think he was born before *Olympiad* XLIII. ſave only that of *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* ii. 8. who ſays, that in *Olympiad* XLII. and *U. C.* 142. he firſt found that *Venus* was ſometimes the Morning Star, and ſometimes the Evening Star. But it is not improbable that in this *Pliny* might miſtake *Pythagoras* for his Maſter *Thales*, of whom ſee the Year 585 before Chriſt.

Years before Chriſt 605. *Olympiad* 43, 3, 4.

N. *Pythagoras* born this Year, if he was the ſame that is here mentioned in the Year 588. before Chriſt. This Year alſo ſuits beſt with *Antilochus*'s Account, which follows in 583 before Chriſt.

Years before Chriſt 604. *Olympiad* 44.

O. *Nabopolaſſar* King of *Babylon*. Next his Son *Nabocolaſſar* or *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had reigned about two Years with his Father. This Year *January* 21, was his firſt Thoth, according to *Ptol.* Canon.

Years before Chriſt 600. *Olympiad* 45.

N. *Pherecydes*, born this Year. *Suidas*. He was born in the Iſle of *Syrus*, one of the *Cyclades*. *Strabo* x. *Pythagoras* was at firſt his Diſciple. *Cicero Tuſc. Qu.* 1. *Diod. Sic. Excerpt.* and many others.

Years before Chriſt 594, 3. *Olympiad* 46, 3.

Solon was this Year Archon at *Athens*. *Diog. Laert.* from *Soſicrates*. So *Euſeb.* Chronicon in 1 MS. *Clem. Alexandr.* ſtr. a. ſaith, he was Archon in *Olympiad* XLVI.

He made his Laws in the Time of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. *A. Gellius* xvii. 21. He made them the Year that he was Archon, and that with the Help of *Epimenides*, who came thither from *Crete*, and having expiated the City in *Olympiad* XLIV. as *Suidas* ſaith, or in *Olympiad* XLV. as *Euſ.* Chron. *Pontaci*, or *Olympiad* XLVI. as *Laertius*, returned Home, and died ſoon after. *D. Laert. l.* 110. being 154 Years old, as *Xenophanes* ſaid he had heard. *ib.* iii. of *Xenophanes* ſee in the Year 540 before Chriſt.

Years before Chriſt 592. *Olympiad* 47.

Anacharſis Scytha now came to *Athens*, *Eucrates* being Archon. *D. Laert.* 1. 101.

Years

Years before Christ 588. *Olympiad* 48.

Pythagoras Samius offered himself to play at Fisticuffs among the Boys at the Olympic Games; but having long Hair, and wearing Purple, he was rejected with Reproach. Therefore he went from them among the Men; and there offering himself at the same Exercise, he was Victor. This was our Philosopher, according to *D. Laert.* viii. 48. who hath all this from *Eratosthenes*, *Favorinus*, and *Theætetus*. *Jamblichus* hath the same, and many others. *Eratosthenes* says farther, that our Philosopher was the first that boxed according to Art. Yet *Diogenes Laertius* cites a Poet, that saith this was *Pythagoras*, Son of *Crateus*. *Hesychius* saith, they are mistaken that think it was the Philosopher.

Pythagoras's Age 1. Years before Christ 586, 5. *Olympiad* 48, 3.

N. *Pythagoras*, Son of *Mnesarchus* (descended from *Hippasus*, who was formerly of *Phlius*) by *Pythaïs*, who was descended from *Ancæus* one of the Planters of *Samos*. There most Writers say he was born; though *Porphyry* would have him born at *Tyre*, and *Jamblichus* at *Sidon*, perhaps as being the ancienter City. It seems there were other Pretenders to the Honour of being his Countrymen; for *Joseph. in Ap.* ii. saith, it is as hard to tell his Country as *Homer*'s. But yet it is harder to tell the Year of his Birth. I am doubtful whether it ought not to be the Year 605 before Christ. But I rather place it here, for Reasons that will appear afterwards in the Years 506 and 497 before Christ.

Pythagoras's Age 2. Years before Christ 585. *Olympiad* 48, 4.

O. *Periander* died 40 Years before *Cræsus*, and one Year before *Olympiad* XLIX. *D. Laert.* i. 95. from *Soficrates*.

He had reigned at *Corinth* 44 Years. *Arist. Pol.* v. 12. Of the seven Wise Men of *Greece*, he was the first that died. The other six were *Thales*, *Solon*, *Cleobulus*, *Chilo*, *Bias* and *Pittacus*, thus reckoned by *Diog. Laert. Proœm.* 13. and i. 40. 1, 2.

Thales this Year foretold an Eclipse of the Sun. He was the first among the *Greeks* that could do this. *Cicero de Divin.* i.

Pythagoras's Age 4. Years before Christ 583, 2. *Olympiad* 49, 2.

Pythagoræ ἀκμὴ, according to *Antilochus*, who in his History of learned Men reckoned 312 Years from hence to *Epicurus*'s Death, which was (270 Years before Christ) *Olympiad* CXXVII. 2 *Gamelion* 10. *Cic. de fato. D. Laert.* x. 15. and *Clem. Alex.* *sp.*

Pythagoras's Age 7. Years before Christ 580, 79. *Olympiad* 50.

N. *Aristeas Proconnesius* was born this *Olympiad. Suidas.*

It was after *Olympiad* I. that *Pythagoras* came into *Italy*, saith *D. Halicarn. lib.* ii. *p.* 120. But *H. Valesius* and *Menagius* think this is a Mistake of *Olympiad* $\bar{N}$. instead of *Olympiad* $\bar{\Xi}$.

Pythagoras's Age 9. Years before Christ 578. *Olympiad* 50, 3.

O. *Tarquinius Priscus* died. Next King *Servius Tullius*. *Dion. Hal.* iii.

Pythagoras's Age 15 Years before Christ 572. *Olympiad* 52.
Began the Tyranny of *Phalaris*, according to *Suidas*, and *Euſ.* Chron. *Pontaci*, who ſaith it continued ſixteen Years. *Euſ.* Chron. in a former Account hath his Tyranny, according to *Scaliger*'s Edition, beginning *Olympiad* XXXI. 2. and ending *Olympiad* XXXVIII. 2. Here alſo according to *Scaliger*, it ſhould be LIII. 4.
Anacreon Teius lived in this *Olympiad.* It was in *Polycrates*'s Time. *Suidas.*
Æſop the Fable-Maker now flouriſhed. *D. Laert.* i. 72.

Pythagoras's Age 17. Years before Christ 570. *Olympiad* 52, 3.
O. *Pittacus* died at *Mitylene. D. Laert.* i. 79.

Pythagoras's Age 17. Years before Christ 568, 7. *Olympiad* 53, 1.
Pythagoras, being eighteen Years old, went to travel as on the account of his Studies. *Jamblichus c.* 2. for which, by *Thales*, he was adviſed to go to *Ægypt. ib. D. Laert.* viii. 2. ſaith, he was then a young Man, and addicted to Learning. But his going for *Ægypt*, was to avoid the growing Tyranny of *Polycrates. Strabo* xiv. and *Jamblichus c.* 2. Yet *Polycrates* writ a Letter in his Commendation to King *Amaſis*, being his Friend and *Hoſpes*, deſiring him to get him inſtructed by the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. *Jamblichus c.* 2. ſaith, he went firſt to *Pherecydes*, then to *Anaximander*, then to *Thales. id. c.* 3. then to *Sidon*, to *Byblus*, to *Tyre*, and many other Cities of *Syria*, in all which Places he was initiated. Then he took Ship for *Ægypt*; but by the Way he landed, and went up Mount *Carmel. Jamblichus c.* 3.
He came into *Ægypt. Iſocr. de laud. Buſiridis. Cic. de finibus* v. *Str.* xiv. *Plin.* xxv. 2. *Lucian*, *Tatian*, *Clem. Alex.* He gave *Polycrates*'s Letter to *Amaſis*, and obtained *Amaſis*'s Letter to the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho.* With this Letter he came firſt to them of *Heliopolis*; they ſent him to them of *Memphis*, their Seniors; they to the *Dioſpolites*, who at firſt were very ſhy; but, fearing to diſpleaſe *Amaſis*, they undertook him, thinking at firſt to baulk him with their Auſterities: But he underwent all, ſaith *Porphyry* from *Antipho.* He was circumciſed, and initiated in their ſacred Rites. *Clement. Alex. &c.* He learned the *Ægyptian* Language, he learned their three Sorts of Letters. They admitted him to their Sacrifices, and Exerciſes of Learning, which none ever obtained before. *D. Laert.* from *Antipho.* He learned of their Prieſts the Manner of their Sacrifices, and their religious Rites. *Iſocr. de l. Buſir.* He read the Books of their ancient Prieſts, *Clem. Alex.* He learned their Geometry and Aſtronomy. *Jambl. c.* 4. He got the Obſervations of infinite Ages. *Valer. Maximus*, viii. 7. He was in *Ægypt* a long Time as all confeſs. *Plut. Q. Sympoſiac*, viii. 8. Twenty-two Years, ſaith *Jambl. c.* 4. This I believe was all the Time of his Eaſtern Travels. He alſo went to the King of *Arabia*, and learned all he could there. *Porph.*
Strabo xiv. *p.* 439. 18. *&c.* ſaith, from *Ægypt* he went to *Babylon.* There he was with the *Chaldees* and *Magi. D. Laert.* There at *Babylon* he learned of ſeveral of the *Chaldees*; particularly of *Zabratus*, by whom he was purged from all the Defilements of his former Life. *Porph.* He was Diſciple of *Nazaratus* the

the *Aſſyrian*. *Clem. Alex.* ſtr. a. He went to the *Perſian Magi*. *Cic. de finibus* v. *Plin.* xxv. 2. Of them he learned Matters of their Religion, and Way of Living. *D. Laert.* from *Lycus*. There he came to learn and underſtand the *Jewiſh* Knowledge, particularly their Oniromancy. *Porphyry* from *Diogen.*

In his Return from *Babylon*, he came to *Crete* to get *Minos*'s Laws. *Juſt.* v. 4. After his being with the *Chaldees* and *Magi*, he was there in *Crete* with *Epimenides*. *D. Laert.* viii. 3. He was purged by the Prieſts of *Morgus*, one of the *Idæan Dactyli*. *Porph.* He went into the *Idæan* Cave. *ib.* The Prieſts there have the Verſes that he made on the Sepulchre of *Jupiter*. *ib.*

After his Return from *Babylon*, he came Home to *Samos*. *Strabo* xiv. ſo *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. There he opened a School in a Place called in *Antipho*'s Time, *Pythagoræ Hemicyclus*. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. There he alſo had a Cave without the Town, into which he retired for his Studies. *id.* and *id.* This is the Sum of what we read in the Life of *Pythagoras* for the Space of twenty-two Years, that is, as I account it, from the Year before Chriſt 568, till the Year 546 before Chriſt.

Pythagoras's Age 24. Years before Chriſt 563, 2. *Olympiad* 54, 2.

Abaris, Prieſt of *Apollo Hyperboreus* came into *Greece*. *Euſ.* Chron. *Scaligeri*, and two MSS. Other MSS bring him ten Years ſooner. *Harpocration* from *Pindar* ſaith, he came in the Time of *Cræſus*.

Years before Chriſt 562. *Olympiad* 54, 2, 3.

The firſt Comedy at *Athens* was made by *Suſarion*, and acted upon a moveable Scaffold. *Chron. Marmor.*

Years before Chriſt 561. *Olympiad* 54, 3, 4.

O. *Nabocolaſſar* or *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. Next his Son *Iluarodam*, or *Evil Merodach*. This Year, *January* 11, was his firſt *Thoth* according to *Ptolomy*'s Canon.

Pythagoras's Age 25. Years before Chriſt 561. *Olympiad* 54, 3, 4.

Cræſus began his Reign of fourteen Years. *Herod.* i. 86.

Piſiſtratus was now Tyrant at *Athens*. *Chron. Marm.*

O. *Æſop* died. *Euſ.* Chron.

Cleobulus was yet living at *Lindus*, if his Epiſtle to *Solon* be true, which we have in *D. Laert.* i. 93.

Pythagoras's Age 26. Years before Chriſt 560. *Olympiad* 55.

O. *Aſtyages* King of *Media*. Next his Son *Cyaxares*. *Xen.* i. Scripture calls him *Darius* the *Mede*. *Africanus* ſaith, all agree that *Cyrus* Son of *Cambyſes*, by *Mandane*, Daughter of *Aſtyages*, began his Reign over the *Perſians* in *Olympiad* LV.

Years before Chriſt 559. *Olympiad* 55, 1, 2.

O. *Iluarodam* killed by his Siſter's Huſband *Nerigliſſoroor*. *Beroſ.* Next King of *Babylon*, this *Nerigliſſoroor* or *Nergalſharezer*. His firſt *Thoth* was *Jan.* 10. this Year in *Ptol.* Canon.

Pythagoras's

Pythagoras's Age 27. Years before Chriſt 559. *Olympiad* 55, 1, 2.
O. *Solon* died in *Cyprus* this Spring. See it proved in *USS.* Annals. He died 2 *Piſiſtrati Plut.* in *Solon.*

Pythagoras's Age 30. Years before Chriſt 557. *Olympiad* 55, 4.
N. *Simonides* born this Year; for he was eighty Years old in *Olympiad* LXXVI. when *Adimantus* was Archon, as himſelf ſaith; and ſo *Chron. Marm.*

Pythagoras's Age 31. Years before Chriſt 556. *Olympiad* 56.
O. *Phalaris* died this Year, if he began, as is above-ſaid, in *Olympiad* LII. or if in *Olympiad* LIII. 4. then he died ſeven Years later. The People of *Agrigentum* roſe againſt him and killed him. *Cic. Offic.* xi.
O. *Steſichorus* died this Year. *Suidas.* The loweſt Account of his Death in *Euſ.* Chron. is *Olympiad* LVI. 2. the higheſt is *Olympiad* LIV. 4.
This Year *Euthydemus* was Archon at *Athens. Chron. Marm.* And the Year that he was Archon, *Chilo* was Ephorus at *Lacedæmon. D. Laert.* i. 68. from *Soſicrates.*

Years before Chriſt 555. *Olympiad* 56, 2.
O. *Laboroſoarchod*, Son of *Nerigliſſoroor*, having reigned nine Months after his Father. Next King of *Babylon*, *Nobonadius* or *Labynitus*, called *Belſhazzar* in Scripture. His firſt *Thoth* was *January* 9. according to *Ptol.* Canon.

Pythagoras's Age 36. Years before Chriſt 551. *Olympiad* 57, 2.
N. *Confucius* born this Year, the great Philoſopher of the *Chineſe. Martin.* Hiſt. Sin.

Pythagoras's Age 39. Years before Chriſt 548. *Olympiad* 58.
Crœſus paſſed over the River *Halys* on a Bridge built by the Art of *Thales. Herod.* i. 75. and ſo loſt himſelf and his Kingdom, after fourteen Years Reign. *Herod.* i. 86, that was this Year according to my Account from *Herodotus.*
O. *Thales* died this Year, ſaith *D. Laert.* i. 38. and *Euſ.* Chron. *Scal.* & *Pont.* from 4 MSS. He was born in *Olympiad* XXXV. and died ninety Years old. *D. Laert.* i. 38. ninety-one Years old, ſaith Chron. *Paſchale.*
Anaximander ſucceeded him in the *Ionic* School. *D. Laert. Proœm.*
Now flouriſhed *Laſus* of *Hermione*, that firſt wrote of Muſic. Schol. *Ariſt.* in *Veſpas.*

Pythagoras Age 40. Years before Chriſt 547. *Olympiad* 58, 2.
Now *Anaximander* was famous, being 64 Years old; and he died a little after, ſaith *Diog. Laert.* ii, 2. from *Apollodorus.* He flouriſhed chiefly under *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, *ib. Xenophanes* lived in his Time. *D. Laert.* ix, 18. But his Succeſſor in the School was *Anaximenes.*

Pythagoras Age, 41. Years before Chriſt 546, 5. *Olympiad* 58, 3.
Xanthus, the *Lydian* Hiſtorian, lived at the Time when *Sardes* was taken. *Suidas.*

Pythagoras

Pythagoras being 40 Years old, and seeing it was not for a Freeman to live in his Country, under the Tyranny of *Polycrates*, which was now ſtricter than formerly; thereupon thought of going into *Italy*. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Ariſtoxenus*, and *Strabo* xiv. without the Year.

In his Way thither he went to *Lelos*, where he writ thoſe Verſes on *Apollo*'s Sepulchre. *Porph.* from *Diog.* He went to *Lacedæmon* for the Laws of *Lycurgus*. *Juſt.* v. 4. He came to *Phlius* the ancient Country of his Family; there being aſked by *Leo*, Tyrant of that City, what Profeſſion he was of, he ſaid, of none; but that he was a Philoſopher. See the reſt in *Cic. Tuſc. Qu.* v. or in *D. Laert. Proœm*, 12. who ſaith this was at *Sicyon*, and who makes *Leo* Tyrant of *Sicyon* and *Phlius*. Both *Cic.* and *D. Laert. Proœm.* have it from *Heraclides*. But *D. Laert.* viii, 8. hath much the ſame Story from *Soſicrates*. *Pythagoras* went alſo to *Delphi*, to give the more Authority to his Laws, by pretending that he received them from *Theoclea*, or *Themiſtoclea*, the Prieſteſs of *Apollo* in that Place. *D. Daert.* viii, 7, 12. from *Ariſtoxenus*. *Porphyry* calls her *Ariſtoclea*.

Being come into *Italy*, he lived there all the Reſt of his Life: *Strabo* xiv. He taught there 40 Years wanting One, ſaith *Jamb. c* 36. who makes his whole Life very near a 100 Years, *ib.* He ſtaid 20 Years at *Croton*, then went to *Metapontum*, where he died: *Juſtin*, xx, 5. At *Croton* he began the *Italic* School, which grew old at *Metapontum*, ſaith *Clem. Alex.* στρ. α. *Croton* was then in great Glory, for having ſo many of *Pythagoras*'s Scholars in it, among whom was *Milo*, the moſt famous *Athleta*. *Strabo* iv.

Dion. Halicarn. ſaith *Pythagoras* was in his ἀκμὴ, four Generations after *Numa*. It is to be conſidered, whether he reckons from the Beginning of his Reign, which was in *Olymp.* xvi, 3. or whether from the End, which was *Olymp.* xxvii, 1. *Plut.* in the Life of *Numa*, ſaith, *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* almoſt five Ages after *Numa*. *Livy* i, 18. ſaith, he came into *Italy* above a 100 Years after *Numa*; accounting no doubt from his Death, in 672 before Chriſt. *Livy* ſaith farther, it is certain, that in the Time of *Servius Tullius*, *Pythagoras* had his Colleges of Diſciples at *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Croton*, as above-mentioned.

Pythagoras's Age, 42. Years before Chriſt 545. *Olympiad* 58, 4.
Now the *Medes* were coming up againſt the *Ionians*, of which *Anaximenes* writes to *Pythagoras*, who was then at *Croton*, and had his Houſe full of Scholars, out of *Italy* and *Sicily*, if the Epiſtle be genuine. *D. Laert.* ii. 5.

Pythagoras's Age 43. Years before Chriſt 544. *Olympiad* 59.
Pherecydes was yet living, *D. Laert.* i, 121. Now he flouriſhed according to *Euſ.* Chron. He lived in the Time of my *Gentilis*, (that is, of *Servius Tullius*,) ſaith *Cicero*, *Tuſc. Qu.* i.
Theognis the Poet of *Megara* flouriſhed now. *Euſ.* Chron. *Pontaci.*

Pythagoras's Age 46. Years before Chriſt 541. *Olympiad* 59, 4.
Bias was yet living, if that be true which is ſaid of him in *Herod.* i. that he adviſed the *Ioues* to leave their Country to the *Medes*, and go all to *Sardinia*.

Pythagoras's

Pythagoras Age 47. Years before Chriſt 540. *Olympiad* 60.
Pythagoras now flouriſhed. *D. Laert.* viii. 45.

Now alſo *Xenophanes Colophonius* flouriſhed, *D. Laert.* ix. 20. of whom ſee before in five hundred forty-ſeven, before Chriſt. He was now at leaſt eighty Years old, according to *Sextus Empiricus*, and *Clem. Alex.* from *Apollodor.* that place him in *Olymp.* xl. But he was a Writer till after he was ninety-eight Years old. *D. Laert.* ix. 19.

Now *Ibycus*, the Poet of *Rhegium*, came to *Samos*. *Euſ.* Chron. *Scalig.* & *Pontac.*

Years before Chriſt 538. *Olympiad* 60, 2, 3.

After *Belſhazzar*'s being ſlain in the Taking of *Babylon*, by the Armies of *Darius* and *Cyrus*, the next King of *Babylon* was *Darius* or *Cyaxares*, according to *Xenophon.* His Reign being ſhort, he is omitted in the Canon, and there the next is *Cyrus*, whoſe *Thoth* was *Jan.* 5,

Years before Chriſt 536. *Olympiad* 61.

O. *Cambyſes* Father of *Cyrus* in *Perſia*, and O. *Cyaxares* in *Media. Xenophon.* viii. according to whom, this is the firſt of the ſeven years Reign of *Cyrus* at *Babylon.*

Pythagoras's Age 51. Years before Chriſt 536. *Olympiad* 61.

Pythagoras was now famous in *Italy*, *Thericles* being Archon at *Athens. Diod. Sic. Excerpta.* p. 241.

The firſt Tragedy at *Athens*, was made by *Theſpis*, and acted on a Waggon, in *Olympiad.* lxi. See Chron Marm.

Pythagoras's Age 53. Years before Chriſt 534. *Olympiad* 61, 3.

O. *Servius Tullius* died this Year. *Liv.* i. 48. After whom the next *Roman* King was *Tarquinius Superbus.* In this *Tarquin*'s Time, *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* according to *Cic. Tuſc. Qu.* i. and *A. Gellius*, xvii, 21.

Pythagoras's Age 55. Years before Chriſt 532. *Olympiad* 62.

Euſ. Chron. hath this Year *Polycrates*, and his two Brothers *Syloſon* and *Pantagnotus* Tyrants together at *Samos.* But *Polycrates* drove out his two Brothers ſoon after. Now in *Polycrates*'s Time *Pythagoras* flouriſhed. *Tatian.* p. 174. *B. Clem. Alex.* ſp. *Cyril. contra Julian.* ii. In this *Olympiad*, in which *Eryxias* was Victor, *Pythagoras* came into *Italy*, ſaith *Jambl. c.* 7. He was now famous ſaith *Euſ.* Chron.

Pythagoras's Age 58. Years before Chriſt 529. *Olympiad* 62, 3, 4.

Cyrus bein's now dead, his Son *Cambyſes* is King of *Perſia.* His firſt *Thoth* was *Jan.* 3. according to *Ptol.* Canon.

Pythagoras

Pythagoras's Age 59. Years before Christ 528. *Olympiad* 63.
O. *Pisistratus*, Tyrant of *Athens*, died after a Reign of thirty-three Years, tho' twice interrupted in that Time. *Arist. Polit.* v. 12. Next was his Son *Hipparchus*, a great Lover of Learning. He first brought *Homer*'s Poems to *Athens*. *Plato* in *Hipparcho*.

Pythagoras's Age 60. Years before Christ 527. *Olympiad* 63, 1, 2.
According to *Justin*, xx, 5. *Pathagoras* after he had been twenty Years in *Italy*, removed from *Croton* to *Metapontum*, and died there. It was at *Metapontum*, that as the Fablers say, having taking his Disciple *Abaris*'s Arrow, he rode upon it in the Air from thence to *Taurominium* in one Day, though some Days sailing distant from one another. *Porph.* and *Jamb.* they tell us that there, at *Metapontum*, he had a noble House, which was afterwards the Temple of *Ceres*, and a School, which was called the *Museum*. *Jambl.* c. 30.

Pythagoras's Age 62. Years before Christ 525. *Olympiad* 63, 3, 4.
O. *Amasis* King of *Egypt*. He died *Olympiad* lxiii, 3. when *Cambyses* was coming against *Egypt*. *Diod. Sic.* i. The next King *Psammenitus* after six Months was killed, and *Egypt* conquered by *Cambyses*. *Herod.* iii.

Pythagoras's Age 62. Years before Christ 525. *Olympiad* 63, 4.
N. The Poet *Æschylus* was born. Chr. Marm.

Pythagoras's Age 64. Years before Christ 523. *Olympiad* 64, 2.
O. *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, died a few Days before *Cambyses* King of *Persia*. *Herod.* iii. 120. about *V. C.* 238. *Plin.* xxxiii, i.

Years before Christ 522. *Olympiad* 64, 2, 3.
O *Cambyses* King of *Persia*. Next King *Smerdis Magus* was killed after seven Months. Next was *Darius* Son of *Hystaspes*. His first *Thoth* was 521. *Jan.* 1. according to *Ptolemey*'s Canon.

Pythagoras's Age 67. Years before Christ 520. *Olympiad* 65.
N. The Poet *Pindar* was born at *Suidas*.

Pythagoras's Age 72. Years before Christ 515. *Olympiad* 66, 2.
O. *Pherecydes* died now, for he was born *Olymp.* xlv. *Suid.* and lived eighty-five Years. *Lucian* in *Macrob.* he was eat up with Lice. *Arist.* Hist. Animal. v. 30. and that for his Blasphemy. *Ælian.* iv. 28. Serpents came out of his Body. *Plin.* vii. 5.
Pythagoras, who had been his Disciple, now hearing that he was dying in *Delos*, went out of *Italy* thither, and did all he could to recover him; and when he was dead, buried him as his Father, and then returned into *Italy*. *Diod. Sic. Excerpt.* That he died in *Delos*, see *Apul. Florid.* ii. *Ælian* iv. Hist. 28. *Porph.* and *Jambl. Duris Samius* saith he died in *Samos*, followed by *D. Laert.* i. 119. where also he quotes *Heraclides* for it. *Porphyry* saith, that

Pythagoras went to *Delos* from *Samos*. and returned to *Samos*. But he saith afterwards, that it was in *Pythagoras*'s Absence on this Occasion at *Delos*, that *Cylon* raised the Mob, *v. infra* 497, 6. before Christ. (These Things do not agree.)

Pythagoras's Age 74. Years before Christ 513. *Olympiad* 66, 4.
O. *Hipparchus* killed by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. *Thucid.* i. and vi. Then was *Pythagoras* in *Italy*. *A. Gell.* xvii. 21.

Pythagoras's Age 78. Years before Christ 509. *Olympiad* 67, 4.
By *Pythagoras*'s Advice the People of *Croton* would not deliver up some of *Sybaris*, that had fled to their Altars for Protection against their own People. Whereupon a War followed, in which 300,000 of the *Sybarites* were overcome by *Milo* with 100,000 of *Croton*, who after this Victory destroyed the City of *Sybaris*. *Diod. Sic.* *Olympiad* LXXXIII. 3. where he saith, this happened fifty-eight Years before, and five Years, that is in all sixty-three Years before. Therefore I place it in *Olympiad* LXVII. 4. This *Milo* was Disciple of *Pythagoras*, and had been six Times Victor in the *Olympic* Games. *ib.* and often at the other public Games.

Pythagoras's Age 79. Years before Christ 508. *Olympiad* 68.
When *Brutus* delivered *Rome*, *Pythagoras* was yet in *Italy*. saith *Cic. Tusc. Qu.* iv. *Solinus c.* 16. by Mistake saith, then he came into *Italy*.

Pythagoras's Age 81. Years before Christ 506, 5. *Olympiad* 68, 3.
O. *Pythagoras* died. *Eus.* Chron. in 2 MSS. having lived eighty Years, according to his own Account of the four Parts of Man's Life, consisting each of twenty Years. *D. Laert.* i. 44. from *Heraclides*. This Account of his Age *Menage* takes to be the most likely, because *Lucian* doth not reckon *Pythagoras* among the long-liv'd Men; as probably he would if *Pythagoras* had lived ninety Years, as most say, according to *D. Laert. ib.* much more, if he had lived, as *Jamblichus* saith, *very near* 100; or as *Tzetzes* says (perhaps from *Jamblichus*) 100 *wanting one*; or according to the nameless Writer in *Photii Biblioth.* ccxlix. 104 Years; or according to a nameless Writer in *Galen*'s Works 117 Years.
But if the Reader is not yet tired, I will go on with him to the End of the ninety Years, which is as far as I see any Ground.

Years before Christ 505, 4. *Olympiad* 68, 4.
Here the Death of *Pythagoras* is placed in one MS of *Eus.* Chron.

Pythagoras's Age 83. Years before Christ 504. *Olympiad* 69.
Heraclitus now flourished. *D. Laert.* ix. beginning.
Parmenides now flourished. *D. Laert.* ix. 23.
Now *Cynæthus Chius* first rhapsodied *Homer*'s Verses. *Schol. in Pindar.* Nem. B.

Pythagoras's

Pythagoras's Age 85. Years before Chriſt 502. *Olympiad* 69, 2.
Hecatæus the Hiſtorian flouriſhed; for now he endeavoured to diſſuade *Ariſtagoras* from taking Arms againſt *Darius* King of *Perſia*. *Herodot.* v. 36.

Pythagoras's Age 87. Years before Chriſt 500. *Olympiad* 70.
N. *Anaxagoras* the Philoſopher born this Year. *D. Laert.* xi. 7. from *Apollodorus*. This is confirmed by *Democritus* ſaying of himſelf, that he was forty Years younger than *Anaxagoras*. *D. Laert.* v. 41. for *Democritus* was born *Olympiad* LXXX. *ib.*

Pythagoras's Age 89. Years before Chriſt 498, 7. *Olympiad* 70, 3.
Mariana's Copy of *Euſ.* Chron. places the Death of *Pythagoras* this Year.

Pythagoras's Age 90. Years before Chriſt 497, 6. *Olympiad* 70, 4.
O. *Pythagoras* died. *Euſ.* Chron. *Scal.* and *Pontac.* from 4 MSS. Moſt ſay he lived ninety Years. *D. Laert.* iii. 44. The Accounts of his Death are various. The likelieſt is that which we have in the *Excerpta* of *Diod. Sic. Porphyry*, and *Jambl. c.* xxxv. They tell how one *Cylon* of *Croton*, a rich, ambitious, boiſterous Man, having offered himſelf to be taken into the College, and being refuſed, was thereby ſo enraged, that he got the Mob together, and fell upon *Milo*'s Houſe, when *Pythagoras* and his Diſciples were all there together, and burnt the Houſe, and all that were in it, except two or three that narrowly eſcaped. Some ſay *Pythagoras* was one of them that were burnt there. Others ſay, he eſcaped out of the Fire and was killed in Purſuit. Others, that he fled to *Caulonia*, thence to *Locri*, thence to *Tarentum*; but being no where received, at laſt he went to *Metapontum*, and there got into the *Muſe*'s Temple, where being kept from Victuals forty Days, he was ſtarved. *Hermippus*, whom *Joſephus* calleth the moſt eminent Writer of *Pythagoras*'s Life, hath a moſt unlikely Story of his Death: He ſaith, that being engaged with the *Agrigentines* againſt the *Syracuſans*, and his Party being worſted, he was taken in Flight, becauſe he would not run over a Bean-Plot, and ſo was killed by the Enemy. *Diogenes Laertius* hath an Epigram on his Death according to this Story, which I think indeed is fitter for a Poet than an Hiſtorian.

After his Death, thoſe of his Diſciples that were living, are ſaid to have been diſperſed into *Greece*, and the neighbouring Countries; and yet his Family is ſaid to have continued at or about *Croton*. His Wife *Theano* was born there, according to *Clem. Alex.* from *Didymus*, and *D. Laert.* and *Suidas*. But *Porphyry* ſays ſhe was of *Crete*. Some ſay that ſhe, and her Son *Telauges*, revived or continued his School. Others ſay it was done by *Ariſtæus* of *Croton*, that married his Daughter *Theano*. His Son *Arimneſtus* is mentioned by *Porphyry* from *Duris Samius*, and ſaid to have taught *Democritus* the famous Philoſopher. *Diogenes Laertius* mentions his Son *Marmacus*, and Daughter *Damo*. *Suidas* ſeems to call that Son *Mneſarchus*, and alſo mentions his Daughter *Arignote* and *Myia*. Another Daughter of his is called *Sara*. But of all theſe we have nothing that looks like a Certainty in my Opinion.

Some Obſervations upon the keeping the Thirtieth of *January*, and Twenty-ninth of *May*. By *J. G. G.* 1694.

GAL. iv. 10, 11.

Ye obſerve Days, and Months, and Times, and Years. I am afraid of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you Labour in vain.

EVERY Thirtieth of *January* doth yearly renew my Thoughts upon the Occaſion of the Day; we ſay it hath been appointed to be kept to mourn and humble the Nation for the Death of King *Charles* I. The Thing hath two ſeveral Aſpects, for either it looks upon the Act of ſome Men againſt the Living, or upon what others have done and do for the Dead; both which I take to be ill; the one, becauſe to me it ſeems unlawful; the other, as contrary to true Religion.

I agree, the Fact was an horrid Murther, execrable, as black as Words can make it; neither am ignorant how Blood defiles the Land; what a loud and crying Sin is Blood-guiltineſs, according to other ſeveral ſtrong Expreſſions in holy Scriptures: But when all is ſaid, after Juſtice hath been executed upon the Guilty; after forty-five Years, there ought to be an End. It were better, more according to Charity and Chriſtian Prudence, to forget thoſe Things, than to renew the Memory of them, which continues Diviſions; for we know it is too uſual on that Day to hear from the Pulpit about thoſe who ſold him, of others that brought him to the Block, and of thoſe who cut off his Head, which doth not reſtore to Life, nor remedy that which is paſt, and only exaſperates the Spirits of Men. This is too like the *Italian* Cuſtom, to keep and ſhew Handkerchiefs dipped in the Blood of thoſe that were killed, or ſuch like Tokens, only to infuſe a Deſire of Vengeance, and to make irreconcileable Enmities between Families and Parties; after Acts of Oblivion for ſuch Things are paſſed, the Memory thereof ought to be forgotten.

Such Things do and muſt admit of a Preſcription, neither can I find any ſound Reaſon why ſuch a Performance ſhould be entailed upon us and our Poſterity; it is enough once for all, really and heartily to have done, after that it degenerates into Formality and Bigoticiſm (if I may ſo call it) I know amongſt us we have Men zealous without Knowledge, guided by Ignorance, and as thorough-paced in their Way, as any Papiſt is in his, who know not how to keep within Bounds in many Things they do. Every one knows the keeping of this Day was enacted after a Revolution, amidſt Heats and Deſires of Revengefulneſs, in ſome who looked upon themſelves as having been ill uſed by others.

The Order for keeping that Day was brought forth with ſome other Things, which by and by I ſhall have occaſion to mention; but becauſe I do not intend to inſiſt upon the Civil, but the Religious Part of keeping that Day, which is the principal Thing of it; and as the taking away of his Life was an ill Thing,

ſo by the Grace of God I will ſhew, that every Year keeping a Day on that Account is as bad, if not worſe, inaſmuch as the Honour and Worſhip of God are therein concerned.

What St. *Paul* ſaith to the People of *Athens* in general, I may ſay to ſome amongſt us in particular, in this Thing, * *you are too ſuperſtitious:* For I am ſatisfied we cannot without Superſtition (whereof the very Appearance ought to be avoided) keep an Anniverſary, or a certain Day every Year upon any Man's Account, and on the ſame Day go to Church, the Place appointed only for God's Worſhip, there to hear a Sermon preached on that Subject, and to have a Collect, Epiſtle and Goſpel, yea, ſuch a Part of Goſpel taken out of a Parable wherein our bleſſed Saviour foretels his Death, and this muſt be applied to a dead Man. Nay, in that Service we pray to God he will be pleaſed to give us the Grace to follow that Man's Charity and Patience; ſurely in this we are too ſuperſtitious; now Time, Place and Service being appointed, next Thing for us to do, will be to pray to him.

Heathens had their *Apotheoſis*, of Men to make Gods after their Death; Papiſts have their Canonizations, or making of Saints, but I think our Church ought to be free from ſuch Errors and Abuſes, without Calendars and Legends; I am ſure the beſt reformed Churches beyond Sea admit of no ſuch Things, let for Brevity's ſake the Teſtimony of one ſerve for all, † *We approve not of Days dedicated to Saints.* Would to God we had not ſo many of theſe Relicks of Popery amongſt us, ſuch as the Purification of the Virgin, a Jewiſh Ceremony, Annunciation, Conception, *&c.* All Saints, *Michael* and all Angels, Innocents, *&c. which* (as the already-quoted Confeſſion ſaith) ‖ *have many Things abſurd, ſuperſtitious, and not to be endured.* It may be made a Queſtion, Whether God will ever forgive it thoſe who ſo ſtiffly retain ſuch Things, and oppoſe a thorough Reformation, keeping the Clogs of ſuch Superſtitions and Fopperies upon our holy Religion, whereof the Purity is thereby defi'ed: What St. *Paul* ſaith to the *Galatians*, § *You obſerve Days*, &c. *I am afraid of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you Labour in vain*, may juſtly be applied to many amongſt us. I know this Enlargement will not be thought to deviate from our Purpoſe.

But we are not ſatisfied of him to make a Saint, but a Martyr too, for that is now the Name given him, *the Martyr*, by Excellency: I confeſs here I am ſomewhat at a Stand, to ſee ſuch a Name ſo much miſapplied; but before I proceed, I declare I charitably believe God ſhewed him Mercy, but withal it is not the Manner, but the Cauſe of Death makes one a Martyr; I know ſeveral Kinds of Perſuaſions have their Witneſſes and Martyrs, but for us, the Martyr who ſuffers for the Teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, he is the true Martyr, who loſes his Life for the ſake of Chriſt, for his Perſon, for his Attributes, for his Offices, for his Faith, ſuch an one was ‖‖ St. *Stephen*, ſuch §§ St. *James*, ſuch ** *Antipas*, whom the Lord called his *faithful Martyr*, and many others after, for

* Acts xvii. 22.

† *Feſta autem hominibus divis inſtituta non probamus.* Helvet. Confeſſ. cap. 24. *de feriis.*

‖ *Ibidem habent abſurda, inutilia minimeque toleranda.*

§ Gal. iv. 10, 11.

‖‖ Acts vii.

§§ Acts xii.

** Rev. ii. 13.

for the ſame Cauſe; and here by the bye, I muſt take Notice how the Apoſtolical Church appointed no Day, nor Rubrick, to remember or mourn for their Death, not ſo much as for that of our Lord and Saviour, nor of his Birth, only that of his Reſurrection the firſt Day of the Week, which St. *John* calls the * *Lord's Day*.

But for *Charles* I. he muſt be a Saint and a Martyr of a new coining, but rather no Martyr amongſt true Chriſtians, except it be made to appear, that he ſuffered for the Teſtimony of the Lord *Jeſus*, though otherwiſe never ſo unjuſtly. Let thoſe who took away his Life be as wicked as can be imagined, yet they were not profeſſed Infidels; his being a Chriſtian was not the Cauſe or Pretence of his being put to Death, the Pretence was, (how true or falſe I dive not into it) his following evil Council, encroaching upon the Liberties, carrying on Deſigns for Arbitrarineſs, caſting into Priſon Men for refuſing to lend him Money, raiſing Money without Parliament, as in caſe of Ship-Money, for deſigning to bring in Popery, and ſuch other Things as the whole Nation knows, which, the laſt excepted, were all of a worldly Concernment, and no ways fit to qualify a Martyr him who ſuffers for them. As to this laſt I muſt ſay, in his Time (whether or not of his own Contrivance I cannot tell) a Deſign was carrying on to reconcile us to the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Intereſt here did much thrive through the Queen's Favour; the Perſecution of Puritans, the Prayer-book ſent into *Scotland*, bringing in *Arminianiſm*, ſetting up Crucifixes upon the Communion-Tables, by them called Altars, as Miniſters were and are ſtill by the Name of Prieſts, thus promiſcuouſly bringing in Names and Things; thoſe, and many more were Evidences of the Project then in Hand, which though it had been true, and carried on by the King, yet can never juſtify the putting him to Death, no more than his being put to Death can prove him a Martyr. Suppoſe they were Murtherers, muſt we be Blaſphemers? If they were Villains, muſt we be Idolators or ſuperſtitious? Is it a Warrant for us to do Evil, becauſe they did ſo? 'Tis very bad Logick, for after this we muſt follow evil Examples. After the Light of the Goſpel hath, ſince the Reformation, ſo clearly ſhined amongſt us, it is very ſtrange that ſome who might know better have, as to the Matter in hand, carried Things ſo far on in the Way of Superſtition.

A Medal of Biſhop *Laud*, a Man ſo noted in his Days, ſoon after King *Charles*'s Reſtoration, was coined in the *Tower*, and conſequently by public Authority, of which here are ſeveral and many beyond Sea, with this Inſcription, *Sancti Caroli Præcurſor*, The Fore-runner of St. *Charles*: Here the Buſineſs is not minced, we ſpeak it out plainly, in *England* we have our St. *Charles* as *Italians* have theirs, his Name is entered into the Liſt of Saints, he hath his Day, only we have not builded him a Church, as is done for *Charles Borromeo* in *Rome*: But inſtead of that, he is owned as ſuch in every Church we have; let Men honour his Memory, but not to ſuch a Length as to run into Superſtition, if not worſe, for there is no leſs than Blaſphemy in the Caſe; in the Medal Biſhop *Laud* is compared to *John* the *Baptiſt*, and conſequently King *Charles* is parallelled with Chriſt, for *John Baptiſt*, both in his Birth and Death, was Fore-runner of the Lord *Jeſus*.

This

* Rev. i. 10.

This Compariſon is come not only out of a Stamp, but from Pulpits too, a Place very improper for ſuch Doctrines; ſome now alive have carried on the Parallel much beyond Bounds; others have been heard to preach, that the Guilt of King *Charles*'s Blood lies upon the Nation never to be waſhed off. What? upon Children's Children, and from Generation to Generation, to the World's End; yet God ſaith by two of his Prophets, the Proverb ſhall no more be uſed, * *The Fathers have eaten a ſour Grape, and the Children's Teeth are ſet on edge.* To ſee the Blood of the Son of God lie as a Curſe upon the Generality of the *Jews*, is no wonder, they all cried, *Crucify*, *Crucify*; they all ſaid, † *Let his Blood be upon us and our Children.* I hope our thorough-paced Papiſts in this Point, will not have the Face to ſay, that the Blood of *Charles* I. though never ſo innocent, can be compared with that of our Lord and Saviour, though, alas! about the Time of that Death, ſome were poſſeſſed with ſuch extravagant Fits of Superſtition, as to dye Handkerchiefs in the Blood, to keep and uſe it to cure Diſeaſes, work Miracles and ſuch other Things as made an Impreſſion upon the Spirits of credulous and ignorant People; which true Chriſtians, who make Profeſſion of the Purity of the Goſpel, ought to be aſhamed of.

Others upon the Occaſion of the Day, and that lately, ſaid, § *The Evils and Calamities which we have now more than forty Years, in ſome Degree or other, and ſometimes very ſeverely, ſuffered under, are the natural Effects or juſt Puniſhment of that Sin which we this Day lament.* Herein is a great Exaggeration, but as to Curſing, Swearing, Perjury, Covenant-breaking, Injuſtice, Shedding of innocent Blood, as of late there was too much, Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, theſe are but trifling Sins, not worth God's taking Notice of; let ſuch Preachers, as much as they pleaſe, exalt and commend their Martyrs, for ſuch Virtues as are rarely found in mean Perſons, which, in my weak Apprehenſion, is no great Commendation; for a King to ſay he had thoſe Virtues that are rarely found in mean Perſons, as indeed it is rare for mean Perſons to be conſpicuous in great Virtues, to find ſuch Virtues we muſt go into an Hermit's Cell, we muſt needs be at a great Loſs, not to have where to ſearch for them, but thoſe dark Holes or Places of Darkneſs; this is to have a great Opinion of Hermits Lives, as well as of King *Charles*'s great Virtues; we muſt not be wanting alſo to attribute great Merits to Hermits in their Cells: However one could bear with ſuch Stuff, if the preaching of the Goſpel of Peace was not turned into the Sound of an Alarm. What mean theſe Expreſſions, *There is a Spirit of Zeal and Faction, the Principles of which if not reſtrained, will ruin the beſt Princes, and overturn the beſt Governments.* Again, *The horrid Fact committed on this Day, hath poiſoned the very Springs of Government, and ſo deeply tinctured the Minds of Men, that I pray God we may not ſtill live to ſee and feel the miſerable Effects of it.* Theſe are Doctrines of a new Goſpel, to work Differences, and cauſe and keep up Diviſion. But to make ourſelves the more acceptable we muſt promiſe, that thoſe who under the late Reigns were for Paſſive Obedience, will be ſo under this

Another in a late Sermon of his doth ſcrew up all his Wits, and ſpend his whole Strength in making an unneceſſary and improper Panegyrick: I doubt very

* Jer. xxxi. 29. Ezek. xviii. 2, 3. † Matt. xxvii. 25.
§ Dr. *Sherlock*'s Sermon.

very much whether upon our Saviour's Paſſion-day, he ever uſed Expreſſions ſo pathetical, and delivered them with ſo much Zeal, as he did upon this laſt Occaſion. I confeſs, I never heard before, a Princes, though never ſo good, being called a Tyrant to be Blaſphemy; I thought to blaſpheme was againſt God, and not againſt Man. Then he proceeds to unhandſome and uncharitable Reflections upon the Dead as well as upon the Living. But we muſt not wonder, that a Man who inſtead of a Sermon (for though he uſes ſome very few Scripture-Phraſes, yet one excepted, doth quote no one Place out of it but that of his Text) maketh a Declaration againſt Indulgence and Liberty of Conſcience: He, like another *Saul*,* *yet breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter*; and is ſorry it is not now in his Power to perſecute, I ſay, it is no wonder if he doth ſo, ſeeing he maketh bold to ſay in ſome Places, thoſe Things which may well be interpreted not only as Reflections, but Invectives againſt the preſent Government. Thus ſome who go up into the Pulpit are not ſatisfied with *Paul*, † to *know* and preach *nothing ſave* Jeſus Chriſt, *and him crucified*; but do ſet up for Stateſmen, and Teachers of human Wiſdom; and upon occaſion, turn the preaching of the Goſpel of Peace into blowing the Trumpet of War. This, inſtead of repairing our Breaches, is to make them wider; inſtead of compoſing our unhappy Differences is to increaſe them; inſtead of reconciling the Spirits of Men is to exaſperate them; 'tis to continue our Diviſions, to propagate Hatred and Animoſities to Poſterity: Theſe are the likely Means to divide and ſubdivide us over and over again; for we ſhall never want ſome *Boanerges*, Sons of Thunder to inflame our Wounds, to put all in a Confuſion, and in a fair Way to cut one another's Throats.

Here indeed the Thing is ſo obvious, that I cannot avoid taking Notice of, how that Tribe of *Levi*, as they call themſelves, do for the moſt Part (for ſome of them wiſh Things were better) mind the Intereſt of the World, not that of Chriſt: Inſtead of taking Care of Souls, which is their Office, it is the leaſt of their Thoughts; they would be governing the State, and make an hierarchical Monarchy, and it may be at laſt, like the *Roman* Clergy, if they could, turn Monarchy into Hierarchy, and inſtead of a Pope have a Patriarch; for that Spirit ſince the Reformation, run into the Blood of ſeveral of them, who in ſome of the late Reigns took upon themſelves the Adminiſtration of moſt important Places in State; and in their Convocations made ſuch Canons, as cauſed one of their good Friends, the Lord *Faulkland*, in his Speeches in Parliament in 1641, highly to complain, that they had taken upon them to do ſuch Things as belonged to Parliaments, as to appoint Holy-days, to define what is Treaſon, and in ſome kind to raiſe Monies upon Pariſhes, when they charged Pariſhes to buy certain Books for the Uſe of the Church: 'Tis ſad that thoſe Attempts of theirs, and ſuch ill Conſequences thereof, ſhould ſo ſoon be forgotten. Do they take this to be a Nation that can be content to be Prieſt ridden: That now again they begin in a ſolemn Manner to decide about the Conſtitution of the Government, and make us a conquered Nation, and as much as in them lies, to lay the Foundation of Slavery for Time to come: Cannot they be ſatisfied with the Share they have in the Legiſlative Power, but muſt alſo ſome of them take upon themſelves to alter

* Acts ix. 1. † 1 Cor. ii. 2.

alter the Nature of the Conſtitution of the Government; it were more proper for them to betake themſelves to their Books, and to take Care of the Souls committed to their Charge, and not to hazard overturning all, to bring again their *Diana* upon the Stage, the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience.

Seeing they have ſuch a Mind to be doing, there is an Occaſion offered for them ſo to be within their Sphere, now when *Socinianiſm* is coming in apace: And why ſhould not there be ſome Courſe taken, to find out Means to prevent and ſtop it, ſuch as may be a Convocation; this is the proper Remedy againſt Hereſies practiſed by the primitive Church: Thus the firſt Council of *Nice* aſſembled againſt *Arrius* upon this ſame Account. Are the orthodox Doctrines about the holy Trinity, about the Incarnation, Perſon and Offices of Chriſt, not worthy to be aſſerted? Wherein is the Care of our Church Officers to keep out this damnable Hereſy; are they pleaſed with it, or will they make themſelves acceſſory to the Guilt of bringing of it in, through Neglect or otherwiſe? We all, Church and State, are alarmed, when we hear of a foreign Army at our Doors, but neither mind that deteſtable Soul-murthering Hereſy, which is gotten into ſome of our Bowels, and is haſtening into our very Vitals; What's become of all our Watchmen, can no effectual Courſe be taken to ſtop it? If formerly any one had ſpoken or written againſt Church-Government, or its Dependencies, though one had quoted Scripture never ſo much, all took fire, puniſhed, perſecuted and ſtigmatized ſuch a one: But now, though this abominable Error doth come in with a bare Face, none but one or two of our great Churchmen doth beſtir himſelf, but ſeem to be unconcerned. O ye, that upon this Occaſion are dumb Dogs and Idol-Shepherds, what Account of this can you give unto God?

What a Pother do Men keep about a Book, whether it be King *Charles* I. or Dr. *Gauden*'s, as if it was an Article of their Faith; if it was a Book of holy Scripture, and the Queſtion whether Canonical or Apocryphal, they could do no more: How hot is *D. H.* upon it, Tooth and Nail, as much as for a Goſpel-Truth; yet from the Beginning of the Book's appearing in the World, it was made a Queſtion, whether or not that King was the Author? Well, let us not believe what *Milton* ſaith about it; but Dr. *Walker* hath ſaid enough to ſatisfy any impartial and reaſonable Man; but ſuppoſe he was not, would it not better become *D. H.* as he is a Miniſter of the Goſpel, to make Uſe of his Pen againſt *Socinianiſm*, and ſerve his Maſter, if he be Chriſt's Servant, than vainly to ſpend his Time and Labour in a mere Compliment to a dead Man, who, whether the Book be his or not, ſhall never be one Jot the better or the worſe for it. Thus inſtead of *hoc agere*, to do his Duty, is *aliud agere*, that which doth not belong to it. And thus whilſt the Antichriſtian Spirit of *Socinianiſm* doth rage Abroad, and if I may ſo ſay, the Fundamentals of our Religion lie at Stake; whilſt ravenous Wolves are ſtriving to get into the Sheep-Fold, that Man trifleth away his Time and Pains, with throwing Flowers not upon the Coffin, but rather the Aſhes of a Carcaſs.

Here I ſolemnly declare, I have taken Pen in hand not in the leaſt to detract from King *Charles*'s Memory, whoſe Name I am ſorry to ſee made Uſe of upon ſo unwarrantable an Account; but to make known an Abuſe not only crept in, but ſtrongly ſettled, which I think tends to the Diſhonour of God, and

Disparagement of our holy Religion, to make a Mixture of a dead Man's Worship in the House of God; for let Men say what they will, the thing comes to that, though palliated under another Notion, to pray to the Dead for the Dead, or in such occasion as this to mention the Dead, is contrary to the Word of God, which commands us * *to abstain from all Appearance of Evil.* Wherefore let that Thirtieth of *January* go out of Doors, and if we keep a Day, let it be to God and not to Man; let, upon occasion, Days of Humiliation be kept very often too, to mourn and be humbled, for personal, as for the great, many and epidemical Sins of the Nation; whereof I named some before, and some are mentioned in *Jeremiah* †, but no constant set Day for any Man whatever, whether they be Humiliation or Thanksgiving Days. The Gunpowder-Treason Day, we keep it only to God for such a Deliverance, no mention of Man in it: This did the Church of the *Jews* after their Deliverance from the wicked Designs of *Haman*, but not to the Praise and Honour of *Esther* or *Mordecai*, though they had been God's Instruments to prevent it.

To return to King *Charles*'s Death, to mourn for it once had been enough: When *Joseph*'s Coat was brought to *Jacob*, he might unblameably have expressed, as he did, a great Sorrow and Grief thereupon, even to have kissed it, to lament the Death of so dear a Son; but if he had hanged it about his Bed, or any where else in his Chamber, there every Evening and Morning, or at every Meal, given it such Salutations, and done the like, as at the first time, thereby he might have countenanced many Branches of Superstition; once and no more, is Discretion, about those Things whose continual Use degenerates into Abuse.

Now here we have been so unhappy as to take wrong Measures, not only in keeping a Day of Humiliation, as I shewed already, but also a Thanksgiving-day, such as that of the Birth and Restoration of King *Charles* II. the twenty-ninth of *May*, for the which we have also a set Day once a Year to hear a Sermon preached, a Collect, an Epistle and a Gospel upon the Occasion, ‖ *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you.* This clearly shews the Humour of those Times, when some People, almost distracted, kept no Moderation, but went from one extream into another: After his Death, in King *James*'s Days, they thought fit to continue keeping the Day, but to put a new Face, and under another Notion; but the Thing was the same in Substance: So the Children of *Israel* kept a Feast to the Golden Calf, which was proclaimed before, and the ** *People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.*

For such a Restoration we must be very glad, and make God concerned in our Joy; his House must be the Place, hitherto 'tis well, if we bring no Idol into it, I mean nothing of Man's Merits, Worth and Perfection, no Inventions devised of our own Heart, and Things which God hath not commanded: We read how after the Rebellion and Death of *Absalom*, the †† *Men of* Judah *sent unto* David, *Return thou and all thy Servants.* But though he was as good a King as any, I do not find there was any set Day appointed yearly to be kept in

* 1 *Thess.* iii. 22.
† *Jer.* vi. 2, 3, 10. *Gal.* iii. 1.
** *Exod.* xxxii. 5, 6.
†† 2 *Sam.* ix. 14.

in any Place of God's Worſhip, by way of Thankſgiving for his Birth or Reſtoration, our Religion now is more courtly and flattering; I do not deny, but that upon ſuch an Occaſion a moderate Joy may be expreſſed for a while, but to entail it upon Poſterity, is ſuch a Piece of Flattery, Popery and Pageantry, as cannot be warranted by any Laws of God or reaſonable Chriſtians. * Dr. *Abbot* ſaith, that Offerings yearly made for the Dead, and for Birth-days, were firſt brought in by the Heretic *Montanus*, who thereby made gain of them: Now this reaches our Caſe; for an Anniverſary, or every Year keeping a ſet Day for a dead Man, is a kind of Offering made for the Dead; and keeping the twenty-ninth of *May* in the ſame manner, is keeping a Birth day as a Reſtoration-day, for upon this Day *Charles* II. was born.

Now let us ſee how great a Cauſe we had to fall into ſo high and exceeding Demonſtration of Joy: Let the Event ſhew, how great a Bleſſing this Reſtoration proved to the Nation. We know ſometimes † *God gives Kings in his Anger, and takes them away in his Wrath:* Plague, War and Fire came in with King *Charles*, but all little enough in compariſon of that Flood of Vice and Corruption in the way of Prophaneneſs, Impiety, Debauchery, *&c.* which, being encouraged by Example and Impunity, followed him, and, like a mighty Stream, have ſo overflowed the Nation, that, in all likelihood, it will require more Judgments, and many Years to come, to purge the Land of it; it is overſpread almoſt from the Child in the Cradle, to the old Man going down to his Grave: But I muſt break off, for it defiles my Thoughts, my Tongue and my Pen, therefore no wonder if this took away our Hearts, for ‖ *Whoredom and Wine take away the Heart*, and our Underſtanding too, which made us grow an effeminate Nation, contemptible to our Neighbours; and made us caſt away the Honour and Intereſt of the Country, and become Tools of the Ambition and Greatneſs of thoſe, whoſe growing Power we ought to have oppoſed; and which ſince made *Europe* groan and labour to be delivered from that Bondage or Danger we helped to bring it under: We ſlighted the Suits and Offers of many Princes and States, and Addreſſes of Parliaments, who offered their Lives and Fortunes to ſtop the growing Power of *France*, which had her Emiſſaries of both Sexes in our Boſom: By whoſe Councils Parliaments were adjourned, prorogued and diſſolved, whilſt on the other ſide, in our moſt ſolemn Aſſemblies, the Fidelity of ſome was corrupted to betray their Truſt and Country: In one we have ſeen a Liſt of no leſs than two hundred and twelve Penſioners, to find Money to ſatisfy the unſatiable Deſires and idle Expences of Whores, Pimps, Bawds and Baſtards, whilſt in leſs than two Years time, above 100,000 Souls, for Religion Sake, forſook the Kingdom, to go into the Plantations, *Holland* and *Germany*.

Theſe Things, and many more which I omit, are known to the whole Nation; only I muſt take notice how the Deſign of ruining Laws, Liberty and Religion was driving on; and whilſt Popery enjoyed Favour and Advantages, it was Treaſon to ſay the King was a Papiſt or popiſhly affected; though during the whole Courſe of his Reign, he appeared, and there are grounds to believe he died ſuch. All theſe things are ſo recent and late, that it were in vain to en-

* Defence of *Perkins*, p. 886.

† *Hoſea* xiii. 11.

‖ *Hoſea* iv. 11.

large upon it; only I ask, whether one who set some of the worst of Men upon the Benches in *Westminster*, took away Charters, caused innocent Blood to be shed, under pretence of Justice, and had some Men * *to frame Mischief by a Law*, &c. was given in Mercy or Anger, I leave to every sober and impartial Man to judge; and whether he was taken away in Wrath, I am not so positive as to determine: Sure I am, after his Death, Things were furiously carried on, till they were overturned first, and then restored through God's Mercy. The two Brothers were Papists, the one secretly, the other openly; yet both were prayed for as *Defender of the Faith.* and as *our most religious Kings*, who had undertaken to destroy our Religion, and openly lived in notorious Sins: They who in the Church pronounced such Lies, have no cause to be satisfied with themselves for so doing. The Consideration of this engages me to speak of something which is proper enough for my present Purpose.

Almost in every Age it hath been a Trick of State, for the Civil Power to strengthen their Designs with putting on the Cloak of Religion; the Generality of the People have a kind of Veneration for those who have the managing of Holy Things: This *Roman* Emperors knew very well, which made them add to their Dignity the Titles, not only of *Consuls* and *Tribunes*, but also of *Pontifex Maximus*, High Priest, which Popes constantly take with the Addition of *optimus*, most good, one of his Names of Blasphemy.

Simeon and *Levi* are sometimes *Brethren* in iniquity, †*Instruments of Cruelty*; the Spiritual and Temporal Swords joined together, cut very deep; Popes who pretend to both, think themselves for it the more considerable; and thereby heretofore, especially before the Reformation, proved the more dangerous: At first they were not in the same, but in two different Hands; for not to speak of *Constantine*'s Donation, which now is out of Doors, and was long ago known for a Sham; it began in the Days of *Phocas* and *Bonifacius* III. *Phocas* had made away his Master, the Emperor *Mauricius*, whilst he laboured under a Fit of the Gout, and this to make himself Emperor: The other was Bishop of *Rome*, earnestly desirous to be universal Bishop, which his Predecessor *Gregory* the Great, had so much declaimed against: *Phocas* sent to him, "If you will but own me "to be lawful Emperor, I will make you to be owned universal Bishop within "the Empire." Thus they agreed, to the Prejudice of those on both sides concerned against them.

At first the People had Right of chosing their Ministers and Church-Officers, *Acts* vi. 2, 3. and the manner was, with ‖ *lifting up of their hands*, as an Approbation of him, or those that were named: Long time after, when Hierarchy was formed, *Deans* and *Chapters* elected their Bishops, as to this day it is continued amongst Papists in most parts of *Germany*; but in *France*, after the *Concordat* or Agreement between *Francis* I. and Pope *Leo* X. they deprived of that Right the Clergy of that Kingdom, the King taking upon him the Nomination, and the Pope reserving for himself the Confirmation by his Bulls: That here that was the manner, appears by the remaining Shadows of it called *Congè d'Elire*; for he must be elected who is named by the King. The same Mockery (for it is no better if true as generally said) is used on the Part of the elected Bishop,

* *Psalm* xciv. 20.
† *Gen.* xlix. 5.
‖ *Acts* xiv. 23. Χειροτονήσαντες.

ſhop, who being aſked *Viſne Epiſcopari*, though he hath been ſuing for it, and made what Intereſt he could to get it, comes with a Lie in his Mouth *Nolo*: Thus Corruption being crept into the Church, and amongſt the Officers thereof, we muſt not wonder to ſee ſo many ill Effects and Conſequences of it: And I deſire no Exceptions be taken againſt what I am about to ſay, for no Man more than I, hath greater Honour for true and worthy Miniſters of the Sanctuary, though none more grieved than I am, at the Abuſe therein committed; it is to my Purpoſe, and I am going to make Application of it.

Our late Courts, in order to carry on theſe Ends of enlarging ths Royal Authority and Prerogative, went about to get on their ſide as many, eſpecially leading Men, of the * *Clergy* as they could, the moſt ambitious and greedy of Preferment were the fitteſt for their Purpoſe, preach (ſaith the Court to them) Monarchy to be *Jure Divino*; not the Goſpel, but the Extent of Royal Prerogative: Preach *Non-Reſiſtance*, *Paſſive Obedience*, the Sinfulneſs of not obeying, or oppoſing, any thing commanded by ſupreme Powers. Theſe Doctrines began to ring out of the Pulpits, and Obedience to Man, more than to God, was preſſed; a Conformity to the Canons of the Church, more than to the Word of God, becauſe they had the Stamp of Royal Authority: What doth the Court do for this? One hath a good Benefice, another a Place in the Univerſity: One is made a Prebend, Archdeacon, Dean and Biſhop; they that were greedy of ſuch Places, ſeeing this to be the way to Preferment, fell into the ſame Road, and followed the Steps of thoſe that went before; ſo that for the Generality, to be for abſolute Monarchy, was, in a Subject, a better Qualification than Learning, Virtue and Piety. To ſuch Miniſters as theſe, I ſay in the words of the Prophet *Malachi* ‖. *And now, O ye Prieſts, this Commandment is for you. If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give Glory unto my Name, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, I will even ſend a Curſe upon you, and I will curſe your Bleſſings: Yea, I have curſed them already, becauſe ye do not lay it to heart.* And ſo the Prophet goes on till Verſe the ninth, which contains theſe words, *Therefore have I alſo made you contemptible and baſe before all the People, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the Law.*

The Court, never to want ſuch Men, went further; they would have Epiſcopacy to be *Jure Divino*, though *Biſhops* be the King's Creatures, they promiſed to maintain the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed, with all Annexes and Dependences, Ruin to all Diſſenters (but Papiſts) which was pretty well put in Execution: No Moderation in the Minds of ſome, no opening the Mouth againſt ignorant and ſcandalous Miniſters, not an Hair's-Breadth of any Ceremony to be diſpenſed with, though to the overthrowing of all Rules of Chriſtian Prudence and Charity: Hence it is, that ſome of corrupt Principles and Practices, were in Church advanced to the higheſt Preferments, becauſe Men-Pleaſers, though otherwiſe unworthy of it; and ſo they were Miniſters of the Court more than of *Chriſt*; they were thought to be ſufficiently qualified, if able but to promote that Intereſt; and to be true Sons of the Church, though never ſo much Sons of

* I call them ſo according to Cuſtom, for elſe it is an Uſurpation began amongſt Papiſts; for the Word Clergy, or Heritage, belongs to all God's People. 1 *Pet.* v. 3.

‖ *Mal.* ii. 1, 2.

of *Belial*, and prodigal Sons: But in this, too much like Papists, we are pleased with specious Names more than with Things; and are so doating upon Accidents and Formalities, that we neglect the Substance, and often leave the Body for the Shadow; like those *Jews* who *trusted in lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord* (*)!

One of the chief remote Causes of this, is the Inconsiderateness of Parents; which except it be removed, we can in reason have no great hopes of mending: If they have one Son, they sometimes intend him for a Way which he is neither fit for, nor inclined to: If they have many, then such an one must be a Soldier, the other a Lawyer, and the third a Divine; when it may be he who is intended for the Law, is fittest for a Soldier, and the Soldier for Divinity; when they ought to consult with the Genius and Capacity of all, and observe that which is more proper for every one: As for those who are appointed for the Study of Divinity, there must be a farther Regard than meerly to put them in a way of getting their Livelihood, as if they were put to a Trade: Such Thoughts do often pass from Parents into the Minds of young Men, who do not examine themselves whether or not they have an inward Call, a Disposition and Inclination of Soul to that high Trust: Whether they can in some Degree answer the Duty of the Place, take care of Souls which they are to give God an Account of. (*a*) *Whose Blood, if lost for want of warning, shall be required at their Hands.* (*b*) *They are Stewards of the Ministry of God, who ought to be found faithful*; they must prepare, some time (*c*) *to be made a Spectacle unto the World, and to Angels, and to Men, and as it were appointed to Death.* They are (*d*) *God's Ambassadors*, and consequently ought to be true to his Honour and Interest, and punctually to follow their Commission: And saith the same Apostle, (*e*) *Who is sufficient for these Things*: Hence for want of a due Consideration, come our (*f*) *Idol Shepherd* and (*g*) *dumb Dogs*, as the Scripture calls them, *yea, greedy Dogs which can never have enough.*

Though to some this Discourse may prove like a Digression, yet it is not really so, but to the purpose, for it leads us to one of the Springs whence does arise the Disorders we speak against: If I allow a thing which it is my Duty, and in my Power, in some Degree to oppose, I thereby become guilty of, and accessory to the Guilt that comes from it: Our great Clergymen ought at that time, humbly to have addressed against appointing Days on such Occasions; and not promoted it, and penned Rubrics as they did; they wanted Zeal for the Honour of God. When King *Uzziah* would have come and sacrificed, *the Priests withstood him* (*h*): So *Ambrosius*, in *Milan*, did shut the Church-doors upon *Theodosius*. I am very far to have such Examples made Precedents, yet on such Occasions the least that could be expected from Men of that Character, was to lie still and not to act, if *Erastianism* and Interest had not been their fundamental Rule.

How

(*) *Jer.* vii. 4.
(*a*) *Ezek.* xxxiii. 6, 8.
(*b*) 2 *Cor.* iv. 1, 2.
(*c*) Verse 9.
(*d*) *Eph.* vi. 20.
(*e*) 2 *Cor.* ii. 16.
(*f*) *Zech.* xi. 17.
(*g*) *Isaiah* lvi. 10, 11.
(*h*) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 18.

How ill ſoever it was, Things were done, and it is not theſe words, *Our Will and Pleaſure is*, to have the Rubric for the Thirtieth of *January* and Twenty-ninth of *May* uſed, *&c.* *C. R.* which alone may ſtamp an Authority; as to the Lawfulneſs of the ſame, in relation to Civil Things, I ſhall not take upon me to determine, though I thank God it is not here an uſual Stile to ſay; *Such is our Pleaſure*: But it doth altogether loſe its Strength when it comes to the Worſhip of God: And I ſay this for a Rule, That if all the Men in the World were all together, under what Notion ſoever, neither their Authority nor their Wit would make that be good and lawful, which is bad and unlawful; though I know the Difference how ſome Things are ſuch in their Nature, and others ſo by Accident.

However, that which was done, we cannot hinder from being done; there is no Remedy for that which is paſt, only for the future let it be prevented: That which is due to God, muſt not be made over to the Creature. I hope unbiaſſed Men, out of what hath been ſaid, will be convinced of the Unreaſonableneſs and Unlawfulneſs of keeping ſuch Days in ſuch a Manner, and upon ſuch an Account: During the two laſt Reigns both Kings were concerned, ſo it was not to be expected they would have been induced to diſcontinue the Obſervation thereof: But now they are gone, and it is to be wiſhed they have not left behind them ſo much of that Spirit that poſſeſſed them, as to make People obſtinate in retaining that ſuperſtitious Cuſtom. The late happy Revolution, will, it is hoped, make, in time, a Change in this, ſo as to have it laid aſide, there being now no Awe nor Temptation to induce Men to perſiſt in it, but only Ignorance, Blindneſs and Superſtition.

It cannot be found in the Old or New Teſtament, that ever any Anniverſary, Holiday, Faſting or Feaſting, was inſtituted on the Behalf of any Man dead or alive, though God made uſe of ſeveral to work great Deliverances, or to ſuffer and be Martyrs for his Truth. No ſet Days for *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Sampſon*, though great Deliverers; nor for the Death of *Iſaiah*, *Zechariah*, and ſo many other Prophets and Apoſtles put to Death: Holidays belong to God alone, him alone they ought to regard, without any Squint-eye towards the Creature; the Lord is a jealous God, who will not have in his Houſe, mixed with his Worſhip, any thing that ſeems to look towards Man; the Practice of the contrary is a Branch of Heatheniſh and Popiſh Superſtition, if not Idolatry: Few Words more I ſhall add to ſhew the Sinfulneſs of this, and then proceed in general to lay open the Unlawfulneſs of all ſuch Formalities, out of Scripture, Reaſon and Authority.

But before I proceed further, I muſt make a ſhort Stop to ſay ſomething to vindicate what in few Lines before I aſſerted; and in Anſwer to ſomething that is ſaid to juſtify the Practice of the Thirtieth of *January*: I ſay nothing can be found in the Word of God to ground this upon. Firſt of all they muſt own, there is nothing to countenance it in the New Teſtament (*i*), or elſe they would let us hear of it: As to the Old, they would endeavour to draw it out of three ſeveral Caſes; the firſt is, that of *Saul*, the ſecond of *Joſiah*, and the third of *Gedaliah*.

As

(*i*) *Newman* in his Sermon, pag. 4, 5, 6.

As to the first, it seems they lay a great Stress upon it; for two of them (*k*), and may be more, for what I know, on the last Thirtieth of *January*, took their Text out of it. The Case is thus: In the Battle in Mount *Gilboa*, between *Israel* and the *Philistines*, *Saul* and his three Sons were killed; his Sons by the *Philistines*, and he killed himself with his own Sword. The News of this Overthrow being brought to *David* by an *Amalekite* (*l*), who thought to bring *David* acceptable News of the Death of his mortal Enemy, in hopes of a Reward, told him a Lie, How, at his Desire, he had killed him: Whereupon *David* commanded him to be put to Death, which was effected; and then made a Lamentation, which was well and suitable with the present Occasion, the Loss of a Battle, whereof the King's Death was one of the bad Concomitants: If the young *Amalekite* had killed him, he had done that which *Saul*'s Armour-bearer would not, and therefore deserved to die for killing the King: The young Man's Act we condemn; but what is that to the purpose? We do commend the Mourning upon the sad Accident at that time; but was an Anniversary appointed, entailed upon Posterity, upon a set Day every Year to meet in the Place of Worship to mourn for it? No such thing. *David* made at that time a Lamentation for the public Loss, and for his own in particular; for it was not only over *Saul*, but also over *Jonathan* his dear Friend: *I am distressed for thee, my Brother* Jonathan (*m*), whom he tenderly loved.

But it is pulled over Head and Ears, to say *David* appointed a Lamentation, or a *mournful Ditty*, as he calls it, to be sung by the Children of *Judah* in succeeding Ages. Indeed it is said in the eighteenth Verse of the same Chapter, That he *bade them teach the Children of* Judah *the Use of the Bow*, and not to sing a Lamentation. Herein lies a want of Sincerity, and something of a Design to impose upon Hearers and Readers. Now I conceive the Parallel between *Saul* and *Charles* the First, lies in being anointed, which we know was a Ceremony used under the Law, to have Kings, Prophets and Priests anointed; which all related to *Jesus Christ*, for those three Offices he was to exercise; and that Anointing signified the Oil of Gladness, wherewith he was to be anointed above all his Fellows, meaning the Graces of the Spirit of God represented by the Anointing. Though the Name of Anointed is given to those that were no Kings, no Priests nor Prophets, as afterwards explained, as *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Israel*, and Family; *Touch not mine Anointed* (*n*); for there the Prophet speaks of them, not of Kings.

And under the Gospel the Holy Ghost is called the *Unction*, the *Anointing which God's People have received*, and *which abideth in us*, and *teaches us all Things* (*o*): In consequence of this the Lord *Jesus*, who, according to his Promise, hath sent the (*p*) *Comforter*, the *Spirit of Truth*, is said under the Name of the Lamb, to (*q*) *have made us unto our God, Kings and Priests*. So then all that have the holy Spirit of *Christ*, are the Anointed of the Lord: The God of Truth hath said so, and Men must not take upon themselves to teach him how to speak.

Why

(*k*) Dr. *Burch*, and Mr. *Newman*.
(*l*) 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 2, 3, 4. and 2 *Sam.* i.
(*m*) 2 *Sam.* i. 17, 26.
(*n*) *Psalm* cv. 10.
(*o*) 1 *John* ii. 20, 27.
(*p*) *John* xvi. 7, 13.
(*q*) *Rev.* v. 10.

Why do poor ſilly Men go about, as much as in them lie, to deprive God's People of what he hath beſtowed upon them? And if all true Believers be made Kings and Prieſts, why ſhould Man reſtrain it to an Order of Man, and put aſunder that which God hath joined together? Yet this, I muſt ſay to thoſe who ſo exceedingly are Admirers of King *Charles* the Firſt, that by what they do, I have really a better Opinion of him, than they have themſelves; for I hope he was a better Man than *Saul*; therefore the Compariſon they make between them, is not very judicious, nor favourable to their King; for the Parallel muſt run upon the Perſons, as well as the Office; they both were Kings, and anointed; but *Saul* was not only choſen, but alſo *rejected of God from being King* (*r*); who cared for Honour from Men, more than Favour from God; when he ſaid to *Samuel*, (*s*) *Honour me now, I pray thee, before the Elders of my People, and before* Iſrael. In a word, *Saul* is in Scripture branded for a Breaker of the Covenant between *Joſhua* and the *Gibeonites* (*t*), and he cruelly ſlew ſome of them, for which God ſent a Famine three Years together; and being enquired, ſaid, It was *for* Saul, *and his bloody Houſe* (*u*). He was a wicked Man, guilty, as *Samuel* upbraids him, of Diſobedience, Rebellion, Witchcraft, Stubbornneſs, Iniquity and Idolatry, (*x*) a Self-Murderer, and who *died for his Tranſgreſſion*; one whom God would not have (*y*) *Samuel* to mourn for when alive; and when, as much as Men knew, there might be hope of God's Mercy and Pardon to him. How likely is it then, that God would have approved, after his Death, that *David* had appointed a Lamentation to be ſung by the Children of *Judah* in ſucceeding Ages. Hence it appears, how ſometimes Compariſons and Parallels do not anſwer the End for which they be made uſe of; but on the contrary, like one who blowing his Noſe, preſſes it ſo much, as to ſqueeze Blood out of it: Such Compariſons ought diſcreetly and warily to be uſed, or elſe they will confute that which thereby was intended to be proved: Thus the Candle being turned upſide down, that which made it burn will put it out.

The ſecond Precedent is that of *Joſiah* (*z*), after whoſe Death all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* mourned for him; *Jeremiah* lamented for him; all the Singing-Men and Singing-Women ſpeak of *Joſiah* in their Lamentations, to this Day. All this very true and well, but not to their Purpoſe, except they can make it out, that there was a certain ſet Day every Year, upon which on the Occaſion of this Death People went into the Temple to renew the Memory of, and mourn for it, had a Service appointed for the ſame End; which, I think, none will ſay or affirm: This Compariſon is much better between *Charles* and *Joſiah*, than between him and *Saul*; and would be more to the Purpoſe, if it might well be faſtened. When we conſider what manner of Man *Joſiah* was (*a*), what a Reformer, what an Enemy to Idolatry and Superſtition, who put away all the Abominations that were ſpied in the Land of *Judah*, purged the Worſhip of God of all Abuſes; of whom the Spirit of God bears this Witneſs, *And like unto him was there no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all*

(*r*) 1 *Sam.* xv. 22, 23, 26.
(*s*) Verſe 30.
(*t*) *Joſh.* ix. 15, 16.
(*u*) 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1.
(*x*) 1 *Chron.* x. 4, 13.
(*y*) 1 *Sam.* xvi. 1.
(*z* 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 24, 25.
(*a*) 2 *Kings* xxiii. to Ver. 25.

all his Heart, and with all his Soul, and with all his Might, according to the Law of Moſes: *Neither after him aroſe any like him* (*b*). A Prince, whoſe Birth, by his Name, God by a Prophet (*c*) foretold ſo many Years before it happened; the Death of ſuch a Prince as this could never enough be lamented, yet without Superſtition: This was in Man's Eye an irreparable Loſs, and I dare ſay this Nation hath ſome Cauſe, upon Occaſion, to remember the Death of the young Prince, our Reformer, *Edward* the Sixth, with Grief and Sorrow (though *Heylin* was of another Mind) the Death of ſo pious a Prince, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, was a great Loſs to Religion and the Nation; but yet ſuch ſet Days as the Thirtieth of *January*, and Circumſtances, muſt be avoided; ſuch a Memory may to this Day be well continued by lawful Means, at his very Funeral Sermons, Epitaphs, and ſuch Things remaining as were publiſhed in or about that Time; as *Jeremiah*'s Lamentation upon that Subject might be read and ſung in After-Ages: The Memory of good Princes, and other pious Men, ought to be precious and dear to Poſterity; but we muſt not beſtow any thing of religious Relation upon them, but ſtrictly avoid every Appearance of it. *Saul*'s Death was a Judgment upon him, but *Joſiah*'s Death was a Mercy to him. *Becauſe thine Heart was tender, I will gather thee to thy Fathers, and to thy Grave in Peace; neither ſhall thine Eyes ſee all the Evil that I will bring upon this Place, and upon the Inhabitants of the ſame* (*d*). Now Things and Perſons being compared in the Reigns of *Joſiah* and *Charles*, to ſay no more, we ſhall find a vaſt Difference.

The third Caſe is that of *Gedaliah* (*e*), whom, after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, the King of *Babylon* made a Governor of the Cities of *Judah*, which was treacherouſly killed by *Iſhmael*, the Son of *Nethaniah:* This indeed was a ſad Blow to the People that was left in the Land; but in the two quoted Places in the Notes, nor in the Book of *Chronicles*, nothing is ſaid of any public Mourning of the People for it; yet ſome would, if poſſible, upon the Opinion of the moſt judicious Interpreters, as he calls them, ſcrew ſomething out of *Zech.* vii. 5. as if their Mourning there was an Ordinance, for that laſted till the Time of their Return from their Captivity; but it is eaſy to find the true Cauſe of it, namely, a poſitive Order from God, (*f*) *On the tenth Day of this ſeventh Month, there ſhall be a Day of Atonement, it ſhall be an holy Convocation unto you, and ye ſhall afflict your Souls*, &c. *And whatſoever Soul it be that ſhall not be afflicted in that ſame Day, he ſhall be cut off from amongſt his People.* This is the true Cauſe of the Mourning in the ſeventh Month, and it were in vain to fancy any other.

A very good Uſe may, by preſent and future Ages, be made of ſuch ſad Effects of God's Providence; as to warn us of our Mortality, of the Uncertainty of Life, of the Vanity of Honours, and to prepare us for Death; to ſhew how our Life is in the Hand of God, which he diſpoſeth of how and when he pleaſes: It is good always to be thankful to God for Mercies, always to be humbled, and to mourn for Sins; for as we do conſtantly ſin, ſo we muſt conſtantly repent; what doth befall others, as well as what happeneth to us, ought to

(*b*) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 25.
(*c*) 1 *Kings* xiii. 2.
(*d*) 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 27, 28.
(*e*) 2 *Kings* xxv. 25. and *Jer.* xli. 2.
(*f*) *Levit.* xxiii. 27, 29.

ſo work upon us: And ſo we have cauſe enough to keep Days of Humiliation both in public and private; and this is to make a right Uſe of ſuch Occaſions, and not to flatter, and chuſe God's Houſe to make Panegyrics of dead Men, over and over every Year, in ſuch a Strain as Papiſts do for their pretended Saints and dead Men. After this way Mr. *Newman*, in his Sermon, Pag. 17, 18, 19, *&c.* maketh King *Charles* a great Poet, nay a Laureat one, a great Orator: He ſaith, he was Maſter of a ſublime Grandeur of Language; and in Points of Controverſy, and in Caſes of Conſcience, ſo great a Divine, as he might have challenged the Theological Chair, upon the Account of mere Worth. If he had but attributed ſome Miracles, then we might have ſaid, as *Jeſuits* uſe to ſpeak of their *Ignatius*, *Franciſcans* of their *Francis*, and *Dominicans* of their *Dominic*, upon their Days. And all this he affirms upon Hearſay, and by Relation; if this be not Flattery, it is too much like it; this is a ſtudied Diſcourſe, to make a Shew of his Parts; to flatter the Dead, deceive the Living, but edify none.

To ſay the ſetting apart ſuch Days, is not intended, as if thereby they were made holier than others, but only to appoint them to an holier Uſe, is not enough to excuſe the thing; we all know it is not in the Power of Man, in that kind, to make one Day better than another, that is the Work of God alone; and of all the Days in the Week, the ſeventh, his Sabbath-Day, (*g*) *he ſanctified it, bleſſed and hallowed it.* Nay, the other Feaſts, which were but typical, and for a time, which we read of in the Book of *Leviticus* (*h*), were of God's own ſpecial Appointment: So that to inſtitute ſuch Days, is an Act of Religion; and though we agree, that the Church may make Rules for Order-ſake, as to Circumſtances; yet under the Goſpel, no Man may upon human Account, inſtitute Days, wherein is a Ceſſation of Work, God having commanded *ſix Days to Labour and do our Work.* Thus there would be no End, one Day this Year, another or more the next, as we ſee it in the Church of *Rome*, where every new Saint hath a Day allowed him every Year: By the ſame Reaſon it is done for one, it may be done for an hundred.

All orthodox Divines do agree, That in the firſt and ſecond Commandment, not only Idolatry, but alſo Superſtition are forbidden; whereby the Fixedneſs of the Minds of Men, which ought to be upon God, is toſſed and diſtracted, here and there, upon different Objects: Prayers of Mourning, Repentance or Thankſgiving, muſt be directed to God; for they are Part of his Worſhip, without any collateral Regard to the Merits or Sufferings of any Man dead or alive. And here by the bye, I muſt take notice of a Clauſe, which ſome of our Miniſters uſe in their Prayers, *to thank God for his Servants deceaſed*; which, in my Opinion, is very improper, for thoſe who own we ought not to pray to or for the Dead, the Goſpel and God's other Mercies is, What we ought to thank God for: And though a Miniſter may make mention of thoſe faithful Servants of his, remembered in his Word, and exhort us to follow their Example, and divine Rules they were acted by, the Faith of *Abraham*, the Patience of *Job*, the Repentance of *Peter*; yet the Caſe is different, when he is in Prayer, for then he is the Mouth of the People to God: In that Condition of Supplicants, no human Rule or Example is to be mentioned to God, eſpecially

(*g*) *Gen.* ii. 3. and *Exod.* xx. 11. (*h*) Chap. xxiii.

now when ſo groſs an Abuſe about it, is committed by Papiſts, whereof we ought to avoid the very Appearance.

The Dangers of bringing ſuch Things into the Church is very great, though at firſt not perceptible; ſometimes great Evils had but ſmall Beginnings; the Devil is ſo ſubtle and cunning, that he engages Men but by Degrees; and naturally there is in Men a Propenſity to Idolatry and Superſtition, which he improves too much to our Ruin; wherefore it concerns us the more to ſtand upon our Guards; for if a Thing be good in its Nature, he can turn it to evil; as in the Caſe of the brazen Serpent, which by God's Command was erected (*i*) in the Wilderneſs, and attended with miraculous Effects on thoſe who looked upon it: Yet the Devil turned the Hearts of the People to commit Idolatry about it (*k*); much more will he turn to Evil that which is indifferent, and ſometimes evil, by reaſon of ſome Circumſtances, which is the leaſt that muſt be granted in the Caſe of the Thirtieth of *January:* To keep a ſet Day once every Year in Remembrance of the Acting or Sufferings of a dead Man, is a Cuſtom derived from Heathens, followed by Papiſts, for whom we muſt not do as *Peter* did for the *Jews*, when with his Compliance and Diſſimulation, he confirmed them in that Error and Obſtinacy; and for this Reaſon chiefly, St. *Paul* (*l*) *withſtood him to the Face.* Now the keeping of ſuch a Day cannot be denied to be an Honour to the Man in whoſe Remembrance it is kept; and this Honour being rendered in the Church, with reading a Service on the Occaſion, makes it a kind of religious Worſhip, which is to be rendered to God alone, and to no Creature whatſoever: What we ſay againſt Popiſh Feaſts, may in Part be ſaid againſt this; we condemn them, becauſe they are upon ſet and certain Times always the ſame, which is only to be upon extraordinary Cauſes and Occaſions: Sure I am, omitting ſuch keeping of Days can do no harm; but through ſome Accident or Circumſtance, the obſerving the ſame may happen to do hurt: Now is it not beſt to take the ſureſt? And it is Chriſtian Prudence to avoid all unneceſſary Dangers: And I think this is to ſpeak of the Thing as favourably as may be.

Under the Law, one who had touched a dead Body, was unclean (*m*); and, before he had been purified, might not come to the Tabernacle of the Lord, for thus he would have defiled it; and that Soul that did ſo, *was to be cut off.* God thereby ſignifying, how Holineſs and Purity required in thoſe that come into his Houſe, doth partly conſiſt in being free from the Stains and Corruption of our dead and ſtinking Nature: God is the living God, the God of the Living; the Quick, and not the Dead, he will have to come near him; Quickneſs he loves, but Deadneſs he abhorreth: He hath forbidden to bring him the Lame and the Blind, much more the dead: Nay, he will not endure a Mixture in Things of a much leſs Concernment than is his Service. Thus he ſaith (*n*), *Thou ſhalt not let thy Cattle gender with a diverſe Kind: Thou ſhalt not ſow thy Field with a mingled Seed: Neither ſhall a Garment mingled of Linen and Woollen come upon thee.* Much more is the Lord againſt mingling and trimming Dead with Quick in his Worſhip: When Chriſtians come to Church, they muſt

(*i*) *Numb.* xxi. 9.
(*k*) 2 *Kings* xviii. 4.
(*l*) *Gal.* ii. 11.
(*m*) *Numb.* xix. 11, 12, 13, &c.
(*n*) *Lev.* xix. 19.

muſt not touch, meddle or defile themſelves, their Thoughts or Hearts with any dead Corps, for God doth abhor it (*o*): This with *Nadab* and *Abihu*, is to bring in a ſtrange Fire; and as their Sin is well known, ſo is their Puniſhment: *The Tabernacle was without the Camp, afar off from the Camp* (*p*). So when we go to the Houſe of God, we muſt leave the World behind us, let the Dead bury their Dead, wean our Thoughts from the Creature, and diſengage our Souls from thinking upon it; we go to ſerve God alone, and him alone we ought to look upon, mention, and remember.

It is ill done to bring ſuch Things into the Church, to mix them with God's Worſhip, and ſo make them Part of it: It is ill done to alter the Nature of Things indifferent, to preſs them as neceſſary, and to deprive Believers of their Chriſtian Liberty: No other Worſhip is lawful, but that whereof God is the Author. *In all Things I have ſaid unto you, be circumſpect* (*q*); *ſee thou make every Thing*, ſaid God to *Moſes* (*r*), *according to the Pattern ſhewed thee on the Mount* (*s*); which was effected, no Addition, no Diminution, no Alteration, under any Pretence whatſoever, not ſo much as a Pin, or the leaſt Thing in the Tabernacle, but what was of God's ſpecial Appointment; for none but God himſelf, except it be revealed in his Word, knows what is acceptable to him: None but God can give the Worſhip, the Virtue, whereby it becomes effectual and profitable to us: We do not read that God ever gave any one Power, wholly, or in Part, to inſtitute a Worſhip according to his Mind and Fancy: On the contrary, he doth fulminate againſt *Will-Worſhip*; under the Goſpel it is allowed leſs than ever, for the Goſpel is not a ceremonial Law: Some, to excuſe their Additions, uſe an idle Diſtinction of *corrupting* and *preſerving* the laſt, ſay they, is not forbidden, only the firſt: But every Addition, as well as Detraction, is expreſly oppoſed to the Obſervation of God's Precepts, as a Corruption of them. Of the like Nature is that Evaſion of theirs, when they ſay, An Addition of Eſſentials, but not of Accidentals, is forbidden. But though there be ſome Accidents and Circumſtances belonging to the Worſhip, as Times, Places, Perſons, yet no Worſhip may be called accidental, becauſe it hath in itſelf the very Eſſence of Worſhip. Then as the leaſt Commandments of God are religiouſly to be obſerved, *to a very Jot or Tittle* (*t*); ſo by the ſame Reaſon the leaſt Additions ought to be rejected. Furthermore, *Moſes* (*u*), with the ſame Caution of not adding to or taking from, ſealed thoſe Laws relating to the Place and Manner of Worſhip, of abſtaining from Blood, and the like, which belonged to the accidental Service (if we may ſo call it) which was to laſt but for a time: And the Obſervation of this, is, for a ſpecial Reaſon, called Obedience; becauſe we do thereby that which ſeems right in God's Sight, though ſome other Things may ſeem to be more right in our Eyes (*x*): To this lawful Worſhip is oppoſed the unlawful and voluntary one, otherwiſe called *Will-Worſhip*, which is of a Man's Invention or Tradition: The Sin committed in this Will-Worſhip, is commonly called *Superſtition*, when we render God

(*o*) *Levit.* x. 1, 2.
(*p*) *Exod.* xxxiii. 7.
(*q*) *Exod.* xxiii. 13.
(*r*) *Heb* viii. 5.
(*s*) *Exod.* xxxix. 43. and Chap. xl. 16, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32.
(*t*) *Mat.* v. 18, 19.
(*u*) *Deut.* xii. 25, 28.
(*x*) *Mat.* xv. 9. and *Col.* ii. 23.

God an unlawful Service; for in caſe of Superſtition, God is always the Object, but the Worſhip is unlawful. Thus Superſtition is an Exceſs in Religion, not in order to the formal Virtue of Religion; for thus no Man can be too religious, but in order to the outward Acts and Means of Religion. Thus in relation to the Worſhip of God, we ought not to mind human Traditions, but only the Word of God, wherein the Lord hath preſcribed us Rules to know and worſhip him.

What we ſaid before about the Tabernacle, may now be obſerved concerning the Altar; God takes care to declare how he would have it to be; either *of Earth, or of Stone, but not out of hewn Stone* (*y*); the Reaſon is given, *for if thou lift up thy Tool upon it, thou hath polluted it.* Man's Wits and Inventions do defile the Worſhip of God, he will admit of no ſuch Things as human Workmanſhip; wherefore he forbids it a ſecond Time, when he ſaith, Thou ſhalt build unto the Lord thy God an Altar of Stones, of *whole Stones*, (*z*), as it is expreſſed in the next Verſe, *Thou ſhalt not lift up any Iron Tool upon them.* Indeed we muſt take notice of the extraordinary Care God had to regulate even to the leaſt Ceremonies, that in the Acts of Religion nothing might be left undetermined, and nothing wanting to take away all Pretences of Men for meddling in it. As to the Worſhip of God, Men ſin in the Object and Manner of it: The firſt Commandment is the Rule for the one, and the ſecond for the other (*a*): *Ahab* ſinned againſt the firſt, he worſhipped falſe Gods: *Jeroboam* worſhipped the true God, but in a falſe Manner; for which both their Names became abominable: Evil Kings that came after them, were branded for walking after the Sins of *Ahab*, or after the Sins of *Jeroboam* (*b*); as odious for worſhipping in a falſe Way, as *Ahab* for ſerving falſe Gods: Hear what Scripture ſaith of him, for altering the Circumſtances of Place and Time, *Bethel* and *Dan*, he remembered ſtill the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, *Behold thy God that brought thee out of the Land of* Egypt: But he changed the Time, *the firſt Day of the eighth Month, even in the Month which he had deviſed of his own Heart:* Mark how heinouſly God takes that Change; ſurely this ſhould be awakening to all that bring into the Worſhip, *the Devices of their own Heart.*

Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Ordinances ought to aim at Edification, and to a profitable Declaration and Uſe of the main revealed in Scripture; the Yoke and Burden of too numerous Conſtitutions muſt be avoided in the Church, likewiſe the Tyranny in ſtrictly preſſing the Obſervation thereof as Things neceſſary, and the obſtinate Continuation of thoſe Injunctions, which Time and Experience made appear unprofitable or hurtful; it is unjuſt for ſuch Ceremonies to make Chriſtian Liberty to ſuffer any Prejudice, though they had been inſtituted upon good Grounds, and have been of good Uſe; yet having by Papiſts been abuſed to Superſtition, they ought to be aboliſhed. This is the Senſe of true Chriſtians, who are acted by a Spirit of Meekneſs and Charity; but unhappily, ſome Men are ſo fond of preſerving their Legiſlative Authority, that they would prefer the Loſs of one hundred thouſand Souls, to the Abrogation of an old

(*y*) *Exod.* xx. 24, 25.
(*z*) *Deut.* xxvii. 5, 6.
(*a*) 1 *Kings* xvi. 32. 1 *Kings* xii. 28, 29.
(*b*) 1 *Kings* xii. 32, 33.

old Superſtition. This is properly the Spirit whereby the Church of *Rome* is acted; and it is to be wiſhed, there was not ſo much of it amongſt us: Indeed, the Will of God ought to be the Rule of every Man's Will; for it is the Ground and Spring of all Reaſon and Juſtice. But it is very unreaſonable for any Man or Men, eſpecially in Things relating to Conſcience, to lay down his own, or their own Will, which is ſo fallible, to be a Rule for the Will of other Men; and as it were, to force it upon others; becauſe a Man differs from me, I muſt make him ſay as I ſay, and do as I do, or elſe cut his Throat; as well as if I ſhould fall out with one, becauſe his Shape, Stature and Features are not altogether like mine: We know in the Primitive Church, they ſometimes had different Rites and Ceremonies; for which, no Violence or Compulſion was offered by one to another; the Church muſt not force or impoſe a Neceſſity; the Officers of it in indifferent Things have no ſuch Right; but to guide and direct *not by conſtraint, but willingly* (*c*), ſaith *Peter* in another Senſe.

As about indifferent Things there is danger of Superſtition, ſo a Liberty to do, or not to do, ought to be allowed; or elſe that Liberty is taken away when the Obſervation is impoſed by any human Power: This obliges the Body, and the Body goes not alone; ſo the Mind not being content with what the Body goes about, Conſcience is not at reſt. Hence ariſe Scruples, which become endleſs; ſuch are *eating ſome Kind of Meats, keeping of an Holiday* (*d*); which is our firſt queſtion, *uſing in the Church ſome ſorts of Habit* (*e*): He that regards a Day, doth, or ought to keep it to the Lord. Yet in things indifferent, we muſt have *regard to our Brethren* (*f*); and have a Care *that no Man put a ſtumbling Block, or occaſion to fall in his Brother's way* (*g*): If this had been well thought upon, ſo many ſtumbling Blocks and Snares in indifferent Things had not been laid in the way of others, the more becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame Chapter, and laſt Verſe, *Whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin*; if any one doth ſuch Things, and is not fully perſuaded, then he doubts, *ſo he is damned.* Theſe very things are of a greater Conſequence than ſome imagine; for when once the Conſcience is fallen into the Snare, ſhe enters into a Labyrinth, whence the coming out is very difficult, as I could inſtance in ſome Things; new Doubts, Scruples and Difficulties at the Heels one of another: Upon Trifles, ſometimes great Debates ariſe, Whether or not God will have us to uſe this or that? The Conſcience becomes uneaſy under the Yoke, and growing reſtleſs, it runs ſometimes into Confuſion or Deſpair; ſo that in few Words, this is without Neceſſity, and out of Wilfulneſs and Uncharitableneſs, to lay the ſtumbling Block before weak and tender Conſciences: God ſometimes ſuffering the Devil with his Suggeſtions to ſtep in, and their natural Corruptions to work; our Saviour pronounceth a *Woe* to thoſe who do ſo (*h*). This may be ſaid of Ceremonies in general; for if St. *Peter* calls thoſe which had been inſtituted by God's own Command and Appointment, *a Yoke which neither our Fathers nor we were able to bear* (*i*); *and that impoſing it upon the Neck of the Diſciples was tempting of God,* in

(*c*) 1 *Pet.* v. 2.
(*d*) *Coloſ.* ii. 16.
(*e*) *Rom.* xiv. 6.
(*f*) 1 *Cor.* x. 24.
(*g*) *Rom.* xiv. 13, 23.
(*h*) *Luke* xvii. 1.
(*i*) *Acts* xv. 10.

in a Time when the Christian Church was but newly born; and that the *Jews* thereto used, were to be converted: It seems, it had raised Difficulties to their Conversion, and not been proper to change all at once, but by Degrees, what shall we say now who live so long after, under the Gospel, a Covenant of Liberty, after the Light of it hath so clearly shined, and we have declared against, and left off several of them, to see any Ceremonies imposed upon us, though never so few; for that is imposed, which is enjoined by Civil or Ecclesiastical Laws, under Penalties; which yet we all agree, do not *per se*, and in their Nature bind Conscience: Hereby many pious and learned Men are kept out, and the Church deprived of their Labours, the Hearts and Prayers of God's People divided, and in the bottom, upon no other ground than *sic volo, sic jubeo*, such is our Pleasure: At first God winked at such things, but now those *old things* are, or ought *to be done away* (*k*).

Amongst the Reasons we have in Print before the Common-Prayer Book about Ceremonies, why some are abolished, and others not? This is given for one, *the Gospel of Christ is not a Ceremonial Law.* What is said there of many, we here say of any; so that as it is confessed, there ought not to be many, we say, there ought not to be any; we know some of our first Reformers were against them; and if those that were for them had known the ill Consequences of imposing those Ceremonies, they had not wanted Charity or Moderation, as too many have of late; the Dispute is not about the Number, but about the Nature of them, even as we see in our Civil Government: Is it not true, that one who would go about to raise a Penny without Act of Parliament, is as much a Breaker of the Law, as if he went about to raise a Pound? So is he guilty of incroaching upon Christian Liberty, who imposes one Ceremony, as if he imposed an hundred; for as he may not impose many, so he may not impose any: And suppose the Things imposed were lawful, (which is not granted) yet every Christian must have respect, whether the Things he useth or doth, be profitable, and will do him good; as well as to that, whether or not it be lawful? Though *Paul* had circumcised *Timothy*, yet seeing an Abuse crept in, he would not circumcise *Titus*, and giveth a good Reason for it; *Because of false Brethren unawares brought in to espy out our Liberty, which we have in* Christ Jesus, *that they might bring us into Bondage* (*l*). So that this very Ceremony and Sacrament of the Law Circumcision he looked upon as a Bondage.

Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free (*m*), *and be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage.* This by Way of Consequence, he infers out of what he said in the foregoing Chapter, which is expressed by the Word *therefore*; this he strengthens with a Reason in the 13th Verse; *for Brethren ye have been called unto Liberty, only use not Liberty for an Occasion to the Flesh*; for a Cloak to Licentiousness. Our christian Liberty we are to defend against those who lay Snares for it; so we must not part with it, especially when doing it, confirms People in their Superstition and Error; Men in Authority may not command but what is Good, nor forbid but that which

(*k*) 2 *Cor.* v. 17. (*m*) *Gal.* v. 1, 13.
(*l*) *Gal.* ii 4.

which is Evil; and what is indifferent may not abſolutely, and for ever be commanded or forbidden, only as much it draws towards Good or Evil.

Among the ſeveral Places of Scripture, wherein St. *Paul* gives a Caution about our Chriſtian Liberty, not to be impoſed upon by others, none is more conſpicuous than the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, he warneth us to take heed *leſt* any Man (*n*) *ſpoil us through Philoſophy and vain Deceit, after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Chriſt:* What theſe vain Deceits, Traditions of Men, Rudiments of the World, are, he ſaith, Verſe 16, *Meat or Drink, reſpect of an Holiday, or of the new Moon in a voluntary Humility, Worſhiping of Angels,* &c. Wherefore, *if we be dead with Chriſt* (as we are) *from the Rudiments of the World, why though living in the World, are ye ſubject to Ordinances, touch not, handle not, taſte not; which are all to periſh with the uſing, after the Doctrines of Men,* &c. after this clear Truth, it is to be admired how the following Expreſſions can drop from any Man's Pen. (*o*) *No Ceremony no Religion.* It muſt be a meer Shadow of Religion, whereof Ceremonies are Soul and Life, and the Quinteſcence of it. This is an Accident not a Subſtance, a Name not a Power of Religion: Would to God there were ſo many amongſt us of that Religion, who ought to know better; then we could hope Things would go better than they do.

Was there not Superſtition from the beginning of Chriſtian Religion? Would not ſome have had the Ceremonies of *Moſes*'s Law, concerning Meats, keeping of Days, *&c.* even of Circumciſion, to be continued, as appeareth *Acts* xv. St. *Paul* was taken up about rectifying thoſe Abuſes, as we ſee in his Epiſtles to the *Galatians, Coloſſians*, and elſewhere. Thoſe that are for our Ceremonies, do or muſt own how they who were for keeping up the Popiſh Ceremonies remaining among us were in the wrong: To ſay, becauſe Ceremonies are ſettled by Law, they may not be removed or altered, is to afford Papiſts an Argumeut to hinder a Reformation amongſt them. And by the ſame Reaſon they might have ſtoped the Work of Reformation when it began: The authority God hath given the Church, is not for Deſtruction but for Edification, it is abuſed when otherwiſe. St. *Paul* had as much Authority as our eccleſiaſtical Law-givers, he ſaith, (*p*) *for though I ſhould boaſt ſomewhat more of our Authority, which the Lord hath given us for Edification, and not for our Deſtruction, I ſhould not be aſhamed.* And he plainly declareth, *Nor for that we have Dominion over your Faith, but are Helpers of your Joy.* Now to go about to force People under Penalties to ſay as they ſay, to do as they do, and to believe as they believe, that the Ceremonies are good, which we look upon to be unlawful; is not this to pretend to have Dominion over our Faith? The ſame Apoſtle ſaith to give Offences, and lay a Stumbling-block before them that are Weak, (ſuch let them account us to be) is to Sin againſt the Brethren: But ſaith he, (*q*) *When ye ſin ſo againſt the Brethren, and wound their Conſcience, ye ſin againſt Chriſt.* And ſuppoſe ſuch Things as are impoſed

(*n*) *Coloſ.* ii. 8, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23.
(*o*) *Sine Ceremonii, actum eſt de Religione.*
(*p*) 2 *Cor.* viii. 10. c. i. 24. c. xiii. 10.
(*q*) 1 *Cor.* viii. 12.

were lawful, *yet all Things that are ſo are not expedient*; he looks to *the edifying*, (*r*) he will not uſe *Things lawful* to him, becauſe *they edify not*: And in the uſe of ſuch Things, he will have Men not to do any Thing to offend, yet to follow the Dictates of one's Conſcience: *Conſcience I ſay not their own but of the others*; *for why is any Liberty judged by another's Conſcience*: Men muſt not preſume to deſtroy chriſtian Liberty, (*ſ*) *and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty*. As St. *Paul* would not make Uſe of Authority, ſo neither would St. *Peter*, Chriſt had certainly given him Authority too; but he doth not impoſe any thing upon, or command others, but only exhorteth, (*t*) *the Elders which are amongſt you I exhort, who am alſo an Elder*, to pronounce Anathema and Curſes upon thoſe who will not believe and do ſo, and ſo is a Character of Antichriſt which ought not to be imitated: Though heretofore poor Diſſenters were not curſed, but with ſeveral Penalties plagued. Indeed Miniſters being deprived of the Exerciſe of their paſtoral Office, and the People of the Fruit and Benefit of their Labours; inſtead of keeping up Authority, or ſtretching it as they do, and ſtand too much upon it, with *Paul* they ſhould be chiefly for edifying, which he ſo much preſſeth in *Rom.* xiv. 19. and 1 *Cor.* xiv. 12.

Though they ſhould not ſtrike at Religion, or take away chriſtian Liberty, yet at laſt it might prove *a Snare* (which St. *Paul* avoids to caſt upon the *Corinthians*,) to the Weak and Ignorant, who form ſuch Notions in their Heads, as may happen to degenerate into Idolatry and Superſtition: Wherefore let us caſt off theſe Dregs of Popery, theſe Relicks of Superſtition, and tend to a Perfection, ſtudy after Soundneſs and Purity in Doctrine, Simplicity in Worſhip, and Holineſs of Life and Converſation; of which laſt we have excellent Rules, 2 *Cor.* vii. 1. *Epheſ.* v. 3, 4, 5. *Coloſſ.* iii. 8, 9. and *Chap.* iv. 6. take the Pains to read the Words, and you will find moſt of the epidemical Sins of the Times. And though there be a great Difference of what now wants Reformation, to what it was when we reformed from Popery, it will be found there is ſtill great need of it: At that time the great Mountains of Errors in Doctrine were thrown down; let us now level the Hills that remained in Worſhip; or are grown again, or come in ſince in Doctrine.

No Man is to be blamed to deſire to ſee a Warrant in the Word for whatſoever he doth as a Worſhip of God, or for being afraid to do that which he can ſee no Warrant for in the Word of God; in nothing are we ſo preciſely tied to the Direction of God's Word, as in the Matter of his Worſhip: The charge that is given us, (*u*) *What Things ſoever I command you, obſerve to do it*; *thou ſhalt not add thereunto, nor diminiſh from it*. That is, neither more nor leſs than I commanded you; that Charge, I ſay, concerneth chiefly the Matters of God's Worſhip, and how highly this pleaſeth God, when we do nothing to worſhip him by, but that only he hath given us Directions for in his Word, is evident by Reaſon of the *ſecond Commandment*, where the Lord calls them that will obſerve that Commandment, and worſhip him only according to his own

(*r*) 1 *Cor.* x. 23, 29.
(*ſ*) 2 *Cor.* iii. 17.
(*t*) 1 *Pet.* v. 1.
(*u*) *Deut.* xii. 32.

own Directions, and not after the Will and Inventions of Men, which is indeed the whole required in that Precept he calls *them that love him*, and promiſeth *to ſhew mercy unto them*, (*x*) even unto the *thouſand Generation*. And on the other ſide, he calls the Tranſgreſſors of that Commandment, ſuch as doat on *Will-Worſhip*, and on that Service done unto him, according to the Inventions of Men; he calls them *ſuch as hate him*, and threatens to *viſit* that Sin of the *Father* upon the *Children*, to the third and fourth Generations.

I know it is uſual with ſome, to traduce and aſperſe thoſe, who upon this Account make Conſcience of their Ways; on this Manner, it is true, ſay they, every Man makes Conſcience of the Thing he thinks to be amiſs: But this is their Hypocriſy, that they make more Sins than God hath made, they muſt be ſo preciſe and ſcrupulous in Things indifferent and lawful, in ſuch Things as godlier and wiſer Men than they make no ſcruple at all: This judging and condemning by their Example, the Practice of other Men, is the Thing that proves them to be Hypocrites, and makes them odious to all Men.

To this I have theſe Things to anſwer: Firſt, the Things they are ſcrupulous in, and which they dare not to do, may, in their Nature not be indifferent, but ſinful, and well known unto them to be ſo; though both thyſelf and others, no whit inferior to them, but far beyond them in Knowledge and Grace, do think otherwiſe of them: There may be difference in Judgment, even between godly and good Men; and one may ſee that to be a Sin, which another as good as he cannot be perſuaded to be ſo: St. *Paul*, and thoſe that joined with him, (*y*) knew it was an unlawful and ſinful Thing, to withdraw and ſeparate themſelves from eating and converſing with the believing *Gentiles*, in the Preſence of the *Jews*, for fear of offending them; though neither *Peter* nor *Barnabas* (Men no whit inferior to them in Grace and Knowledge) could diſcern it to be ſo; Chriſtians muſt not judge nor condemn one another to be Hypocrites, for their Difference in Judgment in thoſe ſmaller Matters; *who art thou*, (*z*) ſaith the Apoſtle, *that judgeth another Man's Servant, to his own Maſter he ſtandeth or falleth*. Secondly, it may well be, that ſome, even good Men, are (through Want of Knowledge, and Weakneſs of Judgment,) Righteous over-much, and make ſcruple of thoſe Things which no Law of God bindeth them to make ſcruple of; elſe *Solomon* would never have ſaid, *be not Righteous over-much, neither make thyſelf over-wiſe*: (*a*) Such an one was he of whom the Apoſtle ſpoke, *another that is weak eats Herbs*: (*b*) As if he ſhould ſay, it was his Ignorance and Weakneſs of Judgment that made him ſo ſcrupulous and fearful to eat any thing, which by the ceremonial Law (now abrogated) had been forbidden. But no Man muſt be deſpiſed or judged to be an Hypocrite becauſe of this, for that's directly againſt the Apoſtle's Rule, *let not him that eateth deſpiſe him that eateth not* (*c*). Thirdly, there is no juſt Cauſe, why we ſhould judge or think the worſe one of another, either for uſing or not uſing our Liberty in this caſe; becauſe the Thing that is in its own Nature

(*x*) *Exod.* xx. 5, 6.
(*y*) *Gal.* ii. 12, 13.
(*z*) *Rom.* xiv. 4.
(*a*) *Eccleſ.* vii. 16.
(*b*) *Rom.* xiv. 2.
(*c*) *Rom.* xiv. 3.

lawful, and also lawfully used by one Man, it may be in another Man a damnable Sin to do it; and that upon these two Grounds: First, because one is persuaded of the Lawfulness of it, which the other is not, but doubteth it to be a Sin, *I know and am persuaded by the Lord* Jesus, *saith St.* Paul, *that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean* (*d*). What? Will you say, can the Opinion of one Man make any thing clean or unclean, lawful or unlawful? No not in its own Nature, but to himself it may; for a Man to do a Thing that he doubts to be unlawful, is a damnable Thing, *He that doubteth* (*e*), saith the Apostle, *is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of Faith: For whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin.* The Conscience of Man, though it be deceived and erroneous, yet hath a binding Power, and it is a Matter of great Danger for any one to go against it; all Men must seek to inform their Consciences aright by the Word of God, which is the only true Rule to guide our Conscience by; *Let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind* (*f*). But though it be a Sin for a Man, not to seek to have his Conscience rightly informed by the Word of God; yet in him it is a double Sin to do any thing against his Conscience. If, therefore, thou seest a Man who is otherwise conscionable in all his Ways, fearful to do that which thou knowest, and artfully persuaded he may lawfully and ought to do; pity him, inform him, instruct him, and with Arguments, and in a meek way, labour to bring him out of his Errors; but scorn, hurt and condemn him not. The *second Ground* is, The one is able to use and do lawfully the Thing he knows to be lawful, and take no hurt by it: The other, though he knows the Thing to be lawful, through his Weakness, findeth he is not able to use it, but shall receive hurt by it: *All Things* (*g*), saith St. *Paul*, *are lawful for me; but I will not be brought under the Power of any.* And certainly this is the thing that restraineth many a good Man from the Use of several Recreations, which he doth not doubt to be lawful in themselves; because he finds his own Weakness to be such, as he cannot use them without receiving much hurt thereby: And this should restrain many more from them, if they had care of their own Souls, as they ought to have.

This Tenderness of Conscience, which some sort of People want, they condemn it in those who have it and call it Trifles, Peevishness and Niceties; but if they be grounded in the World, they are Truths of God, though some Truths be comparatively greater than others, as our Saviour saith; yet is not any Truth of God to be accounted small, of little or no Moment, even of those Points of the Law, which he calls but *Gnats* in comparison of others (*h*). Our Saviour saith, (*i*) *these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone:* They are all great Things that God hath written and revealed in his holy Word; all the Truths uttered by the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost, are called the great Things, or the *wonderful Works of God* (*k*); yea, the least Truth of God, that he hath revealed in his holy Word is to be esteemed of greater Moment than Heaven and Earth: *It is easier for Heaven and Earth to pass,*

(*d*) *Rom.* xiv. 14.
(*e*) *Rom.* xiv. 23.
(*f*) *Rom.* xiv. 5.
(*g*) 1 *Cor.* vi. 12.
(*h*) *Mat.* xxiii. 24.
(*i*) *Mat.* xxiii. 23.
(*k*) *Acts* ii. 11.

paſs, than that one Tittle of the Law ſhould fail (*l*). It is every one's Duty to ſeek after the Truth, and to ſtick to, and not depart from it when it is found: He, who like *David* (*m*), *doth not hate every falſe Way*, every Error in Matters of Religion, Errors about the ſmalleſt as well as the greateſt Thing, and doth not value that which God hath taught in his Word, he hath not that Eſteem of God's Word as he ought to have.

As a Man can make himſelf abominable to God with the leaſt Sin, ſuch as eating the leaſt forbidden thing, as *a creeping thing* (*n*), as it was under the Law; ſo a Man doth by willingly receiving the leaſt Error, or willingly forſaking the leaſt known Truth: See how earneſt the Apoſtle is, in diſſuading from receiving an Error, which of all Errors they ſhould receive, ſeemed the leaſt dangerous, as about the *Day of Chriſt's being at hand* (*o*): To receive any Thing as divine Truth which God hath not taught us, though it carries never ſo good a Shew of Piety and Devotion, is certainly a very dangerous Thing, elſe the Apoſtle would not have been in this Caſe ſo earneſt as he is, in that inſtanced already out of the ſecond of *Galatians*, about eating and drinking with *Gentiles*, we ſee how ſteady is St. *Paul*, that *he would give no Place by Subjection, no not for an Hour*, Ver. 5. If ſome Politicians had then been to confer with him, they would have ſaid, Alas! *Paul*, why art thou ſo obſtinate and peeviſh in ſuch a Trifle! *Circumciſion is nothing, and Uncircumciſion is nothing, as thou hath taught* (*p*). But he gives this Reaſon why he was ſo reſolute in oppoſing an Error of that Nature, *That the Truth of the Goſpel might continue with you.*

Theſe Things being thus made out, is it not a ſad Thing? That we have amongſt us, Men that were, and now if they could, would as much as ever, be preſſing for the Execution of thoſe Laws, whereby they may trouble any of their Brethren: And as *David* ſaith (*q*), *They deviſe deceitful Matters againſt them that are quiet in the Land:* They are glad when they have the leaſt Colour of Law to juſtify any of their unwarrantable Practices againſt thoſe who diſſent from them; but they do not regard good Laws for the Glory of God, as thoſe we have for the due Obſervation of the Sabbath, and againſt Swearing, Drunkenneſs and Uncleanneſs, *&c.* theſe they look upon as not worth being taken notice of by them: That Sort of Men, far from adviſing and promoting a neceſſary Reformation of Abuſes in Religion, according to the Word of God (the only Rule for ſuch Things) though it was their Duty; they hindered and oppoſed it, and perſecuted them that were for it, ſlandering them with the Names of Fanatics, Schiſmatics, Obſtinate, Factious: And not ſatisfied with this meerly for Non-conformity, which is properly upon the Account of Conſcience and Religion, they deprived Miniſters not only of the public Exerciſe of their Office, but alſo of doing it in private, as in the Capacity of Chaplains, Schoolmaſters, Tutors; and when they met in private to ſerve God, though they prayed for the Government, they were fined, turned into Priſon, where ſome died; and many more things of that Nature were acted, whilſt Papiſts, our common Enemies, who by theſe means were ſince in a fair way to have ruined

us

(*l*) *Luke* xvi. 17.
(*m*) *Pſalm* cxix. 128.
(*n*) *Levit* xi. 43.
(*o*) 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 1, 2, 3.
(*p*) 1 *Cor.* vii. 19.
(*q*) *Pſalm* xxxv. 20.

us all, enjoyed Peace, and might hear Mass without Disturbance, except some times for a Shew.

I am not so much out of Charity with all those who had an hand in the Persecution at that time carried on, as to believe, but that some were not so acted by an inconsiderate Zeal, but that they knew better than they seemed to do; it did not consist with the Lights they had, to approve of every thing they did or saw done; the former Principles of some of them were too much contrary to their then present Practices, but that sometimes they must needs have had Checks of Conscience: And now there are some alive, who once were against offering Violence about Matters of Ceremonies, who if God had not by an Act of Indulgence and Liberty provided against it, now they are upon the Stage of another side, would be as forward as most to renew and prosecute former Courses: So far doth Interest sway with some Men, when over-ruled by it, they know better than what they do, or would do: What else is this, than to speak in St. *Paul*'s words, *To hold the Truth of God in Unrighteousness* (*r*).

All such persecuting Men I may compare to some, who, being upon a Journey, instead of mending and going on their Way, fall out with, beat and abuse their Fellow-Travellers in Words and Deeds: And though I love not to renew the Memory of these sad Divisions and Miscarriages, yet they cannot so soon be out of mind: We meet from Brethren with the like Usage as the Children of *Israel* did from *Pharaoh*, *Ye are idle, ye are idle, therefore ye say, let us go and do Sacrifice to the Lord* (*s*): Ye talk of Reformation, go and conform, not to the Gospel, but to the Canon and Ceremonies of the Church, as by Law established: How have they who spoke for it been traduced as Innovators, Disturbers of, and Enemies to Church and State: Such was the Lot of the first Reformers from Popery; there hath been and there still are those who hate the very Name of Reformation; it hath commonly been the Custom of the Enemies of God's People, to pick out a Ground of Quarrel, and to engage the superior Powers against them; the Occasion is, either Religion, or State; or both. The Prophet *Elijah* (*t*) is by *Ahab* called *he that troubleth Israel*, and his Enemy; *Hath thou found me O mine Enemy* (*u*), that is, to Kings: In the case of *Daniel* (*x*), *We shall find no occasion against this* Daniel, *except we find it against him concerning the Law of his God*, said the Princes of *Media*: And then caused the King to make this Decree mentioned in the Place (*y*). Thus sometimes *Mischief is framed by a Law*: Wicked Men and Persecutors, do prosecute their Designs under Notions different from the Truth: Thus the *Jews* not only called our blessed Saviour a *Friend to Sinners*, a *Samaritan* who had a Devil, but also accused him before *Pilate* (*z*), of *having by them been found a Fellow perverting the Nation, forbidding to give Tribute to* Cæsar, *and calling himself a King*. And he was crucified not as the Son of God, but as an Enemy to *Cæsar*, and *as a Malefactor* (*a*); St. *Paul* was prosecuted not as a Man who had *lived* (*b*) *in all good Conscience before God until the Day he was brought before the Council* (*c*); and

(*r*) *Rom.* i. 18.
(*s*) *Exod.* v 17.
(*t*) 1 *Kings* xviii. 17.
(*u*) Chap. xxi. 20.
(*x*) *Dan.* vi. 5, 7.
(*y*) *Psalm* xciv. 20.
(*z*) *Luke* xxiii. 2.
(*a*) *John* xvii. 20.
(*b*) *Acts* xxiii. 1.
(*c*) *Phil.* iii. 6.

and not *as touching the Righteousness which is in the Law, blameless (d)*, but as one who *taught all Men every where against the People, against the Law*, and the Temple; and as a *pestilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition amongst all the* Jews *throughout the World (e)*; one who had *prophaned the Temple:* An odious Charge indeed, but false as that of *Heresy*, which he clears himself from.

Such false Aspersions and evil Practices should be left for the Father of Lies, the Slanderer, and for his Children: But let those who profess themselves Christians, study to be such indeed, and put on Bowels of Charity, laying aside all Malice, Anger, Divisions, which so much discredit our holy Religion, and give our Adversaries very great Advantage. In God's Name, and for the Sake of the Lord *Jesus*, let all former Animosities and Miscarriages be forgotten and forgiven; and let Men put to themselves this Question, *What fruit had ye then in those Things, whereof ye are now*, or ought to be, *ashamed (f)*; and let all and every one in their Station join Hearts and Hands to carry on a thorough Reformation where it is wanting; and therein let the Word of God be our Rule, *nothing of human Invention, Wilfulness, Passion*, Prejudice or Self-ends, in the carrying it on.

To lay such a Stress upon their *As by Law established*, is no great Commendation for a Church, and the Religion it doth profess; it is not good to stand too much upon it, the Stamp of any human Laws makes it never the better: Christian Religion was not a jot the worse for not being by Law established in the Apostles Time; nor afterwards in the Time of Persecution under the *Roman* Emperors; neither was the Heathenish Religion, or rather Idolatry, the better, for being then by Law established: Neither is the Protestant Religion the worse, in those Popish Countries, were it is not setled by Law; nor the Popish the better for being so settled. This Argument used here against Dissenters, is the same as was by Papists at the Beginning of Reformation, and by *Jews* against Primitive Christians: It is not any human Authority that can make any Religion either better or worse; and Dissenters may not be called Upstarts or Innovators, for from the very Beginning of Reformation, we found those who wished for a thorough Reformation in Worship, as well as Doctrine, according to the Purity of the Gospel, whence they were called *Puritans*; and declared against retaining of those Ceremonies, which ever since were the Occasion of Dispute and Division. I hope here we do not set up for a Catholic infallible Church, and that the Words *Church as by Law established*, are not an Equivalent to it; such a Doctrine is proper for a Church of *Rome*, but not any Reformed Church: We know this was the Exception against St. *Paul, This Fellow perswadeth Men to worship God contrary to the Law (g):* Yet the Apostle was in the right, and they in the wrong; as well as those others, who called him and *Silas*, Disturbers of the public Peace, *Those who have turned the World upside down come hither also (h)*.

Our Reformation at first was good, but in this World nothing so good, but it may admit of some additional Degree of Goodness and Perfection; commonly the best Things do not come all at once, but by Degrees: As to our Reformation,

(*d*) *Acts* xxi. 28.
(*e*) *Acts* xxiv. 5, 6, 14.
(*f*) *Rom.* vi. 21.
(*g*) *Acts* xviii. 13.
(*h*) *Acts* xvii. 6.

tion, we may say as *Jehoshaphat*, *He did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord* (*i*): *Howbeit the high Places were not taken away*; *for the People had not yet prepared their Hearts unto the God of their Fathers.* Still something was wanting, which was supplied by *Hezekiah*, for then the *high Places were thrown down* (*k*). The like Brand was by the Spirit of God put upon *Jehoshaphat*'s Father's Reign, King *Asa*, who did many good Things; and *his Heart was perfect all his Days*, *but the high Places were not taken away* (*l*): We ought at last to throw them down, we are seriously and earnestly exhorted to remove that Idol of Jealousy set up in the House of God, I mean particularly bringing a dead Man into the Church upon the Thirtieth of *January*: We know *Michael the Archangel contended with the Devil about the Body of* Moses (*m*), which we would have set up to be worshipped, to have been an Occasion of Idolatry before the People, which Men, especially the ignorant, are naturally inclined to. We must spiritualize Things of Religion and of Worship; let that Saying of St. *Paul* be seriously considered and thought upon, *Wherefore henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh* (*n*); *yea*, *though we have known* Christ *after the Flesh*, *yet now henceforth know we him no more*; that he is, in that manner after the Flesh.

Many of the Ceremonies imposed upon the *Jews*, were, as we may say, a Punishmeet inflicted upon them, for it was only after the Commission of the Sin of the golden Calf, that God laid upon them that heavy and troublesome Yoke. To employ all their Time thus, it seemeth not to have been at first God's Intention, to lay upon them such a Number of Ceremonies; and the Disputes that in the Apostles Time did arise about them, were all about *Jewish* Ceremonies, which had been of divine Institution; but those we contend against, have no such thing to plead for, they are all human Inventions, abominably abused by Papists, and some heathenish Customs we still retain amongst us, which were better left off than continued: As for us in general, we ought to purge that old Leven of unnecessary Ceremonies, a Relic of Popery, which some of our ancient Reformers wished had been laid aside, as appears by Letters to *Bullinger*, still to be seen at *Zurick*, from Bishop *Jewell*, and others. But the Queen was, upon Suggestion, so bent upon retaining some, to draw Papists to our Churches, that it could not be effected; so that it was but a mixed Reformation, Part evangelical in Doctrine, and in Part politic in Worship and Discipline. And that some Policy which was intended to bring Papists to us, hath been very near drawing us back to Popery. So little pleased is God, that in Matters of Religion, and of his Service, we should bring Rules and Measures of our human Wisdom, or rather Foolishness: Yet several amongst us, the more the pity, are gone back so far towards Popery, that they hate not only the Thing, but the very Name of Reformation, as I said before; and no thorough-paced Papist can speak worse of *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, *Martyr*, *Bucer*, *Beza*, and others, then they do; though they were eminent Instruments in the Hands of God, whose Labours he blessed, to bring us out of the Ignorance, Error, Darkness, Idolatry and Superstition of *Rome*. Nay, we shall have those

(*i*) 2 *Chron.* xx. 32, 33.
(*k*) 2 *Chron.* xxxi. 1.
(*l*) 2 *Chron.* xv. 16, 17.
(*m*) *Jude* 9.
(*n*) 2 *Cor.* v. 16.

those Protestants, or so called, and not few, who openly declare, they had rather join with Popery, than with any other Reformed Church, besides ours, as by Law established. But certainly they who talk on at that rate, do not know what Popery is, and what other Reformed Churches are, or else all Religions are indifferent to them. Some of our Clergy have been heard to express themselves to be of that Mind; but it is no wonder, they are so well inclined towards *Rome*, for being acted by an ambitious and domineering Spirit, that Religion suits better with it, it tying People to an implicit Faith, and blind Obedience, gives them a full and absolute Power over the Souls and Consciences of Men. But let them not be mistaken, who not being content with a Ministerial are aspiring to a Magisterial Power; God made the whole Man, and the whole Man he will have: Have a care not to usurp upon God's Right: And to apply this to the Subject in hand, as there is a two-fold Worship of God, so there is a double Idolatry and Superstition committed against it, the one inward, when we forge in our Heads strange and corrupt Notions of God, such as we would have him to be: The outward is, not only when we transfer the outward Worship upon the Creature, but also when we defile it with our Lies and Inventions; both are evil, both are to be avoided and extirpated out of any Place they are crept into: God complains, *Their Fear towards me is taught by the Precepts of Men* (*o*). And *in vain do they worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men* (*p*).

We say, we have given the Church of *Rome* a Bill of Divorce, and have broken all Communication with her, since our Laws make it Treason to be reconciled to her: We ought then to leave off any thing that can lead us back that way; we know Idolatry and Superstition we charge them with, and this they are guilty of in their exorbitant Honours they give to Creatures, especially dead Men, who are their Saints and Martyrs, at least they make them so. And we, with making Saints and Martyrs, and appointing them Days and Service to be read, do not we go to them? At least, just upon their Borders: Let us not deceive ourselves; it is not enough to cut off the Blossoms, Fruits and Boughs, unless we also cut off the Roots, for they will bud and grow again, and the sooner done the better. If our Reformation had been altogether according to the Rules of the Gospel, and nothing of human Policy mixed with it, it had gone farther and lasted longer; we would not have seen new Imposthumes of the old Stock breaking out; no Dignity or Brightness of any Creature ought upon such an Occasion to dazzle our Eyes: Herein no Kings, no Fathers, no Councils, no Bishops must have the Preheminence, that is, the Prerogative of holy Scriptures: The Word of God is the infallible Rule to go by, and good Kings, as *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, raised of God to reform, ever began their Reigns with Reformation of Abuses in Religion. This was to answer the End wherefore God had set them upon the Throne; and it is to be hoped their present Majesties will remember, in due time, by a Reformation, to promote the Honour and Service of the great God, by whom Kings reign, *who pulleth down one and setteth up another* (*q*). Many a good Soul hath for these several Years been wishing for it, for the Glory of God,

(*o*) *Isa.* xxix. 13. (*q*) *Psalm* lxxv. 7.
(*p*) *Mat.* xv. 9.

the Good of his Church, Happineſs of the Nation; and only according to the Rule of his holy Word. Now to effect it, all that Man can ſay is in vain, except God be pleaſed to influence upon the Minds and Hearts of Men in Power to do it. Now, as he did upon the good Kings but newly mentioned, we hope our new worthy Prelates will lay it to Heart, and in their Station promote it.

Let this longed-for Reformation be about Doctrine, where it needs in Worſhip and Practice; let it begin at the Houſe of God; let us have good Examples out of it; *Let his Prieſts be cloathed with Righteouſneſs* (*r*); let the Governors and all the People follow and reform in Life and Converſation; and *Let every one that nameth the Name of* Chriſt *depart from Iniquity* (*s*). After this there will be good ground to hope for a good Succeſs in War; and we ſhall be a Nation in whom God will delight, when we are purged of our Droſs; then there will be Peace and Plenty within, Honour and Safety round about, and God will humble our Enemies abroad.

To bring this good Work to an happy End, Prejudices about controverted Matters muſt be laid aſide, Stumbling-blocks removed, the Veil rent, the Partition-wall pulled down, that we may go all together into the Houſe of God, join in his Worſhip, and make but one Sheep-fold. And let this be taken notice of, that amongſt the Diſſenters from the Church, who own and have a Miniſtry by way of Office, who adminiſter both Sacraments, and are for Order and Government in the Church, there is nothing whereby thoſe who are called Church men may juſtly be offended: But in the Church by Law eſtabliſhed, there are ſeveral things which Diſſenters think they have cauſe to except againſt. So that the Ground of Church-men diſliking Non-conformity is negative, that is, They have not and do not act that which they would have them to do and have: But the Ground of Diſſenters not liking Church-men's Practice is poſitive, that is, They do and have things which they think they ought not to do nor to have. And this is the State of the Queſtion between Proteſtants and Papiſts, for theſe do believe all we do believe, but we do not believe all what they believe.

I ſhall not ſay much about the Matters in Diſpute, ſo many Things having already been ſaid and written about it; only ſhall in few Words modeſtly lay down ſome reaſonable Grounds of an Agreement and Union. Firſt, As to the Common-Prayer Book under two Notions: Firſt, As to the Matter of it: Second, As to the Manner of uſing it. As to the Matter, out of it a good Liturgy could be made, taking away many ſuperfluous Repetitions, and altering ſeveral Expreſſions, dubious, dangerous, or otherwiſe liable to juſt Exceptions: There is ſome Gold, I mean good Things, but they muſt own there is alſo Droſs, which ought to be purged. What theſe things are, hath been ſaid and named at many and ſeveral Times; though we have ſome amongſt us, who out of Ignorance and Obſtinacy, take the Prayer-Book to be of an equal Authority with the Holy Bible; and that to read, and hear it read at the appointed Times, is ſufficient Performance of Chriſtian Duty. Nay, (*t*) one of ſome Note hath written, That all the Wit of Angels and Men can find no Fault with it.

(*r*) *Pſalm* cxxxii. 9.
(*s*) 2 *Tim.* ii. 19.
(*t*) *Abbot* againſt Church-Forſakers.

it. A bold Assertion, too positive for any human Book. Several other things in that kind, which I omit, have been said by others, not willing to press too far upon the Subject; and I think there is enough said by the bye, upon the Matter of the Common-Prayer Book, only I add, that the Preference therein given to the Apocrypha, before some Places of the Canonical to be read when the others are to be left out, is not at all to be approved: Several Exceptions are taken against the Order and Distribution of several Parts of the Book, out of several lame and maimed Parcels of Scriptures, as three or four Verses of one Chapter, as many of another; especially in most Places the leaving out that excellent and comfortable Clause of the Lord's Prayer, *For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory*, which in us raises Hopes and Confidence of being heard, and that God will give us what we ask him in the six Petitions: First, Because he is our King: Now a King grants the just Petitions of his Subjects. Secondly, Because he is able to give us what we ask, according to *Christ*'s Direction: And Thirdly, Because what we ask is for his Glory. Then dividing the Matter of the Prayer-Book into Gospels, Epistles, Collects or Prayers, is after the Pattern of Popish Missals and Rituals, and clear out of the way of Liturgies of all Reformed Churches. Secondly, Several Things are said against the Manner of using it, as in a certain Tone or Singing-way (which is the Popish) of the very Prayers in Cathedrals. Then as to the Place, some at the Middle of the Church, others by the Altar; as if there was in the Church one Place holier than the other; or that God will hear us there better than here. Then as to the Posture, sometimes sitting, then standing, as if the Epistle was not the Word of God, as much to be heard with a Reverence (if standing be a more reverend Posture than sitting) as the Gospel being both the Word of God: Nay, Gospel is made different from Gospel; for in the first Lesson, a whole Chapter being read, People sit, but at the second Lesson, when few Verses of a Chapter of the Gospel are read, then every one stands up: Herein is too much of Formality, and I could almost say, too mimical for Christian Reformed Churches. Thus the Liturgy ought to be mended, so to be imposed, as not to exclude extemporary Prayers of Ministers.

As to the formal Ties, called Church Ceremonies, they ought wholly to be abolished, as introducing Superstition under the Name of Decency, and being contrary to Christian Liberty: Such is the Use of Surplice, so abominably abused in the Church of *Rome*, where it is thought necessary, when they perform their idolatrous Worship of the Mass, at the very Act of Idolatry; and some amongst us have been so superstitiously inclined, as to say Angels have appeared in it: But let them look how they can prove out of Scripture, that the (*u*) *Angels Raiment as white as Snow*; (*x*) *that the long white Garment*; (*y*) and *the shining Garments of the two Men*, were a Surplice. And to say as some do, That that Colour is a Sign of Purity and Candour, which is of it to make a Sacrament. I would have those who are so much for the Surplice, to remember, how fine Linen, as well as Purple and Scarlet, is reckoned among the Merchandise of *Babylon* (*z*). As to the *Sign of the Cross in Baptism*, it is an Addition to the Sacrament.

(*u*) *Mat.* xxviii. 3.
(*x*) *Mark.* xvi. 5.
(*y*) *Luke* xxiv. 4.
(*z*) *Rev.* xviii. 12.

crament. None but he who hath right to inſtitute Sacraments, may make any Addition, Diminution or Alteration thereunto, without Impiety, or committing Sacrilege: And it were to have a mean Opinion of the Lord *Jeſus*'s divine Wiſdom, to think he left with his Church an imperfect Ordnance in the Inſtitution; and none may inſtitute Sacraments, but he that can beſtow the Graces thereby ſignified.

Bowing towards the Alter,] For ſo ſome call improperly the Communion-Table, as the Miniſter (a Prieſt) is very unfit for Proteſtants and reformed Chriſtians, when Papiſts, from whom it is derived, do it: It is according to their Principle, they believe *Tranſubſtantiation* to be made upon ſuch Places, and therefore they give them ſuch Signs of religious Worſhip: But it is very odd for us ſo to do, who do not believe one Place in the Church to be holier than the other: And what need in Cathedrals, and ſome Chappels, of Candleſticks, and unlighted Candles upon the Altars in the Day-time. As for *bowing at the Name of Jeſus*, it is of the ſame Stamp: Sometimes God may happen to ſay to thoſe who are ſo fond of thoſe Will-worſhip Ceremonies; *who hath required this at your Hands (z)*: And to uphold this Practice, they muſt pull it over Head and Shoulders, out of the Text of the Epiſtle to the *Philippians (a)*. I do not ſo much wonder, that Papiſts who ſeldom make uſe of Scriptures, but to wreſt them, would make uſe of the Place. But for Proteſtants who pretend and ought to know better, I admire they would make uſe of it: It is plain the Text is not literally to be underſtood, or elſe Men ſhould bow at the Name of *Jeſus* Son of *Nun*, or of the Son of *Sirach*, or of *Jeſus* called *Juſtus*; then it is ſaid the Knee not the Head: Then there is no Knees in Heaven, nor none that can bow under the Earth: It is there ſpoken of an Honour due to the Divinity, Perſon, Attributes and Works, eſpecially as he is our Redeemer and Saviour, which is ſignified by the Name of *Jeſus*; and if we muſt kneel or bow when we hear that Name, the like muſt be done when we ſee it written. The Apoſtle doth not mean the Letters of the Name, but a moſt humble Submiſſion and Obedience, with a giving Praiſe and Glory to the Perſon and Commands of the Lord *Jeſus*.

As to kneeling at the Sacrament: I know there muſt be a Poſture, that of the Time of Inſtitution, or as near it as may be, muſt be uſed; ſeveral proteſtant Churches have different Poſtures when they receive it; and a Care ought to be had of avoiding Superſtition, and keeping as far as we can from Appearances of Idolatry. I confeſs, I would not for all the World, if ever beyond Seas, where Papiſts are in a full Liberty, and where Proteſtants receive it not on their Knees; I ſay I would not, becauſe my Conſcience would not give me leave, receive it kneeling, which is a Poſture of Adoration, for fear it were thought I partake of their Idolatry in Worſhipping a Piece of Bread for the true natural Body, now ſitting at the right Hand of the Father, which Thing I abhor more than Death itſelf. But here, though with a ſafe and even Conſcience I could receive it kneeling, yet may be another could not; muſt my Will and Practice be the Rule of another Man's Will and Practice: Every one is bound to ſeek for the beſt Information he can have; but when all is done every one's

(z) *Iſaiah* i. 12. (a) vi. 2, 10.

one's Conſcience muſt be the Judge of what he doth in indifferent Things, that is, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Word of God: And the true chriſtian Prudence is to leave ſuch Things at Liberty, and adminiſter it to thoſe ſitting or ſtanding, who make ſcruple to receive it kneeling; for it is no Rule of Charity or Chriſtianity, for the Sake of Uniformity, to break Unity and the Bond of Peace: And Miniſters ought to have a great Care, not to become Inſtruments of Damnation to any; for they who receive kneeling, and doubting, as St. *Paul* ſaith, (*b*) *are damned.* Such Practices muſt be left for the wicked Communion of *Rome*, which with Fears, Threatnings, Sword, Fire, and every violent Way, forces People to do Things contrary to their Conſcience; as of late in an high Degree it was practiſed in a neighbouring Nation; and for what they did they gave this Reaſon, we know they muſt be damned, and as good they ſhould be ſo within our Church as out of it: Let them come in and believe what they pleaſe.

Indeed a great Evil there is amongſt us, that the Poſture of receiving the holy Sacrament, an Ordnance of God to ſeal the Pardon of our Sins, and ſtrengthen our Faith, is made Uſe of for a Trial of thoſe who are qualified for worldly Employments, to turn it to temporal Ends, is an unaccountable Prophaneneſs of that holy Inſtitution: And though without ſuch a bye Conſideration I could receive it kneeling, I declare if I ſhould receive in that Manner, upon the Account of ſuch a Trial, I could not avoid believing I had eaten and drank my Damnation.

All foreſaid Lets and Hindrances being laid aſide, and a bleſſed Reformation of all Abuſes ſet a-foot, and by every one in their ſeveral Stations carried on, then upon good Grounds, we might hope for Peace grounded upon Truth, and for an happy Succeſs; eſpecially if in our different Capacities, we would propoſe to ourſelves the Glory of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the Good and Advantage of Church and Country: The good Laws we have to encourage Piety and Virtue, and to diſcountenance and puniſh Ungodlineſs, Vice, and every unjuſt and ſinful Practice, being renewed, put in Execution, and if any Thing therein wanting, ſupplied with new ones, good Inſtructions, good Examples, good Rules in Families, and Care taken by Parents and Maſters to ſee them well obſerved; this would take away evil and curſed Things from amongſt us. The Prudence of Officers in Church and State, ſhould remedy old Inconveniencies, and as much as it is poſſible endeavour to prevent new ones: Amongſt the old ones I ſhall name a very palpable one, which concerns both Church and State, and hath been and is every Day, cauſe of Grievance and great Inconveniencies, and as much as any, deſtructive of common Society, it is clandeſtine Marriages, ſtealing and trepanning young People into Marriages, without Advice or Conſent of Friends, which as yet the Wiſdom of our Law-givers hath found no effectual Courſe to prevent, though daily Complaints have at ſeveral Times put them upon conſulting about it. He who ſteals my Goods ſhall be hanged, and he who ſteals my Child ſhall go free: And if once they be married according to the Practice of the Church, though by Reaſon of young Age, and other Conſiderations, unable to bind themſelves

(*b*) *Rom.* xiv. 23.

themſelves with ſuch a Tie. What is in Part or chiefly the Cauſe of this, is the Abuſe of ſelling Bonds of Matrimony, the Diſhoneſty and Covetouſneſs of a Miniſter, to get ſome few Guineas: And privileged Places, by Law or Cuſtom, whereof there are too many in and about the City; there People are married in Secret, let the Diſparity, Inconveniency, Tricks and Cheats be never ſo great, ſo viſible, or ſo many; which to prevent it, requires the Prudence, Study and Authority of both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Powers.

The Natural Hiſtory of Superſtition.

Sic plerumque agitat ſtultos inſcitia veri, &
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit:
Ille ſiniſtrorſum, hic deorſum abit, unus utrique
Error, ſed variis illudit partibus omnes.

Atheiſm *leaves Men to Senſe, to Philoſophy, to Laws, to Reputation, all which may be Guides to moral Virtue, tho' Religion were not; but Superſtition diſmounts all theſe, and erects an abſolute Monarchy in the Minds of Men: therefore,* Atheiſm *did never perturb States; but Superſtition hath been the Confuſion of many. The Cauſes of Superſtition are pleaſing and ſenſual Rites and Ceremonies, Exceſs of Phariſaical and outſide Holineſs, Reverence to Traditions, and the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre.* Lord Bacon.

IF any Man ſurveys and contemplates the viſible World, the great and glorious Body of the Sun, many thouſand times bigger than the Earth, its immenſe Diſtance from us, this Globe on which we live, and numerous other Planets moving about it, and receiving vital Warmth and Nouriſhment from its Beams; if he purſues and aggrandizes this Idea, by conſidering the much greater Diſtance and Magnitude of the fixt Stars, in all probability ſo many Suns, with each their particular Syſtem of Worlds, and Inhabitants, and the frequent Diſcovery of new Ones, by the Invention of better Glaſſes and Teleſcopes; how muſt he admire and adore the Power of God, who has given Being and Motion to ſuch vaſt Machines, created them of ſuch Figure and Magnitude, diſpoſed them in ſuch Order, placed them at ſuch Diſtances, gave them ſuch proper and ſuitable Motions as oblige them to perform the regular and ordinary Purpoſes of his Providence, without the conſtant and momentary Interpoſition of his Power.

Nor is it leſs conſpicuous in the Formation of inferior Animals, in this little Part of the World in which we live, whoſe Parts are ſo adapted, and diſpoſed by his all-wiſe Providence, as by the Neceſſity of their own Natures to perform the Functions and Operations of their Beings: Hence we ſee that univerſal Harmony in all Creatures of the ſame Species; they have the ſame Hopes and Deſires, the ſame Fears and Averſions; ſome Kinds have intrepid Courage, others pannic Fears; Nature directs ſome to Force and Violence, others to Flight and

and Cunning; ſome prey upon Fleſh, ſome live upon Fruits and Seeds, others upon Graſs and Vegetables; Birds of the ſame kind build their Neſts with the ſame Contrivance, and the ſame Materials; all Creatures of the ſame Kind defend themſelves with the ſame Addreſs and Cunning, and are caught and trapanned by the ſame Wiles and Artifices and generate others like them, as naturally and neceſſarily as a Tree or Vegetable is produced from its Seed, with ſome little Difference in Individuals, owing probably to the Circumſtances of Soil, Food, peculiar Accidents, or ſomething perhaps particular in the Formation of each Syſtem.

His Partiality to Mankind has not hindered him from forming our Bodies in the ſame Manner and of the ſame Materials; he has given us the ſame Springs of vital Motion, the ſame Nerves, Tendons, Veins and Arteries, the like Diſpoſition and Organization of our Brains, and conſequently the like Faculties of Seeing, Feeling, Hearing, Taſting and Smelling, the ſame Senſations of Pleaſure and Pain, alike Deſires and Averſions, alike Hopes and Fears; we have the ſame Way of coming into the World, and the ſame Ways of going out of it. Nor can it be denied that in many Reſpects we are excelled by inferiour Creatures in the Organization of our Bodies, as ſome are ſtronger, others more active, ſome bolder, others of longer Continuance; moſt kinds ſurpaſs us in the Acuteneſs of one or more of our Senſes, and ſome in all of them.

But we have ample amends made us in the Faculties of our Souls, which makes it evident we were deſigned for nobler Uſes; for whereas other Animals appear to have no Thougbts or Deſires above their quotidian Food, Eaſe, Diverſions or Luſts; Men have viſibly larger and more extenſive Views, as not only from the ordinary and regular Syſtem of the Univerſe, to carry their Minds to their great Creator, but to infer from thence the Duty and Obedience owing to him, and the Juſtice, Compaſſion, Love and Aſſiſtance owing to one another. And ſince the Defect and Narrowneſs of our natural Capacities has left us in the Dark about a future State, his abundant Goodneſs has amply ſupplied the Shortneſs of our Knowledge with divine Revelation, and has diſcovered and annexed a State of immortal Happineſs to the natural Rewards attending a juſt and virtuous Life.

But as there is no Perfection in this frail State, nor any Excellency without ſome Defect accompanying it, ſo theſe noble Faculties of the Mind have miſled and betrayed us into Superſtition, as appears in that, notwithſtanding we are abundantly cautioned not to miſtake the Impoſtures of pretended Prophets, the Frauds of Prieſts, and the Dreams and Viſions of Enthuſiaſts for heavenly Revelations, and our own Infirmities and panic Fears for divine Impulſes, yet the Fables of the Heathens, the Alcoran of *Mahomet*, the more groſs and impious Forgeries of the Papiſts, and the Frauds and Follies of ſome who call themſelves Proteſtants, have ſo far prevailed over genuine Chriſtianity, that the Righteous and Faithful are but like *the Gold to the Earth*, which could not have thus happened in all Ages, unleſs ſomething innate in our Conſtitution made us eaſily to be ſuſceptible of wrong Impreſſions, ſubject to panic Fears, and prone to Superſtition and Error, and therefore it is incumbent upon us, firſt of all to examine into the Frame and Conſtitution of our own Bodies, and ſearch into the

Cauſes

Cauſes of our Paſſions and Infirmities, for till we know from what Source or Principle we are ſo apt to be deceived by others, and by ourſelves, we can never be capable of true Knowledge, much leſs of true Religion, which is the Perfection of it.

I take this wholly to proceed from our Ignorance of Cauſes, and yet Curioſity to know them, it being impoſſible for any Man ſo far to diveſt himſelf of Concern for his own Happineſs, as not to endeavour to promote it, and conſequently to avoid what he thinks may hurt him; and ſince there muſt be Cauſes in Nature for every Thing that does or will happen, either here or hereafter, it is hard to avoid Sollicitude till we think we know them, and therefore ſince the divine Providence has for the moſt Part hid the Cauſes of Things, which chiefly concern us from our View, we muſt either entirely abandon the Enquiry, or ſubſtitute ſuch in their Room, as our own Imaginations or Prejudices ſuggeſt to us, or take the Words of others, whom we think wiſer than ourſelves, and as we believe have no Intent to deceive us.

To theſe Weakneſſes of our own, and Frauds of others, we owe the heathen Gods and Goddeſſes, Oracles and Prophets, Nymphs and Satyrs, Fawns and Tritons, Furies and Demons, moſt of the Stories of Conjurers and Witches, Spirits and Apparitions, Fairies and Hobgoblins, the Doctrine of Prognoſtics, the numerous Ways of Divination, *viz.* Oniromancy, Sideromancy, Tephranomancy, Botonomancy, Crommyomancy, Cleromancy, Aeromancy, Onomatomancy, Arithmomancy, Geomancy, Alectryomancy, Cephalomancy, Axinomancy, Coſcinomancy, Hydromancy, Onychomancy, Dactylomancy, Chriſtallomancy, Cataptromancy, Gaſtromancy, Lecanomancy, Alphitomancy, Chiromancy, Orneomancy and Necromancy, Horoſcopy, Aſtrology and Augury, Metopoſcopy and Palmiſtry, the Fear of Eclipſes, Comets, Meteors, Earthquakes, Inundations, and any uncommon Appearances, though ever ſo much depending upon natural and neceſſary Cauſes, nor are there wanting People otherwiſe of good Underſtanding, who are affected with the falling of a Salt-ſeller, croſſing of a Hare, croaking of a Raven, howling of Dogs, ſcreaching of Owls, the Motion of Worms in a Bedſtead, miſtaken for Death-Watches, and other as ſenſeleſs and trifling Accidents.

It is this Ignorance of Cauſes, *&c.* ſubjects us to miſtake the Phantaſms and Images of our own Brains (which have no Exiſtence any where elſe) for real Beings, and ſubſiſting without us, as in Dreams where we ſee Perſons and Things, feel Pain and Pleaſure, form Deſigns, hear and make Diſcourſes, and ſometimes the Objects are repreſented ſo lively to our Fancies, and the Impreſſion ſo ſtrong, that it would be hard to diſtinguiſh them from Realities, if we did not find ourſelves in Bed.

But if a melancholy Man, ſitting by himſelf in a doleful Mood, with his Brains brooding upon Viſions and Revelations; ſhould careleſly nod himſelf half a Sleep, and his Imagination having received a vigorous Repreſentation of an Angel delivering a Meſſage to him, ſhould wake in a Surprize, without having obſerved his own Sleeping (as often happens) I cannot ſee how he ſhould diſtinguiſh it from a divine Viſion.

There have been ſurprizing Inſtances of this Kind, in extatic Fits and Trances, which are but ſounder Sleeps, that cauſe more lively and intenſe Dreams:

Dreams: Some in these Delirium's have fancied their Souls to have been transported to Heaven or Hell, to have had personal Communication with God and the holy Trinity, have given Descriptions of the Angels and their Habitations, and brought back Messages, Prophesies and Instructions to Mankind, which Phœnomena's, however strange at first Sight, are easily to be accounted for by natural Causes, for the Ideas and Operations of our Minds being evidently produced, by the Agitations and Motions of the internal Parts of our own Bodies, and Impressions heretofore made on them, as well as the Actions of Objects without us (which will be made appear in the Sequel of this Discourse.) It must necessarily happen when the Organs of Sense (which are the Avenues and Doors to let in external Objects) are shut and locked up by Sleep, Distempers, or strong Prejudices, that the Imaginations produced from inward Causes, must reign without any Rival, for the Images within us striking strongly upon, and affecting the Brain, Spirits, or Organ, where the imaginative Faculty resides, and all Objects from without, being wholly, or in a great Measure shut out and excluded, so as to give no Information or Assistance we must unavoidably submit to an Evidence which meets with no Contradiction, and takes things to be as they appear.

I conceive that *Ignis Fatuus* of the Mind, which the Visionaries in all Ages, have called the inward Light, and leads all that have followed it into Pools and Ditches, to be like what is before described: For by their own Description it is only to be attained by renouncing the Senses, and all the intellectual Faculties, and wholly sequestring their Thoughts from worldly and material Objects, by which Elevation of Mind, they arrive to a more close and intimate Union with God, have internal Communication with him, and by immediate Motions and Inspirations learn all Truths, and whatever is necessary to be done. This is what Men of vulgar Notions, call *sending their Wits for a Venture*, and indeed is but a waking Dream, for they alike lock up all their outward Senses, which are the only Conduits of Knowledge, and deliver themselves up to the Guidance of wild Fancy, and consequently must be actuated wholly by their several Complexions, Constitutions and Distempers, which often make them *Ixion*-like, embrace their own Clouds and Fogs for Dieties.

The same Visions happen to us, when our Organs are indispos'd by Sickness, and then according to the Nature of our Distempers, we see such Appearances, as our former Prejudices and Education have rendered most dreadful or delightful to us: Sometimes we see Angels and beatific Visions, sometimes Devils with Instruments of Fear and Horror.

The like is common amongst melancholy and hypocondriac Men, who often act in the Government of themselves and Families with Prudence enough, and sometimes have excellent Qualifications in other Respects, and yet a particular Delusion has got such hold of their Fancies, that it is out of the Power of their Friends otherwise to cure them, than by seeming to comply with their Imaginations: One thought his Nose long enough to open Gates; another thought himself a Glass Bottle, and bid People stand out of his way lest they should break him; even the Reverend Dr. *Pelling* believed himself with Child, and could not be convinced to the contrary, till a Midwife pretended to deliver him of a false Conception. Some have conceited themselves to be God the Father,

the Meſſias, the Holy Ghoſt, the Angel *Gabriel*; to be Monarchs, Popes and Emperors; others have fancied themſelves to be Dogs, Cats and Wolves: A Gentleman now living *, has given an Account in Print of his Converſation with Spirits for ſeveral Years together, and cloſes his Account with a Diſtruſt of the Reality of their Converſation with him, though he had ſaid before *they appeared* to him *to be real*. Many Inſtances of this kind are to be found in *Burton*'s *Melancholy*, and more to be ſeen at *Bedlam*.

When the Deluſions are thus apparent they ſerve others for Mirth and Diverſion, and do no harm; but if they happen to Perſons, of whoſe Godlineſs and Wiſdom we have conceived an Opinion, they cannot fail of making ſtrong Impreſſions upon us, eſpecially if their Viſions concur with our Prejudices and natural Fears.

Though true Religion improves the Faculties, exhilerates the Spirits, makes the Mind calm and ſerene, renders us uſeful to Society, and moſt active in the Affairs of the World, yet I don't know how it has happened, that in all Ages and Countries, fanatical, melancholy, enthuſiaſtical, monkiſh, recluſe, ſequeſtered Perſons have paſſed upon the World for religious, ſuch who lived in Cloiſters and Caves or became Pilgrims and Hermits, who ſeeming not to mind the Affairs of this World, were believed to know the more of the next.

As nothing but diſappointed Pride, Indiſpoſition of Body, Diſturbance of Mind, or Dejection of Spirit, can work about this ſtrange Metamorphoſis, ſo it is impoſſible when Men have abandoned the natural Calm and Serenity of their Minds, and diſturbed their Organs with wild Imaginations, but they muſt ſee Viſions both ſleeping and waking; and when they have thus thoroughly impoſed upon themſelves, it will not be difficult to deceive others, for there are ſo many in all Countries, whom Ignorance, Pride, Conceit, ill Habit of Body, melancholy and ſplenetic Tempers, unfortunate Circumſtances, cauſeleſs and ſecret Fears, and a panic Diſpoſition of Mind have prepared for ſuch Impreſſions, that they can never want Followers enough? not to mention ſuch who embrace their Opinions fraudulently, and to ſerve their own Ambition and Profit.

Which of our Senſes does not often deceive us? Our Taſtes and Smell will be quite vitiated; ſtrong Preſſures of the Ears make us hear Noiſes; of the Eyes, ſee Fire; Strangling makes the whole World appear in Flames; the *Jaundice* makes every thing ſeem yellow; *Calentures* make the Sea look like a delightful green Meadow; Things ſtrait in the Water will appear crooked; Mirrours will make Bodies appear where they are not, and magnify, multiply, or leſſen them; Bodies by Refraction will ſeem otherwiſe than they are, and by the Reflection, and due Poſition of Glaſſes, may be made to appear in different Places.

It is evident the Divine Wiſdom hath ſo formed and united our Souls and Bodies, that they mutually act upon one another, inſomuch that there is no Action of the Mind that does not cauſe a correſpondent one in the Body; nor no Motion of the Body, that does not produce a ſuitable Affection in the Mind. The different Paſſions of Love, Hate, Contempt, Shame, Pity, Hope, Deſpair, Admiration, Fear, Courage, Anger, Luſt, *&c.* not only cauſe different Lineaments and Features in the Face, but give different Motions to the Nerves, Muſcles,

* *Beaumont* of Spirits, p. 396.

Muſcles, and every Part of the Body; nor on the other ſide, can the Body receive any Impreſſions in which the Mind has not its Share: Both come into the World together, and are afterwards joint Partners in all the Emergencies of Life: Both increaſe in Youth, decline in Age, are nouriſhed with Food, enlivened with Wine, altered with Weather, refreſhed with Sleep, improved by Exerciſe, fatigued with Labour, oppreſſed with Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, enervated with Sickneſs, and often all the noble Faculties and Operations of the Mind, are quite deſtroyed by the accidental Diſturbance of the Organization of the Body, and ſometimes ſet right again, and recovered by Phyſic or Surgery.

Beſides every thing in Nature is in conſtant Motion, and perpetually emitting Effluviums and minute Particles of its Subſtance, which operate upon, and ſtrike other Bodies. How are we affected with Smells and imperceptible Vapours, which often cauſe Epidemical Diſtempers? Dogs will purſue their Maſters Scent through Crouds of People, and will trace their Steps through a Country, and find their way Home again at a great Diſtance; ſome People will turn pale, and even ſwoon at a Cat's being in the Room; we are often infected with Diſtempers at a Diſtance, the poiſonous Particles floating in the Air are often carried about in the Clothes of Phyſicians, Nurſes and Viſitants. And as Diſtempers are thus cauſed by noxious Effluviums, I ſee no reaſon why in ſome caſes they may not be cured by ſuch as are agreeable and ſalutiferous; *Greatrix* is ſaid to have cured many Diſtempers by his Touch; The *Kings Evil* is often cured by the ſtroaking of a King *rightly anointed*, together with the Help of a vigorous Imagination, which is as unaccountable; ſome at the point of Death have been cured by putting a young vigorous Perſon in the ſame Bed; and it is a common Obſervation, if a healthy and diſeaſed Perſon lie together, one grows better and the other worſe.

Since therefore both Mind and Body are viſibly affected with the Actions of other Beings, and of one another, and wherever we move we are ſurrounded with Bodies, all which in ſome degree operate upon us, it cannot happen in the Variety of Actions and Events in the World, but ſome muſt appear very extraordinary, and will not fall within common Obſervation, which has given opportunity to Men of fraudulent Intention, to impoſe upon the Ignorance and Credulity of others.

How many Nations formerly, and even at this Day, believe Eclipſes and Comets to be ſupernatural, and to denounce the Anger of the Gods? How many miſtake the Stagnation of their own Blood for being Hag-ridden? How many Enthuſiaſts take their own Prejudice and Whimſey for divine Impulſes, and the Struggles of their Reaſon for Temptations of the Devil? How many the Legerdemain and Tricks of Jugglers for Conjuring and Witchcraft? What Frauds may be acted with Glaſſes, ſpeaking Trumpets, Ventriloquies, Ecchoes, Phoſphorus, Magic Lanthorns, *&c*? Mathematicians for many Ages were thought to deal with the Devil, and in our own a dancing Mare was burnt in the Inquiſition of *Portugal*. Formerly Madmen were thought to be Demoniacs, and in ſome Countries at this Day, their Perſons are eſteemed ſacred, and their Raving to be Prophecy. The *Americans* take Paper and Letters to be Spirits which carry Men's Thoughts from one to another, and indeed it is hard-

ly conceivable by Nations who have no Notion of Writing, how Men ſhould converſe at a diſtance, and know one anothers Thoughts, but by the Mediation of viſible or inviſible Agents. If any one ſhould have more exquiſite Senſes than other Men (which is not difficult to ſuppoſe) how many Diſcoveries would he make unaccountable to the reſt of Mankind; if he could follow Men or Beaſts by the Scent like Dogs, or ſee in the Dark like Cats: If he had the ſame natural Preſage of Tempeſts, Thunder and Lightning, fair and foul Weather, as ſome Animals both at Sea and Land ſeem to have, how many People might he deceive by ſeeming Wonders and Miracles? We naturally admire what we cannot apprehend, and ſeem to do ſome ſort of credit to our Underſtandings, in believing whatever is out of our reach to be ſupernatural.

Many in other Reſpects prudent enough, give too much Countenance to theſe Follies, in conceiving they attribute more Honour to the Divine Omnipotence, when they ſuppoſe he acts *pro re natâ*, and accommodates his Providence to each ſingle Action and Emergency, than in believing that his eternal Wiſdom hath ſo contrived and framed the whole Syſtem of Nature, and in its original Conſtitution implanted ſuch Cauſes, as by their own Energy ſhall pruduce all the Events in the World, (unleſs for ſome particular Reaſons he thinks fit to interpoſe his immediate Providence) than which nothing ſeems to be more derogatory to his Power, or more contrary to the Nature of Things, which in many Inſtances we all allow.

Who is there that does not perceive that in Dreams, our Thoughts and Deſires are the natural and neceſſary Productions of the Affections of our Bodies? If we lie hot, we are ſubject to angry and paſſionate Dreams; if cold, to fearful ones: A loaded Stomach raiſes up Apparitions of Devils, Terrors and Death: *Opium* gives to many the moſt agreeable Senſations: Dreaming upon our Backs inclines us to laſcivious and wanton Thoughts, and a due Temperament of Body gives ſound Sleep without any Dreams at all; and yet how few are there, that do not believe their waking Thoughts are altogether in their Power, without being able to give any Reaſon for the Difference?

Who is there that does not ſee that the Raving of a Man in a Fever, the wild Diſcourſe of one in *Bedlam*, the Extravagancies of drunken Men, and the Viſions of diſtracted, are the neceſſary Effects of Diſtemper, and a diſordered Brain? And yet how few believe the ſame of the other Follies and Impertinencies of their Lives, though but leſſer Degrees of the ſame Paſſions? Much more if we meet with any uncommon Appearances, or Phœnomena's of Nature, we immediately ſolve all our Doubts in recurring to the divine Omnipotence.

Nature, in many Circumſtances, ſeems to work by a ſort of ſecret Magic, and by ways unaccountable to us, and yet produces as certain and regular Events, as the moſt obviouſly mechanical Operations. Paſſions of the Mind, as well as Actions of the Body, are not only communicated by all the Senſes, but probably by other Ways indiſcernible to us: Muſic not only works us into Variety of Paſſions, but is ſaid to cure the Bite of a *Tarantula*, and makes the Perſon affected ſkip and dance in ſpite of his raging Pain: How many can avoid being affected with the Groans or Sight of one in Miſery, any unuſual Tone of the Voice, the Solemnity of a Coronation, the Pomp of a Funeral, the Farce of a Proceſſion, the Power of Eloquence, the Charms of Poe-

try,

try, the rich and ſplendid Equipage of great Men, or the ſolemn Dump of an Enthuſiaſt? Sudden good or ill News give ſuch violent Agitations to the Spirits, as ſometimes kills the Patient; many are frightned into convulſive Fits, and even into Diſtraction; the Sight of our Friends in Joy, or in Grief, produce the ſame Affections in us, before we know the Cauſe of it in them; the Paſſion of Love is conveyed by wanton Glances, by the Touch, the Motion and the Ear; and as far as appears to us, all other Paſſions are communicated by like means; the Frights and Longings of Women with Child ſtamp Images and Impreſſions, of the Things feared or deſired, on the Fœtus's, which laſt after they are born, and ſometimes as long as they live: There was once a remarkable Accident happened at the acting of *Andromeda*, at *Abdera*, a *Greek* City, upon an extream hot Day, that many of the Spectators fell into Fevers, and had this Accident from the Heat and Tragedy together, that they did nothing but pronounce Iambics, with the Names of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda:* The yawning of one Perſon infects a whole Company; the Tone, the Motions, the Geſtures, and Grimaces of thoſe we converſe with ſteal inſenſibly upon us, even when we endeavour to avoid them: Not only Nations and Sects, but Profeſſions and particular Societies of Men for the moſt part contract peculiar Airs, and Features, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhable to a nice Obſerver, and one but of moderate Skill in Phyſiognomy will diſcover a Parſon, a Quaker, or a Taylor, dreſs them how you pleaſe.

There is a certain Sympathy and Antipathy in Nature, or to expreſs my ſelf otherwiſe, ſo agreeable or contrary Contexture of different Bodies, as by a ſort of natural Mechaniſm do incline to, or avoid another; this appears not only in phyſical and philoſophical Experiments, but by many vulgar and common Obſervations; ſome Bodies cannot be made to unite, others will not ſeparate; the Loadſtone draws Iron to it, Gold Quickſilver; the ſenſitive Plant ſhrinks from your Touch: Some Sorts of Vegetables, though ſet at a diſtance, attract one another, and twine together; others grow farther apart; Turkey-cocks fly at Red; Pheaſants will ſtare upon the Eyes of a Fox till they fall upon him; a Rattleſnake fixing his Eyes upon a Squirrel, will make him run into his Mouth.

All Sorts of Animals have their Inclinations and Diſguſts to others, and we ourſelves have ſecret Affections and Averſions to Perſons and Things, that we can no otherwiſe give an account of, than that Effluxes of volatile Animal Spirits flow conſtantly from us, of ſuch Form and Configuration as eaſily permeate and penetrate ſome Bodies, and are reſiſted by others of different Textures and Compoſition, and when entered, communicate the ſame Paſſions and Diſpoſitions to Bodies ſuitably diſpoſed, as they cauſed in the Body from whence they came, and in Bodies otherwiſe formed different Operations, as the ſame Wind or Breath blown into different Inſtruments cauſes various Muſic.

This may help to unriddle many Phænomena's and Appearances of Nature, vulgarly aſcribed to Faſcination and Witchcraft; for why may not the diſagreeable Effluviums of a diſeaſed old Woman give a Child convulſive Fits, as well as the *Meazels* and the *Small Pox*, and the poiſonous and melancholy Vapours

ſteaming

ſteaming from an Enthuſiaſt, cauſe Diſtraction and Raving as well as the Bite of a Mad Dog?

We perceive in a thouſand Inſtances, the Actions of others by an undeſigned Imitation produce the like in ourſelves; no Man is ſurprized to hear of one thrown into convulſive Fits, with diſtorted Limbs and Countenance, at the ſight of another in the ſame Condition; and yet if a poor Enthuſiaſt with his Brains intoxicated with reading the Revelations, who has made a lucky Diſcovery that the laſt Day is at hand, when the reſt of Mankind are to be deſtroyed, that he and his Acquaintance may enjoy Dominions, Principalities, and Powers; I ſay if ſuch uncommon Agitations of the Mind ſhould produce as uncommon Agitations of the Body, and cauſe the ſame in others, whoſe Intellects and Organs are wound up to the ſame Pitch (as when two Violins are tuned alike, if you ſtrike upon one, the other ſounds) immediately half the World is in an uproar: Some will have theſe fanatical Throws and Convulſions to be the Workings and Flowings of the Holy Ghoſt; the Parſons will have them to be ſome of the Devil's Tricks to dumfound the Church; and even Men of good Senſe are not without Apprehenſions, that they may be Jugling and confederate Knavery in order to ſome dangerous Deſign, whereas they are as natural as Agues, Apoplexies, Epilepſies, or Fits of the Mother, which were formerly thought to be ſupernatural, and the Perſons affected to be poſſeſſed with Spirits and Demons. Sir *Richard Buckley* has endeavoured to prove theſe Agitations always attended the true Prophets, and *the Letter of Enthuſiaſm* has fully ſhewn they always accompanied the falſe ones.

To ſtop the natural Courſe of our Spirits, collect them all together, and endeavour to keep them fixt upon one ſingle Object or Opinion, is like daming up the Current of a River, and leaving part of its Channel dry, that it may overflow the adjacent Country. The Beams of the Sun whilſt diſperſed give vital Warmth, and Nouriſhment to Men, Beaſts, and Vegetables, but if contracted to one Point would ſet the World on Fire; ſo the Spirits of Man, whilſt diffuſed through the Body, give proper and ſuitable Motions and Vigour to the whole Machine, but if collected all together muſt either burſt the Veins, or cauſe exceſſive Pains, Convulſions, Agitations, Fits of Quaking and Trembling. A violent Intention of Mind, long fixt upon the ſame Object, never fails giving convulſive Diſtempers, or making the Perſon diſtracted.

Some of the Quakers (if we may believe the Reverend Mr. *George Keith* in his *Magic of Quakeriſm*) have arrived to a great Proficiency in this natural Magnetiſm, or Magic, having by a watchful and accurate Obſervation of theſe mutual Effluxes and Emanations, which flow from one to another, attained to a Diſcernment of Spirits, that is by the Eye, the Touch, and even by being in the ſame Room, to the Knowledge of their Friends from their Enemies, or thoſe of the ſame Party, Intereſt and Faction, from thoſe of another: He ſpeaks of it as an undoubted Matter of Fact known amongſt them, that as betwixt the former there is an Oppoſition of Spirit to Spirit, that may be felt, ſo between the latter there is an Unity, Amity or Friendſhip of Spirit to Spirit, that is ſo diſcernable, that they rarely miſtake their Foe for their Friend, though all his Words, Carriage and Actions pretend it: They feel ſome ſecret Effluviums go forth from their Hearts mutually from one another, and to one another, which

which are received by those of the same Spirit, like a pleasant Oil or Cordial that doth sensibly gratify them, but by those of another Spirit (if they can find room to enter) like so many Pins and Needles that wound them, and penetrate the very Heart and vital Parts; and when the Patient hath strength enough to resist their Impressions, he perceives only some small Impulse or Touch which is ungrateful to him.

He farther tells us, this Spirit of Quakerism is not only communicated by the Sight, the Touch, by melodious and musical Sounds, as well without Words as with them, but sometimes only by the simple Feeling of a mighty Power that exerts itself in their silent Meetings, which not only overcomes little Children, but Persons at Age; and he gives an Instance of many Boys and Girls at a Quakers Meeting at *Waltham*, seized with shivering Fits like an Ague, which went off and returned for several Weeks together.

This Author who was formerly one of them, and is now a Minister of the Church of *England*, would never in a Book written against the Delusions of Quakerism, confess these Facts, and endeavour to solve them by natural Causes, if he had not thought them to be undeniable; and though it is not easy for others to give intire Credit to such uncommon Relations, yet we may be sure the first Propagators of this Fanaticism must have hit upon some Secret in Nature to strike the Passions, or so considerable a Sect could not on a sudden start up from so inconsiderable a Founder as a poor *Shoemaker*, without Articles or Priests, though excluded from Honours and Offices, reproached, contemned, their Estates confiscated, their Persons banished or thrown into noisome Goals and Dungeons, and what is more, they continue to increase though they are let alone.

It is a severe Circumstance which attends those who oppose received Opinions, that in Argument they must admit every thing supposed by their Adversaries to be true, if it be possible, and often what is not so, if the Impossibility be not very apparent; when once Men have imbibed strong Prejudices, which serve their present Interest, or strike forcibly upon their Hopes and Fears, every thing in Nature shall be made to contribute to their System; Misfortunes to their Enemies are God's Judgments for their Sins, and so are their Successes too, because they become thereby confirmed in their Errors; good Fortune to themselves, is God's Reward for their Piety, ill Success is his Correction for their Amendment; every Thought which confirms their Opinion is a divine Impulse, which contradicts them, a Suggestion of the Devil; every Accident that attends them, every good or ill Season, every common as well as uncommon Appearance in Nature, is made an immediate Act of God, and either a Blessing or Judgment; any unusual Operation of their own Minds or Bodies is imputed to the Holy Ghost, of others that are of different Sects to the Devil, so that it is impossible to convert a well settled Enthusiast; you will in vain deny any thing to be supernatural which he thinks so, unless you can shew a visible Connexion between the Cause and the Effect, and often that will not do neither, because the weak Efforts of carnal Reason, are unable to search into the hidden Mysteries of God.

Who would undertake to convince one of the Sect just before mentioned, that his Transports, and his panic Fears, his Tremblings and his Quakings are

are owing to natural Cauſes, and not the immediate Spirit of God? It will be in vain to tell him, that the ſame were common to an infamous Sect in old *Rome*, to the *Pythian* Propheteſs, the *Sybils*, the *Allumbrati* in *Spain*, the Fanatics in *Germany*, are now acted over again by a new whimſical Sect in *England*, and indeed have accompanied almoſt every Fanaticiſm that ever appeared in the World; he has an Anſwer ready, which is Proof againſt all Objections, that himſelf and thoſe of his Party are inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt; but all others are actuated by the Devil, in order to promote Hereſy: It requires leſs pains to believe a Miracle, than to diſcover it to be an Impoſture, or account for it by the Powers of Nature, which notwithſtanding I think may be ſhewn to have produced and ſet at work moſt of the Enthuſiaſms that ever happened, and particularly our illuminated Sects here at home, with all their Convulſions, Tremblings and Quakings.

It has been already obſerved, that many of our Paſſions will not only cauſe Agitations of the Body, convulſive Fits and Trances, but even kill us; great Exceſſes of Love, Fear or Joy, will make us ſhake and quiver; great Veneration for the Perſon or Aſſembly we ſpeak before, will make many tremble and quake like an Aſpin Leaf; ſome have been ſtruck ſilent, and others have fallen to the Ground; how then muſt an Enthuſiaſt be ſurpriſed, who believes himſelf honoured with the extraordinary Viſits of a Deity, and the Illapſes of the Holy Ghoſt into his Soul? What Motions, Agitations, Convulſions, Tremblings and Quakings muſt be cauſed by the Co-operation of the Paſſions of Love, devout Fear and Awe, Joy and Veneration in ſo high and tranſcendent a Degree? What agreeable Senſations muſt he feel? How raviſhing Joys and tranſporting Raptures? Sure whoever goes about to undeceive him, would deſerve the ſame Thanks as thoſe who cured the Madman in *Horace*, that before thought himſelf a Prince, and when he found his Miſtake, cried out in a Rage,

Pol me occidiſtis, Amici,
Non ſervatis ait, cui ſic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus Error.

As theſe and many other ſurpriſing Appearances are only the Co-operations and united Force of different, and ſometimes contrary Paſſions, ſo our Paſſions are the mechanical and neceſſary Effects of the Complexion, Conſtitution, and Diſtempers of our Bodies, which take their Riſe, and receive conſtant Alteration from the Accidents of Diet, Climate, Air, Education, Phyſic, Exerciſe, and the perpetual Actions of external Objects encompaſſing us on every ſide.

Phyſicians have diſcovered certain Mixtures of the Elements, and firſt Principles of the Bodies of Animals, which they have diſtinguiſhed by the Names of ſanguine, phlegm, yellow choler, and black, which is alſo called melancholy, and common Experience proves that from the different Mixture, a vain and Variation of theſe Humours, or ſome other Compounds, are owing all the Diſpoſitions and Diſtempers of the Mind and Body.

Sanguine is a Compoſition of hot and moiſt, and flouriſhes moſt in Youth, gives a vigorous Motion to the Limbs, a purple, roſy and florid Complexion to the Face, white and ſoft Skin, ſhining and reddiſh Hair on the Head, and little

little on the Body: It ferments like new Wine juſt put into the Caſk, makes us thoughtleſs, briſk and airy; bold, inſolent and wanton; extravagant, luxurious, and immoderately given to Mirth and Pleaſure; which *Horace* well deſcribes in the following Verſes:

Imberbis Juvenis tandem, Cuſtode remoto,
Gaudet equis, canibuſque, & aprici gramine campi.
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus aſper,
Utilium tardus proviſor, prodigus æris,
Sublimis cupiduſque, & amata relinquere pernix.

It cauſes in Sleep ſoft and gentle Vapours to riſe to the Brain, which inſpire agreeable and pleaſant Dreams, and chiefly of ſuch Subjects as the Mind is converſant with in the Day, as is well expreſſed by *Claudian.*

Omnia quæ ſenſu volvuntur vota diurno
Pectore ſoſpito reddit amica quies.
Venator defeſſa toro jam membra reponit,
Mens tamen ad ſylvas & ſua luſtra redit;
Judicibus lites, aurigæ ſomnia currus
Vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis;
Furto gaudet amans, permutat navita merces,
Et vigil elapſus quærit avarus opes,
Blandaque largitur fruſtra ſitientibus ægris
Irriguus gelido pocula fonte ſopor:
Me quoque muſarum ſtudium ſub nocte ſilenti,
Artibus aſſuetis ſollicitare ſolet. Lib. III. Præ.

Phlegm is a Mixture of Cold and Moiſt, and abounds in Winter, when the Juices for want of due Warmth and Motion, are crude and indigeſted, like Wine in the Preſs before it has fermented. The Complexion is white, the Skin ſoft, the Urine pale, the Body inclinable to be groſs, the Muſcles and Veins ſunk and hid, the Hair lank and thin, and for want of Nouriſhment quickly grows grey; the native Heat being overcome with Moiſture, the Senſes become leſs quick, the Powers of the Mind, dull, ſluggiſh and ſtupid, the Speech ſlow, and the Memory loſes its retentive Faculty; but People of this Complexion are ſteady, good-natured, hard to be provoked, and free from all Guile, Fraud and Treachery.

In Sleep moiſt Vapours aſcending to the Brain, make them dream of Hail, Snow, Ice and Rain, of Rivers and Baths, and ſometimes they miſtake their Bed for an Urinal. This Conſtitution cauſes Heavineſs, Stuffings in the Head, Running and Dimneſs in the Eyes, Noiſes and Ringing in the Ears, Diſtillations, Coughs, Catarrhs, intenſe Pains, if the Humour ſettle in particular Parts; as alſo Scabs, Tetters, Scurvies, Leproſies, and ſome Sorts of Fevers.

Choler is a Compoſition of hot and dry, of a fiery Colour and Effect, and abounds moſt in the Summer Months: It makes the Complexion pale, the Body lean, ſlender and muſculous, the Skin hot and hairy, the Hair curled, the Wa-

ter high-coloured, the Pulſe ſwift and ſtrong, and the Veins prominent. People of this Complexion are chearful, forward and active, have a great Command of Thoughts and Words, and rolling and ready Eloquence; but are buſy, imperious, paſſionate, variable, uncertain, crafty, deſigning and treacherous.

——— cui Triſtia bella,
Juraque, inſidiæque, & noxia crimina cordi.

In Sleep, burning Vapours flying up to the Brain, cauſe tumultuous and angry Dreams, Fury and Slaughter raging on every Side, and Towns, Cities and Woods in Flames.

Exagitant veſana quies, ſomnique furentes
Atque aliena premit vani terroris imago. LUCAN. L. 5.

This Complexion inclines to the Jaundice, to Twiſtings of the Guts, with intolerable Pains and Tortures; to Tertian and burning Fevers, which cauſe Raving and Frenzies.

The *Atra-bilis*, or Melancholy, is a Compound of Cold and Dry, and abounds moſt in Spring and Autumn: It is a viſcous and ſour Juice, and conſiſts of the thicker Parts and Dregs of the Blood, which it is the Duty of the Liver to ſeparate, and as it were to ſcum and clarify; and if this Office be duly performed the Spirits are pure and clear, and give an active Motion to the Brain, which cauſes profuſe Joy and Mirth; otherwiſe the Spleen and Ventricle become obſtructed, and then ſour and poiſonous Vapours aſcending to the Brain, as it were from corrupt and ſtinking Pools, the animal Spirits are vitiated, from whence ariſe Swimmings in the Head, Tremblings and Palpitations of the Heart, deep Sighs, Inquietude and Alienation of the Mind, Grief, Anxiety, Dejection, abſurd Thoughts, anxious and panic Fears, and a Deſire of Solitude.

Miſer in ſilvis mœrens errabat opacis
Per campos ſolus latos atque avia regna,
Ipſe ſuum cor edens, hominum veſtigia vitans.

Every Noiſe frightens them, they diſtruſt every body, fear Friends and Enemies alike, are haunted with vain and cauſeleſs Terrors of Conſcience, and both ſleeping and waking ſee dreadful Images and Apparitions of Devils and Chains before their Eyes.

Perpetua anxietas, nec menſæ tempore ceſſat,
Nocte brevem ſi forte indulſit cura ſoporem,
Et toto verſata toro jam membra quieſcunt,
Continuo templum & violati numinis aras
Conſpicit in ſomno, ac mentem ſudoribus urget:
Hi ſunt qui trepidant & ad omnia fulgura pallent,
Cum tonat, examines primo quoque tempore cœli. JUVEN. Sat. 13.

In

In Dreams they try to run away from these frightful Images, but in the Attempt their Strength fails them, their Knees sink under them, and their Limbs will not support the Weight of their Bodies; which *Virgil* well describes in the following Verses:

Ac velut in somnis oculos ubi languida pressit
Nocte quies, nequicquam avidos extendere cursus
Velle videmur, & in mediis conatibus ægri
Succidimus, non lingua valet, non corpore notæ
Sufficient vires, nec vox nec verba sequuntur. VIRG. Lib. 12.

Though this Sort of Choler is in its own Nature cold, yet being very dry takes Fire like Tinder. *Aristotle* observes *, when Melancholy is once heated, it is like boiling Water, and transcends the Flame of Fire, and then sulphurious Exhalations flying up to the Brain, fill the Mind with lively Imaginations, quicken and enlarge the Wit and Invention, and make the Tongue to Admiration fluent and eloquent; and when heated to a great Degree, cause Raving, Frenzy, and Madness.

This will account for the sudden Changes in Persons of this Complexion: When the Humour is in its natural State they are heavy, grave, anxious, fearful, dejected and oppressed with Grief and Despair; talk of nothing but Humility, Mortification, Disconsolation and Desertion; but if heated with Exercise, Wine, the Conversation of agreeable Men and Women, or any other accidental Cause on a sudden, they will be surprizingly joyful, gay and wanton, full of Laughter and pleasant Conceits, bright, and sometimes extravagant Thoughts and Expressions. Melancholy partakes much of the Nature of Wine, which makes some Men pleasant, others quarrelsome, some silent, others noisy, some lascivious, others impotent, some crying, others laughing.

Quid non ebrietas designat? aperta recludit,
Spes jubet esse ratas in prælia trudit inermem,
Sollicitis animis onus eximit, & docet artes
Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contractâ quem non in paupertate solutum? HOR. Lib. 1. Ep. 5.

These are particular Features, Visages, Habits and Distempers incident to both these Conditions of Melancholy, which for Brevity sake I omit; nor do I pretend to have given an exact physical Account of the other Phœnomena's above-mentioned, much less to discover the inward Frame and Constitution of Substances; which can be known to no Man till God Almighty in another State has given us new Senses and Faculties; (all the Knowledge we have in this, being some few obvious Effects and Operations Bodies have upon one another;) nor is such Exactness necessary, my Purpose being only to shew in general, that the Passions and other Qualities of the Mind, are the necessary Productions of these, or some other unknown Mixtures and Compositions of the Body; which as they are infinitely variable in Degree and Proportion, and receive perpetual

* Problems, Sect. 30.

Alteration by the Bodies emitting and receiving new Particles, as well as different Modifications of those it had before by the Actions of external Objects; so our Features, Complexions, Constitutions, Distempers, Senses, Passions, and other Affections of the Mind, must be vastly different, and probably two Men never had exactly the same, or the same Man at different Times.

A certain Organization of the Body, and Mixture of Juices in the Blood, concurring with suitable and correspondent Actions of other Beings without us, produce Prudence, Temperance, Moderation, Humanity, Indolence and Complacency of Mind; different Constitutions produce violent and unruly Appetites: Our Virtues as well as Health consisting in having moderate Desires and Aversions, or which is all one, Hopes and Fears to which all our Passions are reducible; in a certain Degree they are necessary to the Preservation of our Beings, and all the Duties of Life, in a greater they become Vices, and at last Raving and Madness; Courage soon grows into Anger, and then Rage; Frugality makes an easy Progression to Covetousness, then Miserableness, and that Want it would avoid; there is a ready Transition from Benevolence into Generosity, Profuseness and Extravagance; from Religion not conducted by Reason, into Superstition and Fanaticism; and of Hope into Confidence, Pride, Conceit and Vain-Glory. All these in their Excesses are several Kinds of Madness, which is but violent Passion that produces strange and unusual Behaviour, of the numerous Sorts whereof one might unroll a Legion, and perhaps no one is without a Tincture of one Kind or other, which I am persuaded the most sober Man will acknowledge true of himself, if he reflects upon the Vanity and Extravagance of his secret Thoughts, when he sits or walks musing alone.

The Mind in its natural State is contented with common Thoughts and Conceptions, but when the Spirits are raised above their proper Pitch, like fermented Liquor, they endanger the Vessel, and when elevated to a very high Degree, are fired like Gunpowder, which blows up itself and every thing else about it: Some Indispositions make the Body many times stronger than in full Health, others produce a strange and uncommon Energy in the Brain, which causes surprizing Discourses, and Rapsodies of lofty Words and Thoughts, and a Strength of Imagination which is inconceivable, that can bring and cure Distempers, carry People in Sleep out of their Beds, and conduct them safe over Bridges and Precipices, where they durst not venture when awake; but it is in nothing more surprising than in the Power it has over the Mind, to make it mistake itself, and its own Infirmities, for the Spirit of God; this is what is called Enthusiasm, by which Word is meant a strong and impetuous Motion, or extraordinary and transcendent Ardor, Fervency or Pregnancy of the Soul, Spirits or Brain, which is vulgarly thought to be Supernatural.

Mankind in their Ignorance of Causes, have been always prone to believe some special Presence of God, or a supernatural Power, to be in whatever is unusually great or vehement. This made the Ancients ascribe Thunder and Lightning to *Jupiter*, Wisdom to *Pallas*, Craft to *Mercury*, the lively Thoughts produced by Wine to *Bacchus*, Storms and Tempests to *Æolus*, the Rapsodies of Poetry to the Muses, Courage to *Mars*, Rage and Madness to the *Eumenides* or *Furies*, the Passions of Love to *Cupid*, the Productions of the Earth to *Geres*, and Things seeming accidental to *Fortune*; to these Idols of their own Fancies,

cies they built magnificent Temples, endowed them with Priests, Lands, Officers and Revenues; and worshiped them with Oblations, Prayers and Thanks; this Disposition gave Rise to the worshiping of Heroes, Legislators and Founders of new Sects and Opinions; for the People perceiving uncommon Wisdom, Eloquence, Resolution and Success to attend all their Words and Actions, believed them to be inspired and assisted by some superiour Power, and so intirely abandoned themselves to their Conduct whilst living, and adored them when Dead.

It is this makes a melancholy Man mistake the impetuous Transport, whereby he is fervently and zealously carried in Matters of Religion, for divine Inspiration, and the Power of God in him; for feeling a Storm of Devotion coming upon him, his Heart full of godly Affection, his Head in his own Opinion pregnant with clear and sensible Representations, his Mouth flowing with powerful Eloquence, and not being able to observe from what Conduct of Reason, or other Causes in Nature this sudden Change proceeds, immediately concludes it to be the Power of God, working supernaturally in him; he thinks every sudden Help or Evasion, every lucky Hint to avoid Dangers or compass Deliverances, to proceed immediately from God; every imagined Discovery of an Error held by others, to be a supernatural Revelation; every fine and curious Thought that steals into his Mind, a Pledge of the divine Favour, and a singular Illumination; every staring and rampant Fancy, every unbridled bold and confident Obstruction of his own uncouth and supine Invention to be a special Truth, and the Power and Presence of God in his Soul: He esteems his Pride and Tumour of Mind, his stiff, inflexible and unyielding Temper, his steady and obstinate Resolution to admit no Demonstrations against his Opinions, and to suffer Torture or Martyrdom, to be the special Support and divine Assistance of God, and his ardent Zeal, and implacable Desire of Revenge towards all who oppose him, to be the more than ordinary Influence and Impulse of the holy Ghost, for the Expiration of Heresy; whereas the Enthusiast is only intoxicated with Vapours ascending from the lower Regions of his Body, as the *Pythian* Propheteſs of old, in her prophetic Trances, was by the Power of certain Fxhalations breathing from subterranean Caverns; for all these Appearances are easily resolvable into the Power of Melancholy, which is but a sort of natural Inebriation, the same Effects being produced often by Wine; and it is observable that such high-flown and bloated Expressions, Rapsodies of slight and lofty Words, and rolling and streaming Tautoligies, which fall from Enthusiasts, generally happen to Persons before they are stark Mad.

The particular Disposition of the Blood, which produces this Temper of the Mind, seems to be the Predominance of adust Melancholy, well impregnated with Gall; the first gives presumptious Confidence, and the latter Insolence and Impatience of Contradiction; which if it prevails so much in speculative Questions, which regard no Man's Profit or Power, and that both sides agree, are to be determined by the Rules of Reason (insomuch, that People of this Complexion can converse with none but of their own Opinions,) what Havock must it make in Matters of Religion? Upon which Subject almost all Mankind seem to have agreed by universal Consent to talk unintelligibly, and

by

by that Means have endeavoured to deſtroy or take away the only Criterion between Truth and Falſhood, Religion and Superſtition; every ſide pretends to Viſions, Revelations, Miracles and Myſteries, expect to be believed upon their own Authority, and purſue all who dare oppoſe them, with Vengeance and Deſtruction, as perverſe Unbelievers, Heretics, Deiſts and Atheiſts; which charitable and polite Language is promiſcuouſly given by and to all Parties and Factions in Religion.

Though at firſt Sight it appears very abſurd, that all Mankind ſhould be concerned in the Viſions and Revelations of two or three Men, when few of the ſame Nation or Diſtrict can know their Perſons, fewer their Sincerity, and whether they are inſpired by God, are deceived themſelves, or intend to deceive others; it muſt be more ſo, to expect Nations diſtant in Situation, Language and Cuſtoms, to leave their Affairs and Habitations to hunt after Prophets, Miracles, and Revelation-Mongers, or give Credit to the fabulous or uncertain Stories or Legends of People they know nothing of, when we can hardly believe any thing ſaid, to be done in the ſame Town or Neighbourhood, and ſcarce in the ſame Houſe, or tell a Story of ever ſo ſimple Particulars, that we can know again when we hear it; it is yet more Ridiculous to oblige all the World to rake into the Rubbiſh of Antiquity, to learn all Languages, examine all Syſtems, and thereby diſcover all Impoſtures, Forgeries, Interpolations, Errors and Miſtakes, or elſe ſubmit to the Guidance of others, who are neither honeſter nor wiſer than themſelves, and beſides have an Intereſt to deceive them; yet the true Enthuſiaſt ſees none of theſe Difficulties, ſtares at no Abſurdities; very ſure he is that he has received frequent Revelations, is thoroughly ſatisfied of his own Inſpiration and Miſſion, and expects all Mankind, both now and hereafter to be ſo too; he has given them ſufficient Notice, by promulgating his Doctrine amongſt a few that he can perſuade to hear him, and condemns all the reſt as obſtinate contumacious Heretics, and wilful Tranſgreſſors againſt Demonſtration and evident Light: Averſion, Pride and Fury in the Shape of Zeal, like a mighty Storm ruffles his Mind into beating Billows, and boiſterous Fluctuations; at laſt he is all in a Rage, and no Church-Buckets to quench his fiery Religion, Religion and the Glory of God drives him on: The holy Enthuſiaſtic longs to feaſt and riot upon human Sacrifices, turn Cities and Nations into Shambles, and deſtroy with Fire and Sword ſuch who dare thwart his Frenzy, and all the while like another *Nero*, plays upon his Harp and ſings *Te Deum* at the Conflagration.

The

The Judgment and Decree of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, paſſed in their Convocation, *July* 21, 1683, againſt certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines deſtructive to the ſacred Perſons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society.

[*The following Piece was preſented to King* Charles *the Second, and afterwards burnt by the Hangman, by Order of Parliament.*]

ALTHOUGH the barbarous Aſſaſſination lately enterpriſed againſt the Perſon of his ſacred Majeſty, and his Royal Brother, engage all our Thoughts to reflect with utmoſt Deteſtation and Abhorrence on that execrable Villainy, hateful to God and Man; and pay our due Acknowledgments to the divine Providence, which by extraordinary Methods brought it to paſs, that the Breath of our Noſtrils, the Anointed of the Lord, is not taken in the Pit which was prepared for him, and that under his Shadow we continue to live, and enjoy the Bleſſings of his Government; yet notwithſtanding we find it to be a neceſſary Duty at this time, to ſearch into, and lay open thoſe impious Doctrines, which having of late been ſtudiouſly diſſeminated, gave Riſe and Growth to theſe nefarious Attempts; and paſs upon them our ſolemn public Cenſure and Decree of Condemnation.

Therefore, to the Honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, the Preſervation of Catholic Truth in the Church; and that the King's Majeſty may be ſecured both from the Attempts of open bloody Enemies, and Machinations of treacherous Heretics and Schiſmatics: We the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and Maſters Regent and not Regent, met in Convocation, in the accuſtomed Manner, Time and Place, on *Saturday* the One and Twentieth Day of *July*, in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty-three, concerning certain Propoſitions contained in divers Books and Writings, publiſhed in the *Engliſh* and alſo the *Latin* Tongue, repugnant to the holy Scriptures, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the Fathers, the Faith and Profeſſion of the Primitive Church; and alſo deſtructive of the Kingly Government, the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the public Peace, the Laws of Nature, and Bonds of human Society, by our unanimous Aſſent and Conſent, have decreed and determined in Manner and Form following.

The firſt PROPOSITION.

All Civil Authority is derived originally from the People.

The Second.

There is a mutual Compact, Tacit or Expreſs, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are diſcharged from theirs.

The

The Third.

That if lawful Governors become Tyrants, or govern otherwiſe than by the Laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the Right they had unto their Government. *Lex Rex. Buchanan, de Jure Regni. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Bellarmine de Conciliis, de Pontifice. Milton, Goodwin, Baxter. H. C.*

The Fourth.

The Sovereignty of *England* is in the three Eſtates, *viz.* Kings, Lords and Commons. The King has but a co-ordinate Power, and may be over-ruled by the other two. *Lex Rex. Hunton*, of a limited and mixed Monarchy. *Baxter. H. C. Polit. Catechiſ.*

The Fifth.

Birth-Right and Proximity of Blood give no Title to Rule or Government; and it is lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succeſſion to the Crown. *Lex Rex. Hunt*'s Poſtſcript. *Doleman*'s Hiſtory of Succeſſion. *Julian* the Apoſtate. *Mene Tekel.*

The Sixth.

It is lawful for Subjects, without the Conſent, and againſt the Command of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, to enter into Leagues, Covenants, and Aſſociations, for Defence of themſelves and their Religion. *Solemn League and Covenant. Late Aſſociation.*

The Seventh.

Self-Preſervation is the fundamental Law of Nature, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of all others, whenſoever they ſtand in Competition with it. *Hobbs de Cive Leviathan.*

The Eighth.

The Doctrine of the Goſpel concerning patient ſuffering of Injuries, is not inconſiſtent with violent reſiſting of the higher Powers, in caſe of Perſecution for Religion. *Lex Rex. Julian Apoſtat. Apolog. Relat.*

The Ninth.

There lies no Obligation upon Chriſtians to paſſive Obedience, when the Prince commands any thing againſt the Laws of our Country; and the Primitive Chriſtians choſe rather to die than reſiſt, becauſe Chriſtianity was not ſettled by the Laws of the Empire. *Julian Apoſtate.*

The Tenth.

Poſſeſſion and Strength give a Right to govern; and Succeſs in a Cauſe or Enterprize proclaims it to be lawful and juſt: To purſue it, is to comply with the Will of God, becauſe it is to follow the Conduct of his Providence. *Hobbs. Owen*'s Sermon before the Regicides, *Jan.* 31, 1648. *Baxter. Jenkins*'s Petition, *Oct.* 1651.

The Eleventh.

In the State of Nature, there is no Difference between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong; the State of Nature is a State of War, in which every Man hath a Right to all Things.

The

The Twelfth.

The Foundation of Civil Authority is this natural Right, which is not given, but left to the ſupreme Magiſtrate upon Men's entering into Societies; and not only a foreign Invader, but a domeſtic Rebel puts himſelf again into a State of Nature to be proceeded againſt, not as a Subject, but an Enemy, and conſequently acquires by his Rebellion, the ſame Right over the Life of his Prince, as the Prince for the moſt heinous Crimes has over the Life of his own Subjects.

The Thirteenth.

Every Man after his entering into a Society, retains a Right of defending himſelf againſt Force, and cannot transfer that Right to the Commonwealth, when he conſents to that Union whereby a Commonwealth is made; and in caſe a great many Men together have already reſiſted the Commonwealth, for which every one of them expecteth Death, they have Liberty then to join together to aſſiſt and defend one another. Their bearing of Arms ſubſequent to the firſt Breach of their Duty, though it be to maintain what they have done, is no new unjuſt Act, and if it be only to defend their Perſons, is not unjuſt at all.

The Fourteenth.

An Oath ſuperadds no Obligation to Fact, and a Fact obliges no farther than it is credited; and conſequently if a Prince gives any Indication that he does not believe the Promiſes of Fealty and Allegiance made by any of his Subjects, they are thereby freed from their Subjection; and notwithſtanding their Pacts and Oaths, may lawfully rebel againſt, and deſtroy their Sovereign. *Hobbs de Civ. Leviathan.*

The Fifteenth.

If a People, that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and, contrary to their Covenants, chuſe and covenant with another, they may be obliged by their later Covenants, notwithſtanding their former. *Baxter, H. C.*

The Sixteenth.

All Oaths are unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God. *Quakers.*

The Seventeenth.

An Oath obligeth not in the Senſe of the Impoſer, but the Takers. *Sheriffs Caſe.*

The Eighteenth.

Dominion is founded in Grace.

The Nineteenth.

The Powers of this World are uſurpations upon the Prerogative of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and it is the Duty of God's People to deſtroy them, in order to the ſetting *Chriſt* upon his Throne. *Fifth-Monarchy-Men.*

The Twentieth.

The Preſbyterian Government is the Scepter of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, to which Kings as well as others are bound to ſubmit; and the King's Supremacy in

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, aſſerted by the Church of *England*, is injurious to *Chriſt*, the ſole King and Head of his Church. *Altare Damaſcenum. Apolog. Relat. Hiſt. Indulg. Cartwright. Travers.*

The Twenty-firſt.

It is not lawful for Superiors to impoſe any thing in the Worſhip of God, that is not antecedently neceſſary.

The Twenty-ſecond.

The Duty of not offending a weak Brother, is inconſiſtent with all human Authority of making Laws concerning indifferent Things. *Proteſt. Reconciler.*

The Twenty-third.

Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to Death; and if the Judges and inferior Magiſtrates will not do their Office, the Power of the Sword devolves to the People; if the major Part of the People refuſe to exerciſe this Power, then the Miniſters may excommunicate ſuch a King; after which it is lawful for any of the Subjects to kill him, as the People did *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabel. Buchanan. Knox. Goodman. Gilby. Jeſuits.*

The Twenty-fourth.

After the Sealing of the Scripture-Canon, the People of God in all Ages are to expect new Revelations for a Rule of their Actions (*a*); and it is lawful for a private Man, having an inward Motion from God, to kill a Tyrant (*b*). (*a*) *Quakers, and other Enthuſiaſts.* (*b*) *Goodman.*

The Twenty-fifth.

The Example of *Phineas* is to us inſtead of a Command; for what God hath commanded or approved in one Age, muſt needs oblige in all. *Goodman. Knox. Napthali.*

The Twenty-ſixth.

King *Charles* the Firſt was lawfully put to Death, and his Murderers were the bleſſed Inſtruments of God's Glory in their Generation. *Milton. Goodwin. Owen.*

The Twenty-ſeventh.

King *Charles* the firſt made War upon his Parliament, and in ſuch a Caſe the King may not only be reſiſted, but he ceaſeth to be King. *Baxter.*

We decree, judge, and declare all and every of theſe Propoſitions to be falſe, ſeditious and impious, and moſt of them to be alſo heretical and blaſphemous, infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and deſtructive of all Government in Church and State.

We farther decree, That the Books which contain the aforeſaid Propoſitions and impious Doctrines, are fitted to deprave good Manners, corrupt the Minds of unwary Men, ſtir up Seditions and Tumults, overthrow States and Kingdoms, and lead to Rebellion, Murder of Princes, and Atheiſm itſelf; and therefore we interdict all Members of the Univerſity from the reading of the ſaid Books,

Books, under the Penalties in the Statutes expreſt. We alſo order the before-recited Books to be publickly burnt by the Hand of our Marſhal, in the Court of our Schools.

Likewiſe, we order, that in perpetual Memory hereof, theſe our Decrees ſhall be entered into the Regiſtry of our Convocation; and that Copies of them being communicated to the ſeveral Colleges and Halls within this Univerſity, they be there publicly affixed in the Libraries, Refectories, or other fit Places, where they may be ſeen and read of all.

Laſtly, We command and ſtrictly enjoin all and ſingular the Readers, Tutors, Catechiſts, and others to whom the Care and Truſt of Inſtitution of Youth is committed, that they diligently inſtruct and ground their Scholars in that moſt neceſſary Doctrine, which in a manner is the Badge and Character of the Church of *England*, of ſubmitting to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake, whether it be to the King as ſupreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are ſent by him, for the Puniſhment of evil Doers, and for the Praiſe of them that do well. Teaching that this Submiſſion and Obedience is to be clear, abſolute, and without Exception of any State or Order of Men. Alſo that they, according to the Apoſtle's Precept, exhort, That firſt of all Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for the King, and all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty; for this is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour: And in eſpecial manner that they preſs and oblige them humbly to offer their moſt ardent and daily Prayers at the Throne of Grace, for the Preſervation of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, from the Attempts of open Violence and ſecret Machinations of perfidious Traitors; that the Defender of the Faith, being ſafe under the Defence of the moſt High, may continue his Reign on Earth, till he exchange it for that of a late and happy Immortality.

A New Catechiſm, with Dr. *Hickes*'s Thirty-nine Articles. With a Preface relating to the true Intereſt of *Great Britain*, both in Church and State.

———*Sibi, non Cælicolis, hæc Turba miniſtrat.*

The PREFACE.

NOTHING can be more unaccountable than that ſo many Eccleſiaſtics ſhould every where ſo induſtriouſly infuſe Jealouſies into the People, of the great Danger the Church of *England* lies under, notwithſtanding ſhe is guarded by ſo many Laws, defended by a moſt numerous Clergy, ſupported by immenſe Revenues, the almoſt inſuperable Prejudices of Education chiefly in her Favour; protected by a moſt Religious Queen, who has nothing more at heart than the Church's real Intereſt: And all the *Engliſh* Officers both Civil and Military, except perhaps a very few of the meaner Sort, wholly of her Communion.

The Toleration has in a great meaſure taken off the Diſſenters Prejudices to the Church; and they begin to think that the trifling Differences, which are between them and the Church, do not deſerve the Expences of maintaining ſeparate Meetings and Miniſters: And it is notorious, that thoſe Families of the Nobility and Gentry, that were formerly Diſſenters, are now come into the Church; and that thoſe few of the Trading Sort, who are capable of beſtowing a liberal Education on their Children, do generally breed them up in the Church of *England*. So that nothing ſeems more certain, than that the Diſſenting Intereſt, which is at preſent ſo very inconſiderate, muſt in time be inevitably reduced to nought, if the furious Zeal and perſecuting Temper of ſome hot-headed Bigots do not prevent it, by reviving old, and creating new Prejudices.

It cannot be doubted but that the Conduct of ſuch Men is the ſole Reaſon why the Separation has continued ſo long; ſince we ſee that in all Places where there is a *Moderate*, or in other words, a *Low-Church Miniſter*, his gentle and Chriſtian Behaviour by degrees wins the Diſſenters over to the Church: But if he be ſucceeded by a High-Churchman, his bitter Uncharitableneſs and unchriſtian Conduct drives Men from the Church, and ſoon occaſions the Meeting-Houſe to be filled again. And whoever conſiders the Nature of Men, muſt needs ſee that ſuch violent Spirits as *Sacheverel*, *M——l——rn*, *H——gg——ns*, &c. are the beſt Friends, and the greateſt Support the Conventicles have.

And nothing can make the different Sects of Diſſenters combine againſt the Church of *England*, but the Danger of having their religious Liberties taken away by theſe profeſſed Enemies of Toleration. As long as they are ſecure of them, they muſt think it their Intereſt to defend both the Church and State, by which they are ſo indulged; it is that which makes ſome Men, who are enraged to ſee their prudent and peaceable Conduct as well as Zeal for the preſent Eſtabliſhment, take ſuch unjuſtifiable Methods of dealing with them.

The

The holy Fathers thought the Church's greateſt Dangers to flow from the prodigious Riches that came tumbling into her on all hands, as ſoon as by the Laws of the Empire ſhe was capable of acquiring Poſſeſſion. And one who did not know theſe Gentlemen, would be apt to think they apprehended the Church to be in danger, by her Majeſty's generouſly parting with her Firſt-Fruits and Tenths to the Clergy, and by the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain* (which Statute alone in the Popiſh Times hindered the Church from getting all the Lands of *England* into their hands) ſeeing the greateſt Outcry of the Church's Danger has been ſince that time; and notwithſtanding the Church by the Union has been made an eſſential Part of the Conſtitution.

But their moſt ungratefully making the Church to be in danger from her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, is not more ſurprizing, than their ſuppoſing the Biſhops to be in a Plot to bring in Preſbytery; while at the ſame time they exclaim againſt them for being too much Biſhops, in not humbly condeſcending to act upon a Level or Preſbyterian Parity with the Lower Houſe of Convocation, who claim a co-ordinate and equal Power with them in the ſupreme Acts of Church-Legiſlation, from which all the inferior Powers in the Church muſt be derived. And if there be a Preſbyter in the Church of *England* that will not come into theſe Notions, let him write with the utmoſt Force againſt Preſbytery, as it is moſt evident Mr. *Hoadly* has done, yet they will not ſcruple to perſuade the Mob, that he is as errant a Preſbyterian as Dr. *Burgeſs*.

This is much of a Piece with their repreſenting the Whigs as Republicans, and at the ſame time railing at them for oppoſing all the Laws made ſince the Revolution which limit the Prerogative. And as little ground have they to charge the Whigs with Preſbyterian as with Republican Principles; unleſs they will ſuppoſe that the defending the Rights, Privileges and Powers of the Biſhops againſt the Preſbyters (I had almoſt ſaid Preſbyterians) of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, be a Proof of it. But in ſome Men's Opinion, their voting for the Rights of the Epiſcopal See of *Carliſle*, in the Diſpute between the Biſhop and the Dean, was enough to make them rank Preſbyterians, and thoſe that differed from them ſtanch Churchmen. And I may defy theſe Gentlemen, who repreſent the Church to be in danger from the Whigs, to name any one Act ever ſince the Revolution, which as often as they had power in their Hands, they have done in prejudice of the Church; though they have been inſtrumental in paſſing ſeveral Laws in favour of the Church, as thoſe for the more eaſy Recovery of Tithes, *&c.* But if nothing can make them true Churchmen, except liſting themſelves under ſuch Perſons as acted in the High-Commiſſion Court, which was ſet up with no other deſign than to deſtroy the Church of *England*, then indeed I am afraid they will not deſerve that Character.

If theſe Gentlemen would ſpeak out, they would ſay that the Whigs had endangered the Church, by having been ſo inſtrumental in paſſing Laws, which not only exclude from the Crown for ever all Papiſts, and Perſons married to Papiſts, but abſolve the Subjects from their Allegiance, if any ſuch ſhould ever happen to get into the Throne, and enjoin them to abjure the Pretender, and ſwear to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. It is the Whigs appearing ſo hearty in forcing the grand Enemy of the Proteſtant Religion humbly to ſue for a Peace, which has given theſe Men ſo melancholy a Proſpect, that they have redoubled their

their Cry of the Danger of the Church, and taken all other Methods to encourage the *French* King to go on with the War.

But this is no new Charge on the Whigs; for in *Charles* the ſecond's time, when they were endeavouring to ſecure the Church of *England* by an Excluſion-Bill, and by doing all in their Power to put a ſtop to that Torrent of Popery and Slavery which was overflowing the Nation, they were repreſented by the Emiſſaries of *France* as Enemies to the Church of *England*, and exclaimed againſt by the *Sacheverels* of thoſe Days as errant Fanatics; becauſe they were againſt weakening the common Proteſtant Intereſt by the Perſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters: Which Perſecution the higheſt Churchmen in King *James's* Reign owned to have been promoted by the Papiſts, the better to bring about their Deſign of extirpating the *Northern* Hereſy; and therefore promiſed to come to a Temper with the Diſſenters. Yet when, by the Bleſſing of the Revolution, it was in their Power to do it, they plainly ſhewed that they were as little for keeping Faith with thoſe they called Schiſmatics, as the Papiſts are for keeping it with Heretics. This made the Parliament, ſince the Convocation was againſt a Comprehenſion, to allow the Diſſenters a Toleration, as finding it abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Nation; but from that time (as if every thing which was for the Security of the State muſt tend to the Ruin of the Church.) This has been ſaid to be in Danger, and all the Principles on which the Revolution, that preſerved the Church, was brought about, have been damned from the Pulpit by thoſe very men who were inſtrumental in it; and the High fliers have ever ſince, as has been obſerved by a learned Prelate, ſwore and prayed one way, and preached and practiſed another.

This Panic of the Danger of the Church is as unaccountable, as that which a handful of *Iriſh* cauſed at the Revolution. And when People recover their Senſes, and coolly conſider of Things, it muſt lead them to examine, whether thoſe Men would have ventured to aſſert ſo notorious a Falſhood, after the moſt ſolemn Manner, and in the moſt ſacred Places, had they not the Underſtandings of the Multitude in the utmoſt Contempt; and concluded, they could ſo inflame them, as to be able in this critical Juncture to bring about the dark Deſigns before they could be detected.

When Men knowingly raiſe a falſe Alarm of the Danger of the Church, from a Quarter from which no Danger can be juſtly apprehended, it is a Demonſtration that they mean no good to the Church themſelves, but put People on a falſe Scent, to divert them from looking into their Deſigns of ſubverting the preſent Conſtitution. And when we ſee them maintaining with ſo much Zeal the ſame Principles that the Jacobites urge to juſtify their adhering to the *St. Germains* Family, in oppoſition to the preſent Government and Proteſtant Succeſſion, and joining with the Papiſts and Jacobites in all ſuch things as tend to clog the Wheels of the Adminiſtration, and to divide and weaken us both Abroad and at Home: What can we conclude, but that they are influenced by the ſame Spirit, and carry on the ſame Intereſt and Deſigns? Though if there be any difference, it is, that the former ſhew a more implacable Malice to the preſent Settlement.

If the Principles of Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Sermons had been followed at the time of the Revolution, nothing can be more evident than that the Proteſtant Religion would have been extirpated, and the whole Nation involved in Popery and Slavery:

Slavery: And yet forſooth this Man, for the Sake of theſe Doctrines, muſt be accounted the great Champion of the Church of *England*; and the Houſe of Commons for impeaching him, the Lords for trying him, and the Queen herſelf for ſhewing the higheſt Approbation of their Proceedings, muſt be repreſented in a Plot to deſtroy the Church: Nay, in the midſt of this Trial (where the Doctor had all the Freedom and Favour imaginable allowed him) a Mob muſt be raiſed in ſpite of the Principles of Non-reſiſtance, to over-awe the ſupreme Judicature of the Nation, to inſult their own Repreſentatives, to pull down Meeting-Houſes; who, had they not been timely ſuppreſſed, would have proceeded to other more fatal Acts of Treaſon and Rebellion: And yet after all this, theſe Men have the Aſſurance to maintain, they are for the preſent Conſtitution both in Church and State,

If the Church of *England* has not ſuffered in any one Point (as I do not find it is attempted to be proved) by the Trial of *Sacheverel*, or the Condemnation of his Doctrines; theſe Tumults, the uſual Forerunners of Civil War, which have been ſet on foot under pretence of the Church's Danger, which violently ſhake the Conſtitution, and ſhew a ſtrange Contempt of the whole Legiſlature, eſpecially that Part which has always been eſteemed the great Bulwark of the People's Liberties: I ſay, theſe Tumults can have no other Meaning than a new Revolution in favour of the *Popiſh Pretender*; who, that he may with Security deſtroy the Church, and enſlave the Nation, the People muſt be ſtirred up to Mutinies, becauſe the ſupreme Powers ſhew ſo great a Regard to the Conſtitution, as to declare it may be defended by other Arms, than Prayers and Tears. Theſe Men are guilty of ſuch a Crime, as was exceeded only by that of the *Jews* of old, who *rejected God himſelf from reigning over them*, and deſired a *Saul* in his ſtead.

None in the leaſt acquainted with their Writings are ignorant, that the Papiſts themſelves cannot have a greater Averſion than what theſe Men upon all Occaſions ſhew to that Part of the Conſtitution of the Church that relates to the Supremacy; which was the Ground the Reformation was built upon, and the Means by which it was carried on, and eſteemed till now the juſt Barrier between Popery and Fanaticiſm.

The following Catechiſm will abundantly ſhew, that it is not the Religion of the Church of *England* they are in pain for, but a Religion of their own contriving, made up of Inconſiſtencies, Treaſon and Blaſphemy, and calculated to gratify their Pride, Ambition and Avarice.

It would not be ſtrange if ſuch a *Babel* as this, notwithſtanding the mighty Pains they have been at in building it, ſhould be dangerouſly ſhaken by ſome late Books: But it would be the greateſt Libel imaginable on the whole Body of the Clergy to ſuppoſe, they are not capable to defend the Church, though ſhe is built on a Rock, over which the Gates of Hell can never prevail, againſt a few odd Paſſages taken from Parſon *Hickeringil*, and ſome ſuch Writers. And if theſe worthy Divines did believe the Church in Danger from ſuch Paſſages, why did they republiſh them in *Sacheverel*'s Collection?

Would theſe Gentlemen be tried by the Maxim laid down by Dr. *Sacheverel**, That Heterodoxy in the Church naturally produces, and almoſt neceſſarily

* Sermon preached before my Lord-Mayor, of the Danger of falſe Brethren, *p.* 22.

rily infers Rebellion and High-Treason in the State: It would go very hard with them, since the Doctor's Trial will not make a Volume half so large as the Heterodox Passages which may be collected from their Writings. Though this Catechism is but a short Specimen, by which the Reader may judge of the rest; yet it is for the most part taken from those Authors whom they hold in the highest Veneration, and upon no other Account than for the Sake of such Notions as are contained in these Passages.

I cannot but think it a Service to our excellent Church, to let the blind Adorers of this Faction see what they are contending for; that they may distinguish the furious and Popish Bigots from sober and moderate Churchmen, and the treacherous and false Brethren from sincere and real Protestants.

And I purposely omit fathering these absurd Notions upon any Party, because I verily believe the greatest Part of those who clamour most in these Men's Favour, are so far from approving their Principles, that they do not know them: And I wish they were as free from Prejudice, as I hope they are from Corruption.

All that I desire of them is, not to examine whether there is an Instance in any Country of the High-flyers thinking the Church out Danger, till it became superior to the State, but only to read a small Extract out of that famous *French* Historian *Mezeray*, entitled, *An Account of the Conduct of the Roman Catholic Clergy and Zealots of* France, *from the first Toleration of the Protestants to their Expulsion*, &c. where they will find that the Clergy, by haranguing on the Danger of the Church, could so effectually work on the Passions of the People, as to make them, as often as they pleased, take up Arms to extirpate the Protestants: And when, by the great Effusion of Blood, and Devastation of the Country, a Pacification necessarily followed, and the Protestants had their Privileges confirmed anew; the Clergy by their Sermons, which tended rather to the cutting the Protestants Throats, than converting their Souls, could so inflame the Populace, as to make them run from divine Worship to murder and massacre them. But none felt the implacable Fury of the Clergy more than those called the Politics, who were good Catholics, and in the Interest of the Clergy as far as was consistent with that of the Nation, but would not give up the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church to the Pope, nor help to carry on the Designs of the *Spaniards* for an Universal Monarchy: Both which the Clergy came heartily into, hoping thereby to bring about the Destruction of the Protestants.

'The Church of *France*, as this Author remarks *, could not endure that 'any should serve them in common with Mankind, arising from mild Reason 'and sober Judgment: They must have their Interest served blindly and exclusively of all others, and upon such unnatural and absurd Principles, as 'once well believed, secure Men from relapsing into Humanity and common 'Sense, which they think none can exercise freely on Religion or Government, 'but must have some Design against them. They therefore exclaimed against 'the Politics more outragiously than against the Protestants: To the Heresy of 'those they gave no worse Name than *Fanaticism*; but *Atheism* and *Libertinism* 'were the best they could bestow on the Moderation of the others.

'In

* P. 32.

'In short *, the Clergy and Zealots, out of Hatred to the Proteſtants, firſt 'run into all the Exceſſes of popular Sedition, and actually compaſſed the 'Murder of two Kings, that they might exalt the Church above the State; and 'then, by a Reverſe of Councils, knaviſhly complimented their Monarch with 'an entire Sacrifice of all the Civil Liberties of the Nation, to gratify his thirſt 'of Dominion, and their own furious Paſſion to get rid of their Diſſenting Bre-'thren.' And now ſince the King has ſacrificed the Proteſtants to the Clergy, and the Clergy the Liberties of the Nation to the King, who is there in *France*, that dares deny the Church and State to be admirably well ſettled?

Whether the high-flying Zealots here are not for ſetting the Church and State after the ſame manner, may, eſpecially as to the Church, be ſeen by the enſuing Catechiſm: And as to the State, by their late Addreſſes, in which they lay down ſuch Principles of unconditional unlimited Obedience to a limited Monarch, as make the Nation to hold their Lives and Properties by the Tenure of Will and Pleaſure; and yet at the ſame time they pretend to hate Men of arbitrary Principles, and to be tender of the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects, whilſt they are furiouſly contending, that the Nation has no Rights, but what they muſt, on pain of Damnation, yield up to the Prince, whenever he is in the Humour to take them. This is not only giving a Proclamation the Force of a Law, but damning all *Britiſh* Parliaments as inconſiſtent with that ſupreme irreſiſtible Power, with which they ſuppoſe St. *Paul*, without regard to human Conſtitutions, has alike inveſted all Princes.

It is ridiculous for them to talk of the Rights of a Nation, if that Nation has no right to defend their Rights againſt a Perſon who has no right to take them away; ſince this as much makes their all to lie at the Mercy and arbitrary Diſpoſal of the moſt limited, as of the moſt abſolute Prince. This is much of a Piece with their pretending to be for the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, while at the ſame time they prefer all the Popiſh Line, by admitting none but an Hereditary Right, or at leaſt none to be equal to it.

I ſhould be glad to know upon what Principles they, who lay ſo much ſtreſs on an *Hereditary Right*, could own the late King to be *rightful* and *lawful*; or what they can anſwer to the profeſſed Jacobites, who plainly ſay, that their *James* the Third has better Proofs of his Legitimacy than any Man now living can pretend to, and thoſe Proofs recorded in Chancery; though had he been only owned by the King and Queen, That is, ſay they, ſuch a preſumptive Proof of his being their Son, as cannot, at leaſt at this diſtance of time, be ſet aſide but upon the cleareſt Evidence, without deſtroying the Proof of almoſt every Body's Legitimacy. They further add, That that Queen has not only had another Child ſince, who is now alive, but that if the Pretender had been ſuppoſititious, a Forgery of that nature going through ſo many hands, muſt in all this time have been detected; eſpecially ſince People have not only had a Liberty, but an Intereſt to examine into it.

Thus theſe loyal Addreſſers advance Principles, which as little tend to ſecure her Majeſty in the Throne, as they did to bring her to it; and which can only ſerve to introduce a *French* Religion, as well as Government.

* P. 18.

All I shall further say on this Head is, That in *Denmark*, within the Memory of some now living, the Commons, to be revenged of the Lords for using them ill, were so wicked as to give up their Constitution, and make their Prince absolute; for which they have ever since been cursed by a poor ruined People. But some of our Addressers have outdone the treacherous *Danes*; and in defiance of their own Representatives the Commons, as well as the Lords (with whom they have no other Quarrel, but that in Justification of the Revolution, they will not allow the Nation to be bound, on pain of Damnation, to let the Prince destroy their Laws, Lives and Religion) are endeavouring to give up all the *British* Liberties to a Princess, who has so much Generosity as to abhor such a Sacrifice, and who by her own bright Example has shewn them how much the Liberties of their Country, ought to be prefered to all other Considerations. These Gentlemen have but one Excuse in common with the *Danes*, which is, that what they have done has been at the Instigation of Priests, too many of whom have been every where active in enslaving their Country; and it is notorious, that by their means, most of the Nations of *Europe*, who within a Century had the same Liberties, the same *Gothic* Constitution that we enjoy, are reduced to a most miserable Slavery.

I charge none with Consequences, but have made use of their own Words; which as they need no Comment to explain them, are so very absurd and profane that the bare reciting them is the best way of confuting them: And though some of the Citations are not originally theirs, yet since they are quoted by them with Approbation, and as Authorities to serve their Purpose, they have made them their own, and therefore may justly be mentioned as such; and I think I have fairly represented their Sense as well as their Words.

As for the Thirty-nine Propositions or Articles, they are not only cited in the **Appendix to the Character of a Primitive Bishop*, as Dr. *Hickes*'s, and never contradicted by him, but the first four of them are set down by the Doctor himself, in his *Preface † to his two Treatises*. And though this Proof had been wanting, yet the applying at least twenty times, in these Thirty-nine Propositions, the Words *Sovereign*, *Throne*, *Regal*, *Regent*, *Fidelity*, *Fealty*, *Dethroning*, &c. to the Clergy, and writing the whole with the Air of a Sovereign Pontiff, must induce every one, who is the least acquainted with the Doctor's Writing, to conclude whose they are, without the least Suspicion of Forgery either in the twentieth or any other of the Articles.

A New Catechism.

Quest. WHat certain Mark have we of a divine Revelation?

Answ. A Contradiction. For if it be not a Revelation, it must be an Invention of some or other; but if it be a Contradiction, it could not be an Invention; for who could invent a Contradiction? *Lesley's Socinian Controversy discuss'd*, Dial. 1. p. 24.

Q. How can you prove to Sceptics that the Scripture is the Word of God?

A.

* P. 263. † P. 5.

A. By the Teſtimony of Devils. For the Sceptics can do pretty well with Religion on ſpeculative Principles; but when a Proof is brought from the Confeſſion of tormented Spirits, this gauls them. *Reeves's Dedication to his Apologies of the ancient Fathers*, lately publiſhed.

Q. After what manner are the Scriptures contrived?

A. The Scriptures are ſo contrived by the Will of God, that they ſhould afford Occaſions for Hereſies. *Hickes's Apol. Vindic. of the Church of England*, p. 67.

Q. Is there nothing but Truth contained in them?

A. There are Fictions in Divinity, which infinite Wiſdom has deviſed for our Benefit and Advantage. *Hickes's Two Treatiſes*, p. 69.

Q. What is your Opinion of the Writings of the Prophets?

A. God was pleaſed artificially to conceal many Things in them, leſt Satan coming to the Knowledge of them, ſhould endeavour to prevent or obſtruct the fulfilling of them, or enervate the Certainty or Demonſtration of them after they were fulfilled. *Hickes's Apol. Vindic. of the Church of England*, p. 63.

Q. What was then kept as a Secret from the Devil?

A. The Virginity of *Mary*. [*Ibid.*]

Q. What are your Thoughts of the Virgin, and her Conception?

A. That God called her his Spouſe, in whom the whole Trinity met to conſult.——The great Creator diſdain'd not to be made the Son of his own Creature, and owned himſelf as it were beholden to that Creature for ſomething which he had not, though he had all Things: Such a Garment of Fleſh as he can no more put off now, than he can his Godhead. *Stradlin's Sermons*, p. 8, 9.

Q. What did they do under the Old Teſtament to obtain the Prophetic Spirit?

A. They made uſe of Wine, among other bodily Helps, to obtain the Prophetic Spirit. *Dodw. de Jure Laic. Sacerd.* p. 359.

Q. What are the proper Means for underſtanding the Prophets?

A. The Rules of the Heathen for interpreting their Divinations are the proper Means for underſtanding the Prophecies, which would have been for the moſt part unintelligible without them. *Dodwel's ſecond Letter about going into Orders.*

Q. What Opinion have you of the Book of the Revelation?

A. It is a myſterious, extraordinary, and of late much ſtudied Book; and which perhaps the more it is ſtudied, the leſs it is underſtood, as generally finding a Man crack'd, or making him ſo. *South's Sermons*, Vol. II. p. 467.

Q. How came St. *Paul* to be for the Doctrine of Predeſtination?

A. He borrowed his Notion of it from the *Phariſees*, with whom he was educated; and they from the *Stoics*. *Dodw. Proleg. ad J. Stern*, &c. Sect. 41. p. 147.

Q. What Opinion have you of the Liturgy of the Church of *England?*

A. Not a Tittle of it but was by the Dictate of the Holy Ghoſt; and I ſhould think myſelf accurſed if I were not able to maintain it. Blame not my holy Zeal if I do vindicate that ſaving Book againſt the Schiſmatics greateſt

Exceptions.——Certainly therefore blessed are they which die in maintaining that Service-Book, which can without Contradiction father the very Ceremonies of it on the Holy Ghost. *Dr. Swadlin's Sermon*, &c. p. 149.

Q. What Notion have you of God?

A. That he is as it were the Pupil of the Clergy. *Dodwel's Vindic. of the Def. of the depriv'd Bishops*, §. 34.

Q. What is most true of God?

A. That which seems the most impossible to us. *Beveridge's Thoughts*, p. 52.

Q. Why do you believe God to be infinitely merciful?

A. Because if he was not infinitely merciful, the Dissenters crude affronting extemporary Effusions, the Sacrifices of Fools in the double Sense of the Word, were sufficient to blast the Success of her Majesty's Arms, and obstruct those Blessings God has bestowed on her. *Sacheverel's Rights of the Church of England, in the Remarks*, p. 10.

Q. What think you of the Dissenters?

A. They are hardened in their Sins beyond the Power of Grace and Repentance. *Ibid.* p. 33.

Q. Do you believe the Doctrine of original Sin?

A. Yes; because I must of necessity believe it, whether I will or no: For if I could not believe it, I should have the more cause to believe it. *Bishop Beveridge's Thoughts*, p. 56.

Q. What think you of the Incarnation?

A. It is as it were to cancel the essential Distances of Things, to remove the Bounds of Nature, to bring Heaven and Earth; and which is more, both Ends of a Contradiction together: Were it not to be adored as a Mystery, it would be exploded as a Contradiction. *South's Sermons*, Vol. III. p. 370, 316.

Q. What must we think of God's Election, or Choice?

A. God, who judges what is good and best unerringly, does not always chuse the best. *Nye's System of Grace and Free-will*, a Visitation Sermon.

Q. Why did God chuse the *Jews* to be his peculiar People?

A. God seemed to have espoused to himself the *Jews*, a cross odd untoward Sort of People, upon the very same Account that *Socrates* espoused *Xantippe*, only for her extreme ill Conditions, above all he could possibly find or pick out of their Sex. *South's Sermons*, Vol. I. p. 539.

Q. Is actual Mortality a Benefit?

A. Yes; but I do not allow the Benefit of actual Mortality to any who have read Mr. *Dodwel's* Book. *Preliminary Defence of his Epist. Dis.* p. 14.

Q. Are we to offer up Prayers for the Dead?

A. * There is the same ground for those Prayers, as for our common Christianity: We believe those Prayers are accepted, which desire God to hear the Saints for us, to send the Deceased in *Christ* a good Trial. † The Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and even the blessed Virgin herself, are now in Slavery to the Devil, and may be relieved by the Prayers of the Living from their Disquietudes. * *Hickes's Appendix to his Two Treatises*, p. 293, 294. † *Dodwel's Epist. Discourse*, p. 257, 258.

Q

Q. What is the principal End of the Institution of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?

A. The Preservation of the Priests Authority. The Reception of the Elements is no otherwise necessary to the Remission of Sins, than as it obliges us to depend on the Consent of the Priests, who alone can give us those Elements, and who alone can oblige God to ratify in Heaven what is transacted by them on Earth. *Dodwel's Premonition to his Epist. Discourse*, p. 66.

Q. What ought the Clergy to study?

A. To be skilful Confessaries, to know when and how to use the Power of remitting and retaining Sins. *Hickes's Preface to his Two Treatises*, p. 240.

Q. Can the Priests then forgive Sins?

A. The Priests have Power not only to judge when we are clean, but to put away our Uncleanness; as Lords forgive Debts of Money, so they forgive Debts of Sin. *Hickes's Two Treatises*, p. 118, 209.

Q. May I be saved by the Absolution of a Priest?

A. Heaven itself waits the Sentence from the Priest's Mouth, and God himself follows the Judgment of his Servant the Priest. *Sparrow's Sermon of Absolut.* p. 15.

Q. Can I think too highly of this Power?

A. All indifferent Judges must prefer the Power of obliging God to open and shut Heaven's Gates, before a thousand Kingdoms. *Dodwel's Paraenesis*, p. 222.

Q. What other Powers belong to a Priest?

A. Every Priest is one of the principal Ministers in God's Kingdom, to preside in his Worship, publish his Laws, pass his Pardons, and represent his Person. *Collier's View of the Immorality of the Stage*, p. 127.

Q. What is your Notion of a Priest?

A. He is an Advocate, Mediator, Intercessor, Negociator, Representative, Vicegerent; Mandatory Interpellant between God and Man, in their spiritual Addresses to, and Negociations one with another; He stands and acts as Mediator between both Parties, as it were in the middle Line of Conversation, and in the very Center of Communication between them: He is properly speaking, *Moul le gnam Haeloim*, and *Moul lelohim ha gnam*. *Hickes's Two Treatises*, p. 16, 17.

Q. Is *Christ* our only Advocate in Heaven?

A. No: We may retain blessed Advocates in Heaven, to plead in our Defence. *Sacheverel's Fast-Sermon*, at *Oxford*, *June* 1702, p. 14.

Q. Who has greater Power, a Priest or an Emperor?

A. The Priesthood is a Princely Power, greater and more venerable than that of the Empire. There is the like Difference between those two Powers, as between little Boys acting the Parts of Magistrates, and Magistrates themselves; and the Spiritual Government is much more excellent than the Civil, as Heaven is than Earth, yea much more so: The Priests, as if they were translated into Heaven, made something above Men, and exempt from human Affections, are advanced to this Princely Power. *Hickes's Two Treatises*, p. 208, 209, 210.

Q. You have given us a juſt Account of the Honour that is due to a Prieſt by High-Church Principles, pray let us know how a Biſhop is to be honoured?

A. Let the Biſhop be honoured among you as God. *Ibid.* p. 201.

Q. Is the Biſhop accountable to any Mortal?

A. He who makes himſelf Judge of the Biſhop, makes himſelf Judge of God. *Ibid.* p. 214.

Q. How great ought the Revenue of a Prieſt to be?

A. If they adminiſter ſo many Things to a King, who adminiſters Peace and War, for bodily Safety; ought they not to adminiſter more liberally to him, who adminiſtring the Prieſthood towards God, ſecures both Body and Soul by his Prayers? *Ibid.* p. 201.

Q. Who is guilty of the greateſt Treaſon, he who reſiſts a King, or he who reſiſts a Prieſt?

A. A Prieſt, no doubt; for as the Prieſthood is more excellent than the Kingly Office, ſo is he more worthy of greater Puniſhment who dares move his Eye againſt it. *Ibid.*

Q. Why would you be rather pray'd for by a Prieſt, than any other Perſon, though ever ſo holy?

A. Becauſe the Prayer of a Prieſt for the People, or for any ſingle Perſon among them, though like *Abraham* he may be a Temporal Prince, is the authoritative Prayer of a Superior for an Inferior; beſides he prays as a Liturgy, and the Mouth of the whole Congregation, yea of the whole Catholic Church. *Ibid.* p. 122, 124.

Q. Is a Prieſt never abſent from his Flock?

A. He is ſuppoſed to be always preſent among his Flock in Perſon or in Spirit. *Ibid.* p. 124.

Q. What would be a proper Work for the Convocation?

A. To reviſe the Catechiſm of the Church, and to make Additions. *Nelſon's Preface to Faſts and Feaſts*, p. 17.

Q. What Additions are neceſſary to be made?

A. Some relating to the Authority of the Clergy. *Ibid.*

Q. What is the Advantage which may be made of this?

A. That in the next Generation we may retrieve that Reſpect to the Prieſthood which we want in this. *Ibid.*

Q. And what Reſpect is that?

A. That even Kings and Queens are to bow down to thee (the Prieſt) with their Face towards the Earth, and to lick up the Duſt of thy Feet. *The Caſe of the Regale*, p. 26. firſt Edit.

Q. What Power does the Scripture allow Kings and Queens in Church-Matters?

A. Their Office is an Office of Servitude, and not of Authority; and the King is only the Church's Nurſe's Huſband, whoſe Office it is to carry the Child (High Church) in his Arms, or on his Shoulders. *Ibid.*

Q. Why may not a Layman be allowed more Chaplains than one?

A. Becauſe no Man can ſerve two Maſters. *Ibid.* p. 194.

Q. May a Layman ſay my Chaplain?

A.

A. The Expreſſion is proper enough to ſay my Chaplain, as I ſay my King or my God. *Caſe of the Regale*, Ed. 2. p. 182.

Q. What think you of the Oath of Supremacy?

A. It is not an Oath of Fidelity to the King, but of Unfaithfulneſs to the Church. *Appendix to the Rights of God's Church on Earth.*

Q. What Opinion have you of the Oath of Supremacy, as it is explained by the thirty-ſeventh of *Henry* VIII. an Act now in Force?

A. It is an extravagant and impious Notion. *Doctrine of the Church of England, as to the Independency of the Clergy*, Sect. 15.

Q. What think you of the twenty-ſixth of *Henry* VIII. Ch. 1. which declares the King or Queen to be ſupreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England?*

A. I think that *Henry* VIII. triumphed in his new Title, making an Inſcription of it in Letters of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, as *Pilate* did that over our Lord upon the Croſs, *this is the King of the Jews.* I never yet heard any Man talk of this Medal, but who made this Obſervation, that King *Henry* crucified the Church, as *Pilate* did our Saviour, with the Solemnity of three Inſcriptions. *Hickes's two Treatiſes*, p. 241.

Q. What are the Sentiments of the Clergy as to the regal Supremacy?

A. The highflying Clergy, who are for allowing the Prince an unlimited Power in civil Matters, have left out of the Prayer before their Sermons theſe Words, which by the fifty-fifth of King *James*'s Canons, they are obliged to uſe, *viz. under thee and thy Chriſt, over all Perſons and all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, ſupreme Moderator and Governor.*

Q. What think you of the King's Nomination of Biſhops, and of the Power the Laws allow him over the Convocation?

A. It is as reaſonable that the Church ſhould have the Nomination and Depoſing of Kings, and that no Parliament ſhould meet or tranſact any Thing relating to the civil Government of the Nation, without Licence obtained from the Biſhops, nor enact any Thing but in the Biſhops Name, and by their Authority. *Caſe of the Regale*, p. 11, 12.

Q. Then the 25th of *Henry* VIII. chap. 19. *will not go down with you?*

A. (*a*) It is ſufficiently known how the Church has groaned under this Prerogative Act of the Letter miſſive: The beſt Churchmen ever ſince have complained of it, as a mighty Grievance and Burden. (*b*) The ſynodical Submiſſion, as it was violently extorted from the Clergy, and unfairly repreſented in the Preamble of that Statute, ſo it is of no doctrinal Force againſt the Powers hierarchical; and therefore our (the Clergy's) Continuance in, and under that Submiſſion, is not to be attributed to any Principle of Conſcience, but either to prudent Patience or cowardly Fear, (*a*) *Sacheverel's Character of a low Churchman*, page, 29. (*b*) *Archdeacon Hill's Dialogue*, page 6.

Q. What Opinion have the Clergy of this and other Laws made in *Henry* VIII. Reign, relating to the regal Supremacy?

A. The generality of the Clergy, not only ſeeing in Theory, but feeling by Experience the great Inconvenience of them, have of late expreſſed their Deſire of their Repeal or Emendation. *Ibid.* page 3, 4.

Q. Who are they that are againſt repealing thoſe Laws, relating to the Church.

A. All the tolerated Diſſenters, Socinians, Deiſts, Atheiſts, to the utter Crucifixion of Chriſt and his Church. *Ibid.* p. 5.

Q. Does the Magiſtrate gain or loſe by turning Chriſtian?

A. The Magiſtrate rather loſes than gains by his Converſion, becauſe he is to be admitted into the Church on the Biſhop's Terms, and as a private Perſon, and bound to obey Church-Laws, made by the Eccleſiaſtics, and to ſubmit to the Biſhop as Head of the Church, and ſupreme unappealable Judge in Spirituals, and therefore to abide his Sentence, which in ſome Caſes may proceed to Excommunication. *Vindic. of the Defence of the deprived Biſhops*, p. 54, 57, 58, 59.

Q. Has any Biſhop any ſuch Power in *England?*

A. There is a common Slavery upon the hierarchical Powers. *Municip. Eccl.* p. 121.

Q. Is it poſſible for the State to have Power in Church-Matters?

A. It is an Impoſſibility and Contradiction for any State to have Authority over the Church within their Dominions in eccleſiaſtical Matters; and the Conſequence of this muſt be, to root up all Religion from the Face of the Earth. *Caſe of the Regale*, p. 132. Nay, the King has no more Power over the Church, than the Boy that rubs my Horſe's Heels. *Vid. the 19th Articles of the Commons Impeachment of Dr. Coſins, in Ruſhworth abridged*, vol. III. p. 384.

Q. Can the Prince ſafely exerciſe his Supremacy?

A. Can a Claim of an oppreſſive Supremacy, be deemed a glorious Jewel in a chriſtian Crown; which if exerciſed, muſt of neceſſity forfeit the King's Salvation? And it is a dangerous Complaiſance in Prieſts, to plead for ſuch an Ambition, as may end in the Ruin of the Church, the Prieſthood, and the Soul of the Prince. *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum*, p. 122.

Q. What would the Conſequence be, ſhould we not allow Synods to have a divine Right?

A. The not defending the divine Rights of Synods, will be the utter Extirpation of all Religion out of the World, and therewith an Extirpation of the Prieſthood. *Preface to the Defence of Municip. Eccl.*

Q. Are the Clergy bound to defend the regal Supremacy over the Convocation, as to the Time of its ſitting?

A. Could ſuch a fine Point be made out, yet ſurely it does not become a Clergyman to help ſuch a Point forward: Let us leave that dirty Work to be done by the profeſſed Enemies of Religion and the Order; but let not the Hands of *Levi*, be employed in it. *Atterbury's Rights of Convocat.* p. 38.

Q. Are the Laity in a Controverſy of Religion to pay a blind Obedience to their Clergy or Church?

A. The Church has Power to declare her own Senſe in the Controverſy, and to determine which Part ſhall be received and profeſſed for Truth by her Members.—— The Sentence ſhall bind to Submiſſion, tho' the Superiors may err in the Sentence. *Sparrow's Preface to the Canons, Articles, &c.*

Q.

Q. Have the Clergy a Power to determine for the Laity, when they ſhall eat, and when not; or when they ſhall work, and when not; and what Clothes they ſhall wear?

A. It is a Queſtion of Fact whether the Governors of the Church have a Power to appoint Times of Abſtinence and Faſting, and of appointing Holy-days; and in ſome Caſes, of giving Orders about Clothes or not: And I think I ſhall be able to prove that ſhe has ſuch a Power, and particularly as to Clothes. *Hickes's Preface to two Treatiſes*, p. 92, 93.

Q. What, has the Church or Prieſt Power in civil Matters?

A. There are neither Things nor Perſons exempt from the Power of the Church. *Wolf ſtript*, part 2. p. 33.

Q. What Opinion ought we to have of our firſt Reformers?

A. When they aboliſhed the Maſs, they took away all good Order and inſtead of Reformation made a Deformation. *Eleventh Article of Dr. Coſins's Impeachment in Ruſhworth abridged*, vol. 3. p. 383. And the two Kings (*Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI.) ſet themſelves in the Throne of our Lord; and the Biſhops of the Church of *England*, in thoſe two Reigns gave up the Cauſe of Chriſt and his Church, for which they ought to have died Martyrs. *Hickes's two Treatiſes*, p. 243, 244.

Q. What think you of the Martyrs in Queen *Mary*'s Days?

A. They were ſchiſmatical Heretics, factious Fellows, Traitors and Rebels, condemned by holy Church. *Dr. Pocklington's Altare Chriſtianum, licenſed by Archbiſhop Laud's Chaplain*, p. 92. for which both the Chaplain and the Doctor were cenſured by the Lords. *Ruſhworth abridged*, vol. 3. p. 374.

Q. What think you of the Reformation Abroad?

A. They in *Sweden* pray not only for the Church in general, but the Clergy before the King: But the King in our Liturgy is thruſt in between the Church and the Biſhops, upon the Notion I ſuppoſe, of his being Head of the Church; and the whole royal Family are drawn in after him, as being Heads in Reverſion. We improve, and ſeem to take Care in the firſt Place, of our Bodies before our Souls, and for this World more than Eternity: but they retain the primitive Form in *Sweden*; they reform not backward. *Caſe of the Regale*, Ed. 2. p. 28.

Q. What is your Opinion of Schiſm?

A. It is the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. *Dodwel of Separation*, Chap. 14.

Q. What Notion have you of the Church of *Rome?*

A. That it is not only a true (*a*) Church, but that it has (*b*) glaring Advantages which other Churches want. (*a*) *See all High-Church Writers from Laud down to Hickes.* (*b*) *Hickes's Preface to the reformed Devotions.*

Q. Do you believe the national Church of *South Britain* to be a true Church, as well as the Church of *Rome?*

A. Our thirty-nine Articles hereto annexed, affirm they are all in a Schiſm, and out of the Church; and the Prayers of her Clergy are Sins, and their Sacraments Sacrilege. *Article* 39.

Q. What Opinion have you of the national Church of *North Britain?*

A. Such a Church I think altogether as unworthy of the Name of a Church, as a Band of Rebels in any Country, who had overthrown the civil Conſtitu-

tion of it, would be of the Name of a Kingdom, State or Republic; becauſe ſuch a pretended Church is not only a Variation from the Catholic Apoſtolic Church, but a ſworn deſtructive Confederacy againſt it, even the Abomination of Deſolation, in the Houſe or Kingdom of God; of which their Paſtors are not Miniſters, but by Principle moſt malicious Enemies; not Paſtors, but Wolves of the Flock. *Preface to Hickes's two Treatiſes*, p. 200.

Q. What Opinion have you of the popiſh Doctrines of Confeſſion and Prayers for the Dead?

A. I agree with *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Blanford* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who were of Opinion (as the late Dutcheſs of *York* ſaid in her Reaſons for turning Papiſt,) that there were many Things in the Romiſh Church, which it were very much to be wiſhed we had kept, as Confeſſion, which was no doubt commanded by God: That praying for the Dead, was one of the antient Things in Chriſtianity; that for their Parts, they did it daily, tho' they would not own it. And one of them ſaid, if he had been bred a Catholic, he would not change his Religion. *Hiſtory of England in Folio*, Vol. III. p. 293.

Q. What think you of the Papiſts hindring the Laity from reading the Scriptures?

A. The promiſcuous Licence which the Proteſtants give to all ſorts to read and interpret Scripture, is more prejudicial, nay pernicious, than the over-rigorous Reſtraint of the Romaniſts. *Archbiſhop Bramhal's Vindication of himſelf and the epiſcopal Clergy*, p. 117.

Q. What is your Opinion of the Inquiſition?

A. Till now I never underſtood the Reaſon of the Policy and Prudence of the *Spaniards*, in ſuffering the Inquiſition amongſt them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till ſomething like to the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition be in *England*. *Howel, Recorder of London, in the Trial of Penn and Mead, at the Old Baily*, 1670. Vid. *Firſt Volume of the Phenix*, p. 319.

Q. What Opinion have you of unwritten Tradition?

A. Some of the Ordinances obſerved in the Church we have taught us in expreſs Words of Scripture, and ſome we have received as delivered in ſecret by Tradition from the Apoſtles; both which are of like uſe unto godlineſs: For if we attempt to lay aſide the unwritten Cuſtoms and Uſages of the Church, as not being of great Moment, we do not know what harm we ſhall do the Goſpel by our Imprudence; in all probability we ſhall thereby reduce the preaching of it to an empty Name. *Hickes's two Treatiſes*, p. 51.

Q. What Opinion have you of the *Gallican* Church, in which he who is called the Pretender is educated?

A. They have limited the Supremacy of the Pope to the Conſtitutions of their own national Church; and if they keep as clear of the Regale, their Reformation will exceed ours. *Caſe of the Regale*, Ed. 2. p. 258, 265.

Q. Why don't you unite then with the *Gallican* Church?

A. The *Engliſh* Convocation not being ſuffered to ſit while that of *France* laſted, rendered any Treaty between them impracticable. *Ibid.* p. 263.

Q. Have you as good an Opinion of the *Engliſh* Papiſts as of the *French* Papiſts?

A. The generality of the Roman Catholics in *England*, are of the ſame Sentiments with the *Gallican* Church, concerning the Supremacy of the papal See; and

and it is the papal Supremacy alone which ſtands in the Way, to oppoſe ſuch a glorious Re-union. Let the Pope confirm the Decrees of the national Council of *France* in 1682. and I dare ſay, we ſhall not long quarrel about his Supremacy. *Ibid.* p. 258, 260, 262.

Q. Which is worſt, the papal or the regal Supremacy?

A. I ſhall only tell you that the Uſurpation of the Pope on the Epiſcopate made the Biſhop of *Spalato* come over to *England*; but finding here a more heterogeneous Eraſtianiſm, he returned. *Ibid.* Ed. 1. p. 142.

Q. What was the Reaſon it proved ſo hard a Taſk to keep our Kings from running over to Popery?

A. They had rather ſubmit themſelves, tho' with hazard of their Crowns, to a foreign Biſhop, who aſſerted a Superiority over them both in Temporals and Spirituals; than to have no Biſhops at all to be ſubject to even in Spirituals: Which is indeed to be quite out of the Church. *Ibid.* p. 133.

Q. Why do you reckon *Charles* I. to be a Martyr?

A. Becauſe he ſet himſelf for the Reſcue of the Church, from the Encroachments of the ſecular Courts and eraſtian Laws. *Ibid.* Ed. 2. p. 131.

Q. Was there any Crime greater than *Lucifer*'s Rebellion againſt God?

A. The Fact of forty-eight was going beyond *Lucifer* in his own Way of Pride and Inſolence. *Binks's 30th of January, Sermon to the Convocation.* p. 15.

Q. What Character does Archbiſhop *Laud* give *Charles* I?

A. That he was a gracious Prince, that knew not how to be or be made great; and truſted falſe, cowardly, and perfidious Men. *Laud's Hiſtory of his Troubles and Trial*, p. 178.

Q. What is your Opinion of *Charles* II.?

A. That he was the Firſtborn of *Japhet*, the eldeſt Son of *Noah*, and therefore by Right, Heir to all the World. *Evans's Light for the Jews*, p. 20.

Q. What belongs to the Office of a King?

A. As he ſees the Clergy come nearer the Altar than others, ſo he is to remember that in all Places convenient, he gives them greater Honour; that Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh him in the kingly Throne, to be a Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity. *Exhortation, drawn up by Laud and three other Biſhops, to King Charles* I. *at his Coronation, in Hiſtory of England*, Vol. III. p. 13. *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 135, 136.

Q. Do the Clergy turn themſelves into Ridicule?

A. Yes, by their being a well-poudered Clergy. Alas, Sir, do theſe Men think to convert Souls, or can they imagine the People think that they themſelves really believe what they preach, when they look more like the Vaineſt of Laymen than Prieſts? *Hickes's two Treatiſes*, p. 132.

Q. What think you of the Clergy that ſwore to the Government contrary to their Conſciences?

A. They who comply with the Government, and yet retain their old Principles, are far the beſt, the wiſeſt, the honeſteſt and moſt numerous of all the Clergy. *Preface to the Remarks on ſome late Sermons.*

Q. What do you mean by retaining their old Principles?

A. I mean by helping to ſupport the Jacobites, honouring them in their Hearts, being zealous for the royal Family, and watchful for the times of

healing and refreshing, when they may come again to Communion with them under their rightful Bishops. *Preface to some Discourses on Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet.*

Q. What Reflections would a Man be tempted to make on the Clergy's coming into the Government at the Revolution?

A. By their Conduct one would be almost tempted to look on all Religion as a mere Cheat, and to believe that they themselves owned no God. *Loyal Martyr vind.* p. 36.

Q. What do the Clergy believe at present?

A. I know not, but they must be brought to believe at last that God is stronger than the Devil. *Preface to the Case of the Regale*, p. 22.

Q. Do the Clergy any way gratify the Deists?

A. The Deists of this Age must needs be pleased to see what use we (the Clergy) make of revealed Religion, or rather how shamefully we abuse it. *Dr. Edwards's brief Remarks on the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon*, p. 23.

Q. What must we think of the low Church?

A. That they are trimming Villains, who are not, and by their Principles are obliged not to be Christians. *Sacheverel's Character of a low Churchman*, p. 21.

Q. If the Church be in Danger, from whence comes it?

A. Why from our going off from our old Principles, and shuffling with our Consciences; our trifling with our Oaths, and bringing down the high and holy Name of God, to our own Vanity, to secure our present little inconsiderable Interest. *Assize Serm. before the University of Oxford, July* 19, 1705. *preached by Mr. Tilly, Fellow of C. C. C.*

Q. Pray repeat the Scale of Sinners.

A. The Jew crucifies his Saviour, the Socinian and Mahometan ungod him, the Papist devours him, the Calvinist believes God from all Eternity to reprobate the whole World but himself and his Brethren; but an *English* Fanatic, the greatest Monster of them all, rends the Church into Schism, anathematizes Bishops, sets up Lay-Elders, and occasional Conformists. *Sacheverel's Sermon at Oxford*, 1704. p. 50.

Q. What think you of a rich Citizen?

A. That there is no Plague in the Church, comparable to a rich Citizen. *Bishop Parker.*

Q. Is it lawful for Laymen to keep those Lands that in popish Times were dedicated to superstitious Uses?

A. No; for there lies a heavy Curse on the Nation, which cannot be removed without Restitution of what we have robbed from God. *Essay of Tithes*, p. 227.

Q. But is it not better they should be in the Hands of Lay-Protestants, than of Monks and Friars?

A. The scandalous and sacrilegious Impropriation of Tithes made by the Popes, were worse diverted by those who should have restored them. *Dissert. conc. Eccl. Hist.*

Q. Is the Crown a Gainer or a Loser by these Lands?

A. So much has the Crown gained by the Accession of sacrilegious Wealth, as from imperial Dignity and Propriety paramount in all the Lands of *England*, to become an honourable Beggar for its daily Bread. *Essay of Tithes*, p. 160.

Q. Is it lawful for the Clergy to recede from a Doctrine they have long taught, particularly that of passive Obedience?

A.

A. What a Guilt as well as Disgrace would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principal of our excellent Church; especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character. *The Speech spoke by Dr. Sacheverel*, p. 6.

Q. What ought every one to do that wishes well to the Church?

A. Every one that wishes it well, ought to hang out the bloody Flag and Banner of Defiance against the Dissenters. *Sacheverel's political Union*, p. 23.

Q. May one talk inconsistently for the Good of the Church?

A. Yes, in one Sermon I may say, that the Cry of Popery has been always the Trumpet to all the Sedition and Rebellion that ever infested the Nation; and that it is a Party-Word, to exasperate and frighten the Rabble with groundless Jealousies and Fears. *Sacheverel's Oxford Assize Sermon*, p. 36. Ed. 2. And in another Sermon I may say, that the Roman Catholic Agents and Missionaries swarm about this great City, and debauch the Subjects in every Corner. *His Sermon at St. Paul's, November* 5, 1709. p. 18.

Q. What are damnable Sins in Politics?

A. To preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succession to the Crown, and to affirm that the Sovereignty of *England* is in the three Estates, *viz.* King, Lords and Commons. *Decree of the University of Oxford against pernicious Books, damnable Doctrines, &c. now ordered by the Lords to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.*

Q. Have the Lords and Commons any Share in the making Laws?

A. Yes, as much as a Beggar has in my Alms. *Bishop Womack's short Way to a lasting Settlement*, p. 24.

Q. Is there no Difference between true-born *Englishmen*, and *Turky* Slaves?

A. All Subjects must be Slaves as to the Particular of their Lives and Liberties; and the Doctrine of the Bow-string is declared by Act of Parliament. *Hickes's Jovian*, p. 219, and 242.

Q. What, is it lawful to resist on no Account whatever?

A. No, it is not lawful to resist for the Mainttenance of the Lives or Liberties of ourselves or others; no, not for the Defence of Religion, no, nor for the Preservation of a Church or State; no, nor yet if that could be imagined possible, for the Salvation of a Soul; no, nor for the Redemption of the World. *Bishop Sanderson in Sacheverel's Collection of Passages*, p. 6. Folio.

Q. Which is the best Way of supporting this Doctrine of passive Obedience?

A. To raise a popish and jacobite Mob, and pull down Meeting-Houses; and then charge it on the Dissenters, as we did the popish Plot and the Burning of *London*.

Q. What Opinion have you of the Dissenters Loyalty?

A. They think to carry every Thing by factious Caballing, both at Home and Abroad, by Bribery, Subornation, and everlasting Lying, (their great *Arcana Imperii* and Mysteries of State) and to bear us down by their impudent Boasting of the Number of their Legion, who are always ready at the Watch-word and Signal given, to mob the House of Commons, assassinate her Majesty, and join with any foreign Enemy to invade the Kingdom, and subvert our Church and Government. *Sacheverel's Rights of the Church of England*, p. 6. *of the Remarks.*

Q.

Q. How could the High-church Clergy on their Principles withdraw their Allegiance from King *James*, declare King *William* to be rightful and lawful King, abjure the Pretender, and ſwear to the preſent Government and proteſtant Succeſſion?

A. Egad, Sir, I ſhall tell you plainly, that I am not at leiſure, nor ſhall not be at leiſure, nor want to be at leiſure, to ſay one Word to you about this Matter. *Powel's Letter from the* Bath, *for the Information of his Puppets.*

Dr. *Hickes*'s Thirty-Nine Articles.

I.

FIRST I affirm, that the Catholic Church is the (*a*) Kingdom of God, as it is called in Scripture; as alſo the City and Houſe, that is, the Family of God. It is alſo called a (*b*) Polity or Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, and the Body of *Chriſt*, to ſignify unto us, that it is a Spiritual Society and Incorporation, whereof all Chriſtians are Members.

II.

That this *Spiritual Kingdom*, or *Incorporation*, had a Being in the World, independent on the ſecular Power, for above three hundred Years before the Government of it was interwoven with the Secular Government and Laws.

III.

That *Chriſt* is the King of this ſpiritual Kingdom and Head of this ſpiritual Incorporation, and the (*c*) Biſhops his chief *Miniſters* and *Vicegerents*; to whom, in their reſpective Juriſdiction, he requires Obedience from all his Subjects, of what temporal Quality or Degree whatſoever.

IV.

That for this reaſon the Church, or incorporate Body of Chriſtians, is ſaid to be a (*d*) *Royal Prieſthood*, or Kingdom of Prieſts; and our *Prieſts*, I mean our *Chief Prieſts*, are for the ſame reaſon ſaid to be *Regal Prieſts*, or *Kings* as well as *Prieſts* unto God.

V.

That every Dioceſe and Province in the Catholic Church, is a Part of this Kingdom, or Members of this particular Incorporation.

VI.

That the Government of Dioceſes, or particular Diſtricts of this Incorporation, is *ſingle* and *monarchical*; but the *Government* of *Provinces*, and of the *whole* Corporation, commonly called the *Catholic Church*, is *collegiate*, with reſpect to the ſeveral Biſhops who are Fellows, or lawfully Collegues in the ſacerdotal Power under *Chriſt*, the High-Prieſt of the Catholic Church.

VII.

That theſe are Collegues, or Fellows in the ſacerdotal Power Chriſt hath committed

(*a*) St. *Mat.* xvi. 28. St. *Mark* ix. 11. St. *Luke* ix. 27. 2 St. *Pet.* i. 11.
(*b*) *Rev.* xxi. 2. *Gal.* iv. 26. *Epheſ.* ii, 19. *Heb.* iii. 6. *Coloſ.* i. 18.
(*c*) St. *Mat.* x. 40. St. *Luke* x. 16.
(*d*) St. *Pet.* ii. 9. *comp.* *Exod.* xix. 6.

committed to them: And all are bound to maintain Correſpondency or Communion with one another, and to ratify one another's Acts.

VIII.

That what is done by one of them, admitted into the ſpiritual Corporation, or excluded from it by any one of them, is admitted and excluded by all.

IX.

That Men become Subjects of this Kingdom, or Members of this ſpiritual Incorporation by Baptiſm; and that all Emperors and Kings, whether abſolute, or limited in the Exerciſe of their Regal Power, become *Subjects* of it by Baptiſm, as well as other Men.

X.

That Men, not as Men, but as Chriſtians, are Subjects of this Kingdom, or Members of this ſpiritual Incorporation.

XI.

That all Chriſtian Emperors and Kings, as well as others, ceaſe to be Members of this Corporation, or Subjects of this Kingdom, by lawful Excommunication, Apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, Hereſy, or profeſſing Doctrines deſtructive of the Catholic Faith; as alſo by *Schiſm*, which, in the Church-Subjects, conſiſts in withdrawing their Subjection and Obedience from their *Rightful Biſhops*; and in Biſhops or Church-Governors, in refuſing or breaking off Communion and Correſpondence with their rightful *Fellow-Biſhops*, without cauſe, or by *invading* one another's ſpiritual Rights, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Sacerdotal or Epiſcopal College, and that ſpiritual Union, wherein the Polity of the Sacerdotal College, the Being and Well-being of the Church, as a Society, doth conſiſt.

XII.

That as when Differences and Diviſions are in any Civil Corporation, the true Corporation is in the rightful Head, and the Members that adhere to him; ſo in every Dioceſe the Church is in the Rightful Biſhop and his Flock, though never ſo ſmall in number: And in every Province, the Epiſcopal Collegues are in the rightful Primate, and thoſe Biſhops and their Flocks that adhere to him: ſo in every Dioceſe, the Church is in the rightful Biſhop and his Flock, though never ſo ſmall in number; and in every Province, the Epiſcopal College is in the rightful Primate, and thoſe Biſhops and their Flocks that adhere to him.

XIII.

That all the Promiſes of the Goſpel are made to Chriſtians, as actual Members of the Church: And as no Man, how eminent ſo ever for perſonal Virtues, can in the ordinary way of Salvation claim the Benefit of them, before he is a Member of the Church; ſo no Man, who by any Act of his own, or of his rightful Biſhop, ceaſes to be a Member of it, can lay any claim to them, or any of them, not ſo much as Remiſſion of Sins.

XIV

XIV.

That all Christians, Emperors, and Kings, as well as others, who adhere to unlawful usurping Bishops, and join in Communion with them, do by their schismatical Adherence cut themselves off from the Church, that is, the Body of *Christ*; and so by their own Act and Deed cease to be Members of that spiritual Corporation: And are no longer *in*, but *out* of the *Church* (which is the Body of *Christ*) and so remain, as long as they continue in the Schism.

XV.

That in all Controversies about Right amongst Bishops it is the Duty and eternal Concern of Christians, as Christians, to enquire into the Titles of the contending Parties, and to be as faithful to the rightful Bishops, as temporal Subjects, by the temporal Laws, ought to be to Rightful Kings.

XVI.

Emperors and Kings get nothing by Baptism, or becoming Christians, more than other Men, but a stronger Obligation to defend the Church of *Christ*, and all its Rights; and particularly the Polity or Government of it by the Royal Priesthood of Bishops, without which it cannot be a Church.

XVII.

That it is one of the principal Rights of the Church, for the Bishops, or *Regal* Priests of it, as to constitute, so to deprive one another by their collegiate spiritual Power.

XVIII.

That baptized, or Christian Emperors and Kings, and the States of their Empires and Kingdoms (if Christians) are equally Subjects of the Church, and have the same Obligation of Subjection and Obedience to the sacerdotal Power, or Bishops within their own Dominions, as in any other Part of the Catholic Church.

XIX.

That the *Regent*, or sacerdotal College of the Church, loses nothing of the Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction, or other Rights it hath from *Christ*, by the State's turning Christian, or by the Union of the Church with the State.

XX.

That this Union which the Church and State, or of the Spiritual with the Temporal Sovereigns, and the Interweavings of the one with the other, are *ipso facto* unweaved, when the State persecutes the Church.

XXI.

That the State as truly persecutes the Church, when the Temporal persecutes the Spiritual *Sovereigns*, and those that adhere to them for any moral Duty, as for Truth, Righteousness, and the common Faith of Mankind; as when they persecute them for professing any Article of the Christian Faith: and more especially it is a most grievous Persecution of the Church, when the Temporal drive the Spiritual *Sovereigns* from their Flocks, for adhering to them.

XXII.

XXII.

That nevertheleſs it is the indiſpenſable Duty of their Flocks to adhere to them, as their rightful Biſhops and Confeſſors, and to *ſeparate from the Communion of thoſe who uſurp their Thrones, though they ſuffer Death for ſo doing*; as in times of Controverſy between the rightful and uſurping Biſhops, many faithful Chriſtians of all Ranks have done.

XXIII.

That the Union or Interweaving of the Civil with the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Government, gives the State no more Right, or Pretence of Right to uſurp it over the Church, or invade its ſpiritual Rights, than the Church to uſurp over the State, or to invade its temporal Rights.

XXIV.

That the State uſurps it over the Church, and plainly invades its Rights, when the Temporal pretend to deprive the ſpiritual *Sovereigns*, and diſſolve that ſpiritual Union, that is between them and their Flocks.

XXV.

That in a Mixture or Intermixture of the Civil with the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Government in a Chriſtian State, every Chriſtian Subject (the King not excepted) ought to diſtinguiſh the Rights of the one from the other, eſpecially in Times of Controverſy between them; and to give to the Church, or ſpiritual *Sovereigns*, the Things of the Church; and to the State, or temporal Sovereigns, the Things of the State.

XXVI.

That the beſt and ſureſt way for any Chriſtian Prince or Subjects to know what things belong to the Church, is, to inquire what Power, Authority or Juriſdiction and Rights, the antient Prieſthood, I mean the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors the Biſhops, claimed and exerciſed, not only without, but againſt the Conſent and Commands of the ſecular Potentates, before the Union with Church and State.

XXVII.

That when the State invades the Rights of the Church, all Chriſtian People, as Chriſtians, or ſpiritual Subjects to the Royal Prieſthood, are bound to defend the Rights of the Chriſtian Church, and the Biſhops of it, which are their own Chriſtian Rights, againſt the State, as much as they are bound, under the Relation of temporal Subjects, to defend the Rights of the State, which are their own civil Rights, againſt the Church, when ſhe invades them.

XXVIII.

That the Safety and Security of the Church, as a Society or Corporation, and of the Chriſtian Faith, which committed as a Truſt unto it, as ſuch, conſiſts in the People's faithful Adherence to all the Rights of it; but more eſpecially, in

adhering to the rightful Bishops against the Intruders, how numerous soever, and never forsaking their Fidelity and Obedience to the rightful Bishops, howsoever persecuted or oppressed.

XIX.

That all Emperors and Kings, as well as others, forsake *Rightful Bishops*, and their *Fidelity* and *Obedience* to them, who set up *Usurpers* in their *Thrones*, or who uphold, maintain, and defend them who are so set up, or who own their pretended Authority, by submitting to their Jurisdiction, or living in Communion with them.

XXX.

That a Christian Emperor or King, or sovereign Christian State, though they may have more Power and Opportunity, and greater Temptation, yet have they no more Right or Authority to invade the Rights of the Church in their own Dominions, than in any other Part of the Catholic Church.

XXXI.

That the *Regent*, or Episcopal College, in consideration of Protection from a Christian State, may, in some Cases, modify the Exercise of her just Power, and make some Grants and Concessions to the State, upon Promise and in Trust and Confidence that they will not be abused or turned to her Hurt or Prejudice; as not to call *Synods*, without acquainting the King, and obtaining his Leave, if possible; not to make Foreigners, or Clerks of foreign Allegiances, *Bishops*; to make no *Bishops*, but Persons supposed to be worthy, and duly qualified, of the King's Nomination; to grant Builders and Endowers of Churches the Honour and Privileges of presenting worthy Clerks to serve the Cures of them, and their Families; not to instance in many more things of the like nature, wherein Concordats have been used to be made between Church and State.

XXXII.

That the Church *Regent*, or Episcopal College, is bound to resume these Grants, and Concessions, and Concordats between them, when the State abuses them knowingly and wilfully to the Mischief of the Church, *e. g.* As to the bringing in and promoting of Idolatry and Heretical Doctrines; to the making and fomenting of Divisions and Schisms; to the invading of sacerdotal Powers, Rights, or Functions; or robbing the Priests of their Tithes, or any other way; to the apparent Ruin of the Church, as by abolishing the Priesthood in either, or both the Orders thereof.

XXXIII.

That for want of knowingly and duly considering these things, many Christians, to the great Peril of their Souls, have taken the wrong side with the Church, against the State in the *Roman* Pale, and with the State against the Church, in these three Kingdoms, and other Reformed Countries; particularly, in this Kingdom, many false, unchristian Maxims, prejudicial to the Cha-

racter

racter of the Epiſcopal College or our high-Prieſts, extremely hurtful to the Church, and detrimental to the Chriſtian Religion, which are received for Law, and lawful, which ought not to be ſo in any Chriſtian State. Such as theſe that follow: *That Patronage, or the Right of preſenting Clerks to Cures, is a Lay-fee. That Tithes and Offerings may become Lay-fees. That Bonds of Reſignation are lawful. That the King is ſupreme Ordinary. That Canons made by the Church Regent, or Epiſcopal College, oblige not Chriſtian People in Conſcience, without or againſt the King's Conſent; and that they ought not to be received by them as Canons, or ſpiritual Laws of the Church, without his Leave, or an Act of Parliament. That Kings, though Subjects of the Church, as well as other Men, ought not to be excommunicated, how wicked ſoever they are. That a King, by an Act of Parliament, may deprive Biſhops, and diſſolve the Relation between them and their Flocks.* To this I may add, the Writ of *Quare impedit, founded upon the* firſt of the former falſe Maxims; *the ill Uſe of* Prohibitions; *the laſt Appeal or Reſort of our Church in ſpiritual Cauſes; the Unchriſtian Acts of Parliament, touching the Election and Conſecration of Biſhops,* &c. *which, I think, I am able to ſhew, have been the* Natural, *as well as* Judicial Cauſes *of all the Miſeries in the Church and State among us for many Years; and of the great Atheiſm, Deiſm, or Unbelief of* revealed Religion, Contempt *of the Prieſthood, even of the Royal Prieſthood itſelf; Scepticiſm or Indifferency in Religion; together with all the Hereſies, Schiſms, Immoralities, and Height of Profaneneſs, that now overflows the Land. I could give other Inſtances of falſe unchriſtian Maxims, and unrighteous Laws, Uſurpations, which have almoſt quite deſtroyed the Power and Authority of the Epiſcopal College, and with it the Diſcipline of the Catholic Church of* England; which, by the firſt Article of *Magna Charta*, as well as by *Chriſt*'s Laws ought to be free. But inſtead of enjoying her Freedom, her own Sons have made her a Slave, to the great Decay of Chriſtian Faith, and the great Diſhonour and Contempt of *Chriſt*; from whom our High-Prieſts claim all their Spiritual Rights; under whom they are ſupreme over the Church, which *Chriſt* hath purchaſed with his Blood.

XXXIV.

That Schiſm in the Church, when it conſiſts only in withdrawing our Subjection and Obedience from our rightful Biſhops, is the ſame thing in *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, or any Part of it, as Sedition in the State or Kingdoms of the World. But when it comes to reſiſting and oppoſing the rightful Biſhop, or driving him out of his Throne, and placing an Uſurper in it, then it anſwers to Rebellion in both Caſes: It is the Sin of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* in the Ringleaders, though they be Prelates, Kings, or Princes, and of their Company in thoſe that follow and aſſiſt them, and adhere to them, as hath been obſerved by St. *Clement* and St. *Cyprian*, and all the holy Fathers that have written about Schiſm.

XXXV.

For Chriſtian ſecular Powers to drive rightful Canonical Biſhops out of their *Thrones*, by ſecular Force, is plainly a *Dethroning* of the ſpiritual Sovereigns by the ſpiritual Subjects: A driving away the Shepherds by the Sheep; the Fathers

by the Sons; and by consequence, utter Rebellion against *Christ*, as well as an Outrage upon the Rights of the Church.

XXXVI.

This way of *Dethroning* and *Depriving* lawful rightful Bishops, is in itself utterly null and void from the Beginning, though done by lawful secular Power, whose temporal Magistrates may punish Bishops as well as other Subjects, by imprisoning, fining, or banishing of them, or by Death itself: But they have no Power or Authority to deprive them indeed, no more than the Bishops, as they are spiritual Superiors, have to depose Kings, though they may and ought, when it is requisite, to inflict spiritual Censures upon them, as impose Penances; suspend them from the Sacrament; nay, even to excommunicate them, as well as other Persons, when it is requisite for God's Glory, the Safety and Honour of *Religion*, and the Preservation of the *Church*. But here, to prevent Misconstruction, it is to be understood, That such Excommunications have no other than spiritual Effects, and ought not to be drawn into any consequences against the King's temporal Rights, or Regal Dignity and Government.

XXXVII.

Bishops dethroned and deprived by secular Powers, upon any Pretence whatever, ought not to submit to such Deprivations; because such Submissions would be a giving up their Authority and Jurisdiction, which they derived from *Christ* alone, to the incompetent secular Powers; a betraying their own Order, and the Rights of the Episcopal College, and the Defence of the Church; which *Christ*, with all its Rights, as well as Doctrines, hath committed unto their Charge and Trust.

XXXVIII.

That it is the Duty of the Clergy and People, to adhere to their Bishops and Confessors; but because such Deprivations are null and of no Effect, these Bishops so deprived remain their Bishops still; and as long as they remain their Bishops, they cannot in Conscience be discharged of their Fidelity and Obedience to them, howsoever oppressed by the secular Powers.

XXXIX.

That the dethroning and depriving of rightful Bishops, by the secular Powers, for adhering to their Christian Duty, is yet a greater Sin, and also receives further Aggravations, when those secular Powers are not lawful, but usurping Powers. Those Priests, or Bishops, who dare usurp the Thrones of their Fathers or Brethren so unjustly, so illegally, so invalidly deprived, and driven from their Thrones, are of all others the detestable Usurpers, Breakers of the most sacred Bands of Peace, Amity, Subordination and Charity, by which the Kingdom and City of God doth subsist. They are *Corahs*, and Princes of Schism, from whom the Lord's People, by the Laws of the Gospel, and the Doctrines of the Catholic Church, ought to separate at the Peril of their

their Souls. Their Electors and Consecrators are Architects of the Schism, and in the same Degree of Guilt with them. The rightful Bishops, that join in Communion with them, become Collegues in the Schism, and forfeit their Rights by so doing: Those that are so consecrated and ordained by them, are Continuers, Supporters and Propagators of the Schism, and partake of the same Guilt with them. To conclude: As they are all in the Schism, so they are all out of the Church, and can perform no Acts of Priesthood, neither from Men towards God, nor from God towards Men, that are of any Virtue or Force. God ratifies nothing in Heaven, which they act in his Name upon Earth; he is not obliged to hear their Prayers; the Ministry can claim no Benefit of God's Promises; no, not of his assisting Grace, nor of Remission of Sins, though they beg it at the Sacrament, through the Merits of *Christ*'s Blood. To be short: The Prayers of such Bishops are Sin, and their Sacraments Sacrilege. And though they, or any that adhere to them, should die Martyrs in the Schism, their Martyrdom would not be accepted by God; they would lose the Crown of Glory promised to it.

The

The true Cauſe of all our Miſeries, diſcovered in their viſible Effects: As I find it (to my great Satisfaction) moſt manifeſt in *The Layman's Religion*, lately publiſhed. Licenſed *October* 1, 1690.

Which vindicates the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, (above all others,) to allow Liberties of Conſcience, according to the Tenor of the Goſpel: Unveils the undermining Jeſuit, and deſigning Sectary; and detects the groſſeſt Frauds and Cheats, impoſed on the Honeſt and Well-meaning, under the moſt ſacred Vizors and Pretences. Worthy to be received, and ſeriouſly conſidered of Miniſters of State, Lords and Commons, as well as all other inferior Subjects, (of every Perſuaſion,) in order to our laſting Safety and Settlement.

We find it impoſſible to prevent the ſly and ſubtle Whiſpers of deſigning Hypocrites; who, in ſecret, do miſrepreſent the beſt of their Majeſties Subjects, to create a Miſunderſtanding of them, and their beſt Actions, only to gain a good Opinion of themſelves, and to carry on their own Deſigns. But none (without a Forehead of Braſs) dare openly queſtion ſuch experienced Truths, as have been exemplified in bloody Tragedies, within the Compaſs of our own Memory. Therefore it muſt be acknowledged, That whoever is the Author of that Book, he deals plainly and impartially with all; beginning at Home, with cenſuring the Criminals of his own Party, both Clergy and Laity; expoſing Hypocriſy and Immorality (as the two Extremes) in all. And therefore I have ſingled out this Sheet, as the beſt Service I can do their Majeſties, and the Government; heartily wiſhing it might be diſtributed throughout the whole Kingdom, for Inſtruction to all, in order to ſecure and tranſmit our Civil and Religious Rights to Poſterity: Which therein thus follows, *Page* 21.

AS God Almighty hath various Ways and Methods to reform and diſcipline his Children, according to their various Tempers and Diſpoſitions; ſo the Devil by his Janiſaries, deſigning Hypocrites, and Time-ſervers, (who can readily take any Impreſſion in Religion, be of two or three Perſuaſions at once, to promote their own Intereſt,) puts himſelf into various Shapes, and baits his Hook with various Objects, ſuited to Men's different Inclinations, that he may catch both *Phariſee* and *Publican*; as well the ſpiritually Proud, as the Debauchee, that no Fiſh may eſcape his Net, and (if it were poſſible) the Elect too ſhould be cheated by him.

Thus he baits the Luxurious with Pleaſure, the Avaritious with Riches, and the Ambitious with Pride, Dominion, and worldly Deſign.

When

When he designs to subvert a Kingdom, or overthrow a Government, he doth not appear immediately in Arms and open Hostility; but first under a Disguise of Zeal for Reformation, which he generally prosecutes, by removing all Foundation laid in the first Principles of Religion; and then proceeds to create various Opinions in the Minds of honest and well-meaning Persons, of easy and credulous Dispositions; continually raising Niceties and Scruples, (before any Foundation be laid in fundamental Knowledge of the first Principles of our Religion, contained in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commands, and the Creed) and those Niceties and Scruples are more and more irritated by subtle and designing Teachers, under a Disguise of Liberty of Conscience.

God forbid Liberty of Conscience (if regulated by the Standard of the Scriptures,) as it is the Birth-right of every Christian, should be denied to any that in Sincerity desire it, to live peaceably under the Government in all Godliness and Honesty; because many Persons of honest and well-meaning Principles, may, from their Education in foreign Parts, or in Families of different Persuasions, either misapprehend, or not rightly understand the Truth of our Doctrine and Discipline established among us.

And many others, in the Simplicity of their Hearts, when they see the vicious Lives and Actions of some of our Members, or the Scandal of some of our Clergy, in Things that are open and manifest, may be imposed upon by Jesuitical Whispers on the one hand, and private insinuating Teachers on the other hand; as to imagine that our Religion established, must either countenance or allow of such Evils in the Professors of it. Which is the Case of the Gospel itself.

Now, forasmuch as our Government is founded in the Law of God and Nature, and our Religion established, is settled and framed from no other Model or Original but God's revealed Will in the Scriptures, and so both may be a just Standard for all other Governments: It must therefore be a Strain of great Arrogance and Presumption in any State-Mountebank, to propose any foreign Precedent for Alteration of either.

And to silence all Complaints but theirs, whom nothing less than All will satisfy, as our Religion and Government so established, do allow a peaceable and innocent Liberty of Conscience, the grand Charter of Christianity itself; (which we have found by Experience, no other differing Persuasion but ours would ever allow any longer than they wanted Power to restrain it;) so none can deny it to be both prudent and just in the Government, (from the Law of Self-preservation,) to take care of, and secure itself against all Abuse of so great a Blessing, by such, who have pure Religion only in their Mouths, but the rankest Poison of Ambitition and worldly Design in their Hearts, making no Scruple (as Opportunity serves) to devour Widows Estates, as well as the Houses and Patrimony of them and all others, to make way for their own ambitious Designs; for we find it most certainly true, by woeful Experience, that it is impossible to secure any Government in the World on a lasting Foundation, but by annexing it to the Religion established, so as to make them inseparable, according to the Policy of *New-England*; (where Liberty of Conscience first planted their Law-Makers.) They that do not first approve of, and

and embrace our Religion eſtabliſhed, ought to have no Share in our Government.

But ſuch as would come into the Government on other Terms, have Liberty of Conſcience only in their Mouths, but Ambition and worldly Deſign in their Hearts; which they carry on by multiplying Sects, under ſeveral Leaders, (each ambitious to be Head of his own Party,) who, by their Influence on credulous and well-meaning Perſons, incloſe them, as in ſo many Peculiars, each Paſtor to incline and lead his own Flock; the only Method to divide, and conſequently to weaken both the Government, and Religion eſtabliſhed; that whenever their Intereſt is in danger, they may eaſily, (as hath been practiſed in like Caſes,) by the ſame Art, diſpoſe all, to unite (for the ſame End) againſt the Government they live under.

And thus one and the ſame common (though inviſible) Enemy of Mankind, putting himſelf into various Shapes, and baiting his Hook with proper Objects, ſuited to Men's various Inclinations and Diſpoſitions, (which all center in Self-Love,) can firſt divide and weaken, and again unite and deſtroy the beſt Religion and Government in the World; though the deſigning Party are ever lurched in what they aim at, which is Dominion and Rule.

For no ſooner is any Party gotten uppermoſt, but the ſame Principle of Ambition and worldly Deſign animates the reſt (that are under) to ſupplant that, in order to advance themſelves into the Government; ſo that their whole *Babel* of deſigning and contriving, ever ends in Anarchy and Confuſion; which hath cauſed many of their chief Builders (convinced by their own woeful Experience) at laſt to acknowledge their Error, and to declare, That *to ſeek a Kingdom in this World by carnal Means and Weapons, is no true Badge of the bleſſed Redeemer's Followers.*

What clearer Demonſtration can we have, that there is always ſuch a deſigning Party at the Bottom, under the moſt ſpecious Vizor of Zeal for Reformation, and Liberty of Conſcience, than to ſee thoſe who pretend to the greateſt Purity and Sanctity, (though of ſeveral Perſuaſions,) all to unite, and diligently to apply themſelves to ſuch Patrons and Leaders, whoſe Intereſt and Influence may beſt promote their Deſign, though they all know them to be of no Religion at all; nay, ſuch as are guilty of the greateſt Immoralities*; who can thunder out bloody Oaths without Reluctancy, and make uſe of their Power and Intereſt to oppreſs others, and ingroſs the Widow and Orphans Eſtates. Such Men as theſe are proper Objects of all the Courtſhip and Addreſs of thoſe conſecrated Politicians; for they well know they are adapted for their Turn, who readily proſtitute their Conſcience to their Intereſt, can be moſt ſerviceable to their ambitious Deſigns. And as they are Favourites in the higheſt Station, ſo they are capable of the greateſt Acts of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice therein; as they may (by alienating the Hearts of Subjects) contribute more to dethrone a Monarch, or ſubvert a Government, than ten thouſand armed Men, eſpecially as theſe deſigning Hypocrites manage it to their own Advantage; who, though they always carry the Flattery of a loyal All-hail in their Mouths; yet, by ſecret Trumpets in every Corner, they arraign the Prince

* *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.*

Prince himſelf, as Author of all Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, done by ſuch his Miniſters, to render Monarchy uneaſy to the People; and at the ſame time, with no leſs Induſtry, both in public and private, expoſe the moſt faithful and loyal Counſellors and Magiſtrates, who are moſt true to the Church and Government, and the very Pillars and Security of the Throne, as Betrayers of their Country, their Laws and Liberty; rendering them odious to the Prince and People, that they may remove them, in order to get Champions and Agents of their own Faction, into all Places, and Offices of Truſt and Power, in the Government.

This diſcovers plainly, that the Patrons and Clients are both governed by one and the ſame Principle of Self-love, which ebbs and flows with their own Intereſt, the vital Part of their Religion; and ſo diſpoſeth them to divide, or unite, againſt that which oppoſeth their Deſigns, and at length to quarrel among themſelves about (what they all aim at) Dominion and Rule.

The Reſult of all which may be this, To put us upon a modeſt Enquiry,

WHat Endeavours have been made by all the ſeparate Congregations in general, towards an univerſal Reformation of Manners; and allaying our Heats, to heal our Diviſions, in order to Union among ourſelves; the only Means under Heaven, to ſecure us, in theſe perilous Times, againſt our Foreign Enemy.

And wherein Chriſtian Charity, and Purity of Life, (farther than in the cheap and eaſy Fruit of the Lips,) hath appeared in Diſſenters, or thoſe that ſeparate from our National Communion, and pretend to extraordinary Call, and Converſion, ſo as to diſtinguiſh them by any viſible Change in their Lives and Converſation, from thoſe of our Communion, who live according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church, or from what they themſelves have ever before been in their Life-time.

And alſo, what viſible Effects the late Indulgence, granted to Diſſenters, hath wrought for the better, in procuring more meek, humble and peaceable Spirits; or abating Pride, Murmuring, or Diſcontent; railing againſt, and cenſuring of others, (even among their own Party,) in order to heal our Breaches, and compoſe our Differences.

Nay *, we may modeſtly enquire, whether the Scope and Tendency of all Endeavours in the leading Party among them, hath not been more after Dominion and Rule here below, than to advance the Kingdom of *Chriſt* in the

* It is manifeſt our Religion and Government is undermining: Therefore, O *England, England!* conſider, in this thy Day, the Things of thy Peace, before it be too late. At laſt for ſhame, lay aſide paſſionate Heat, and furious Zeal for particular Intereſts, and (as becomes Chriſtians) calmly conſider the public Weal. Be wary (in Choice of Magiſtrates) of the two Extremes that poiſon all Religion and Morality; the deſigning Hypocrite, and the profane Atheiſt. Chuſe Men fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs; ſuch as have been ſincere and conſtant to our Kingly Government, and Religion eſtabliſhed: And be wiſe as Serpents, to countermine and evade the moſt glorious and ſpecious Pretences of all others.

Hearts of Men? And, in order to that, whether they have not, with the greateſt Subtilty and Partiality, improved their Factories and Agency by human Policy, to direct, order, or influence the Choice of Magiſtrates and Officers in every Colony among us, from whence the greateſt Heats and Diſturbances have ariſen, let the viſible Effects ſpeak for themſelves?

And when we have ſo done, we may (from the Hiſtory of the laſt Age) reflect upon that happy Union, which continued among Proteſtants in this Kingdom, in the open Practice of Piety, Sobriety and Righteouſneſs, from the firſt Time of the Reformation; but eſpecially during the forty-four Years of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when all (as one Soul) joyfully and conſtantly aſſembled together, at the ſet Times appointed by the Church, to celebrate divine Service, and hear the Scriptures daily read; as the only Means to keep up a venerable Awe and Senſe of the holy Majeſty of God in the World, and in the Mind of every individual Perſon; and to maintain and increaſe Chriſtian Charity, and Brotherly Kindneſs, (the alone Medium of Union in a Kingdom;) as being all fully perſuaded in their Minds, it was a Service moſt acceptable to God; without any other Diſcipline, or Way of Worſhip, than what had been ſo ſettled among us by thoſe pious and learned Martyrs, (the Founders of it,) who carried their own Faggots, (not loving their Lives unto Death,) to bear their Teſtimony for it.

By which means that happy Queen ſo long reigned in Peace, (by Love,) in the Hearts of all her Subjects, and a Terror to all her Enemies; whereby our National Church became the Envy of *Rome*, and the only Sanctuary for all diſtreſſed Proteſtants Abroad.

All this plainly demonſtrates, That pure and undefiled Religion, founded in Piety, Sobriety and Righteouſneſs, may be eaſily known of all, as it conſiſts in Humility, Self-Denial, and ſincere Practice of what we know, (all epitomized in good Living,) and not in profound Knowledge, needleſs Diſputes, long Prayers, or fruitleſs Diſcourſes.

If theſe Things were laid to Heart, ſo as to be well weighed, and conſidered, by all ſincere and well-meaning Chriſtians, who now ſeparate from our public Communion, into private Congregations; that from thence they might be awakened, to examine, and (with me) ſeriouſly enquire into the Truth of Things, they would ſoon find how miſerably they have been impoſed upon, and drawn into Prejudice, and an ill Apprehenſion of the pureſt and beſt eſtabliſhed Religion on the Earth, by ſuch deſigning Leaders, as can be contented to ſacrifice the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom, to promote the Intereſt of a Party, in order to gratify their own Ambition, and worldly Deſign, though under a Diſguiſe of Liberty of Conſcience; when, in truth, by Separation from us, they do but exchange one Shell of Religion for another; for ſo I reckon (and ſo our Church doth eſteem) the moſt refined Diſcipline, or outward Way of Worſhip to be; and lays no more Streſs in it, than Decency and Order requires. Therefore it is no wonder, that the moſt ignorant, and ſhort-ſighted, and ſuch as look no farther into Religion than the outward Appearance, but are never capable of diſcerning the vital Subſtance, ſhould, from

from the Scandal of ſome wicked Members (from which the Goſpel itſelf was not wholly exempt,) be ſo apt to deſpiſe our eſtabliſhed Diſcipline, and yet at the ſame time idolize another Form or Way of Worſhip; as if God were more pleaſed with one Shadow than another.

Whereas we eſteem our outward Diſcipline no otherwiſe than as outward Means, compoſed and adapted by the moſt pious and learned Men, from the ſacred Fountain of the Scriptures, ſuited to every Capacity through a whole Kingdom; the leaſt Knowing, as well as the moſt Learned; that all may join together. In which, the pious and well-diſpoſed Chriſtian may worſhip God in the Beauty of Holineſs; and the Youth and Ignorant, as with a Leading-ſtep, may be trained up, from the firſt Principles of Religion, to the greateſt Perfection; and whereby alſo the Profane and Looſe are, by a venerable Authority, influenced and reclaimed, at leaſt kept within ſome Bounds, from ſcoffing at Religion; which is daily occaſioned by the Separation of ſuch who are ſtill ſubject (with their Neighbours) to the ſame Infirmities attending human Frailty, as well as to Pride, Ambition, Self-Love, (in the inordinate Love of the World,) railing at, and cenſuring of others, and yet, puffed up with a falſe Conceit of their own Way, do herd and diſtinguiſh themſelves, under their ſeveral Leaders, into ſo many and various Ways, Opinions, and Perſuaſions; (I wiſh it were not ſo near a Reſemblance of the ſeveral Orders in the Church of *Rome*;) and all under Conduct of their peculiar Guides.

From whence it comes to paſs, that vain and looſe Perſons, beginning firſt with light Thoughts of Religion, and by Degrees declining the public Prayers of the Church, and private Family-Duties; and from thence giving ſcope to boundleſs Luſts, at laſt caſt off all Religion, and become downright Debauchees, and practical Atheiſts.

This may ſatisfy any but ſuch as are in love with a falſe Perſuaſion, and beforehand reſolved to know no better, that the Offence is taken, and not juſtly given, by thoſe that thus ſeparate from our National Communion; eſpecially when they may be all ſo clearly convinced, that the original Cauſe of Separation from our Communion did not ariſe from any thing either in our Doctrine, or the Diſcipline of our Church; but from what was acted by Temporal Rulers, (as they were ſteered by Jeſuits, and Popiſh Intereſts,) in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, procuring a Toleration of Sports on the Lord's Day; and Indulgence to be granted in other Matters, which our holy and pure Religion expreſly condemns and abhors; which could not but be very offenſive to many honeſt and well-meaning Perſons, eſpecially when ſo induſtriouſly improved by ſubtle Jeſuits, and whiſpering Sectaries, (the ſecret Enemies of our Church,) who inſinuated into the Minds of the eaſy and credulous, that our Religion did countenance ſuch Evils, and thereby drew them into ſeparate Congregations; whereby they had opportunity to introduce ſo many ſtrange Doctrines, and Variety of Perſuaſions, the Seed and Cauſe of all our Heats, Diviſions, and Animoſities, on the one hand; and of practical Atheiſm, Debauchery, and Immorality on the other: Both which (as groſs Hypocriſy, and bare-faced Impiety) do equally expoſe us to the divine Vengeance, and lay us open to our Foreign Enemies. For it is moſt plain, the Enthuſiaſtic as well as the Debauchee,

bauchee, when thwarted in their Deſigns, have an equal Tendency to Rebellion and Treaſon.

I ſay, were ſincere, (though miſ-perſuaded,) well-meaning Perſons but once fully ſenſible of theſe great Truths, and of the unavoidable Neceſſity of their returning into our Communion, as the only Means left to unite and ſave us, by reſtoring true Piety, and Chriſtian Charity, in Sobriety and Righteouſneſs among us, it is impoſſible they ſhould ſleep quietly one Night, before they returned into this Boſom of Safety: For (God knows) I fear there is no other Cure left for our univerſal Diſtemper; and it is high time to begin ſo happy a Work.

Wherein their Leaders, if they have (as they all pretend to have) the Spirit of primitive Chriſtianity, may (as faithful in God's Vineyard) outſtrip all our idle Labourers in painful and powerful Preaching; and eſpecially, by their exemplary and holy Living, ſo influence their Doctrine on the Mind, as to reclaim many profane Perſons, who now take occaſion, from their Separation, into ſo many Forms and Shadows of Religion, to inveigh, and rail againſt them all.

And the Lay-Members, if they return into our Communion, and live up to what our holy Religion (which is defective in nothing but good Living,) doth moſt plainly and powerfully teach, may boldly reprove (by our Church-Authority,) and put to ſilence many open Tranſgreſſors, and Evil-doers, who now take occaſion, from ſo many Faſhions of Religion among us, to deride and ſcoff at all Religion in general; and alſo (to their great Comfort) may thereby ſhame a ſcandalous Clergyman into a Reformation of his Life, by ſaying, (with the Spirit of Meekneſs,) in the Language of the holy Prophet, *I have more Uuderſtanding than all my Teachers; for thy Teſtimonies are my Meditation*, Pſalm cxix.

And this (I bear witneſs) is countenanced by all our reverend and pious Fathers and Paſtors, who would have all come to the Knowledge and Practice of the Truth, and who (it is moſt manifeſt) are willing and ready to comply with any thing that may tend to heal our Breaches, and to purchaſe Union with their diſſenting Brethren, if deſired in ſuch a way, and to be done in ſuch a manner, as may preſerve Peace and Unity in the Church.

Which we can never reaſonably hope ſhould be done, without ſome orderly Application of ſuch as muſt own themſelves inferior to thoſe whom the Government (under which they live) have made their Superiors; which nothing can hinder or obſtruct, but Pride, Obſtinacy and worldly Deſign; all which are directly contrary to the meek, yielding, and ſelf-denying Temper of primitive Chriſtianity.

And

And here I may with an humble Confidence, inforce this Argument from the greateſt Example, and the moſt excellent Pattern; even that of his ſacred Majeſty, now on the Throne, the Head of our Government, and Chief of our Communion; whoſe incomparable Perfections (whether we conſider him as a Man, or as a Chriſtian,) are ſufficiently known to the whole World.

WHO, to give us the cleareſt Evidence of his Zeal and Sincerity, hath expoſed himſelf to the greateſt Dangers, for Defence of the Reformed Religion. And though his Education was in a different Perſuaſion, (the Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in his native Country;) yet, to demonſtrate both his Piety and Prudence, when he had ſearched into, and was fully ſatisfied, that the vital Part of that Religion wherein he was bred, and the Doctrine here taught in our National Church, was one and the ſame, he was neither tenacious in his own Opinion, nor bigotted to the outward Form, or Perſuaſion, (which is but the Cruſt and Shell.)

But, (as beſt became the Head of his People,) he, together with his Royal Conſort, (as one Soul,) do openly profeſs our eſtabliſhed Religion; the greateſt Bleſſing Heaven could beſtow, if we know our Happineſs. And, Oh! that all their Majeſties Subjects would regard it accordingly!

And farther, I might urge another eminent Inſtance in his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark*, whoſe Education was moſt ſtrict in the *Lutheran* Church, (the eſtabliſhed Religion of that Kingdom,) where the Diſcipline is as different from that of the *Calviniſts* in *Holland*, as ours is from both; and yet, from the ſame Chriſtian Principle, founded in the vital Subſtance of Truth and Goodneſs, and not wedded to the Shell and Shadow, finding the pure Doctrine ſtill the ſame, he joins himſelf with his ſacred Majeſty, in the ſame Communion.

Who both, during their late Expedition Abroad, in the Defence of their Religion and Country, have conſtantly, and in a devout Manner, offered up their Morning and Evening-Sacrifice at the public Prayers, according to the Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in our Church.

From whence we may appeal to all impartial Chriſtians herein, whether ſuch as are Natives of our own Country, and Fellow-Subjects with us in one Kingdom, and do all pretend to hold Unity in Doctrine with the Reformed Churches Abroad, and with us too, in our National Church, and can ſo readily conform to the Faſhions, Garb and Attire of the preſent Age, and are apt enough to inſiſt upon the leaſt minute Particle of Precedency (with the reſt of Mankind) in Honour, according to Order and Decency in Temporal Government; yet are ſo tenacious in their Opinion, and wedded to their own outward Form, or Shadow of divine Worſhip, as by a continued Separation, to ſacrifice our Religion, and the Peace and Safety of our Government, our Laws, our Liberties, and our Lives, as a Prey to our Foreign Enemies, rather than, with thoſe moſt illuſtrious Perſons, and many other eminent modern Inſtances, (who were all as ſtrictly bred in different Perſuaſions, under Foreign Governments,) to embrace

that

that holy and pure Religion, ſo here eſtabliſhed and ſettled among us from the firſt Reformation, by thoſe pious and learned Martyrs, the Founders of it: I ſay, whether this Stiffneſs and Obſtinacy doth not ariſe from Ignorance and Prejudice in the honeſt and well-meaning, who are ſeduced, and impoſed upon; and from Self-Love, Ambition and worldly Deſign in the Leaders and Seducers; rather than from any pure Principle of primitive Chriſtianity, I leave to all Perſons concerned herein, to be themſelves Judges of the Matter.

I ſhall only add (to compleat this Diſcourſe) theſe following Paragraphs, out of the *Second Part* of the ſame *Lay-man's Religion*, publiſhed ſince the *Firſt*. Licenſed *Nov.* 13. 1690, Page 13.

I Do not hereby charge all non-conforming Clergy, as culpable herein; (God forbid:) For I am fully ſatisfied there are many reverend, pious, and ſincere Chriſtians of that Number, who have great Veneration for our eſtabliſhed Religion; yet have ſo far engaged themſelves in their different Perſuaſions, as they judge themſelves uncapable (*Salva Conſcientia,*) entirely to communicate with us, without ſome Accommodation in thoſe Things which have hitherto obſtructed ſo happy an Union; to which it is well known, the moſt holy and learned Fathers of our Church have been, and ſtill are, readily, and moſt willingly inclined, if ſuch Application were made as, according to the decent Rules of Civil and Religious Order in Government, is required.

And to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch as endeavour to render ſuch an Accommodation either unpracticable, or impoſſible, whoever ſhall read, and will conſider the 34th Article of our Eſtabliſhed Religion, may be fully ſatisfied, that as the pious Founders of it took care nothing therein ſhould be repugnant to the Word of God, ſo they never intended the Rites and Ceremonies, (which are the Shadow, or Cruſt and Shell of divine Worſhip,) eſtabliſhed in our Church, ſhould (like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*) be unalterable; thereby declaring plainly, that as thoſe Rites and Ceremonies might be changed, according to the Diverſity of Countries, Times, and Manners of Men; ſo every particular, or National Church, (not particular Parties, or private Judgment,) hath Authority to ordain, change, or aboliſh them; ſo as all be done to edifying.

But it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, ſuch an eſtabliſhed Diſcipline (the alone Medium of Unity, and the Nerves and Sinews of all Government) ſhould be ſo from time to time changed, much leſs aboliſhed, to gratify every Leader or Founder of a Sect, or different Perſuaſion, that ſeparates from our public Communion, into gathered Churches, (though on never ſo ſpecious Pretences,) no more than may be reaſonably required of a Maſter of a Family to alter the Oeconomy of his Houſhold, to gratify the Humour of every petulant Servant; or of Magiſtrates in Corporations, to endanger the Peace and Safety of their Civil eſtabliſhed Government, by a Change or Alteration therein, only to remove or prevent the Murmurs or Complaints of every diſcontented Citizen, that through Ignorance, Intereſt, or Deſign, ſhall ſcruple or refuſe to comply with the Rules and Orders made, long before they were there Inhabitants, for the

the Safety and Well-being of the Place. Every reasonable and unbiassed Person, that shall seriously consider these Things, and well weigh the Consequence of it, must necessarily conclude, that such a Condescention in Superiors herein, would quickly unhinge all Government, and turn all settled Order, in the best Constitution in the World, into Anarchy and Confusion.

How infinitely happy then would it be for this Kingdom, if all that are Men of Learning and Parts, and every way fitly qualified for their high and holy Calling, (to whose Judgment I humbly submit the Consideration of these great and growing Evils,) would labour after such an Accommodation, in so sacred and weighty Affairs; that they might all, as Fellow-Labourers, join in the promoting and endeavouring after so desirable a Blessing, as Harmony in divine Worship; the only Means to heal our Divisions, and effect an universal Reformation of Manners among us.

For as it is most plain, Separation was the original Cause, and hath increased all our Miseries; so nothing but such an Union can heal and effect our Cure.

God grant all their Majesties Subjects may approve themselves herein, as worthy Members of such a Communion, (in order thereto,) by following the Royal Pattern and Example of our Sovereign, and chief Member, himself, now on the Throne.

But after all, I would be so understood, (as I have plainly, in the first Part, already declared,) that I do not aim at (in any thing I have said) the least Abridgment of that honest and innocent Liberty of Conscience, (the Christian's Birth-right,) which all ought to have and enjoy; who, from Education, or Mis-persuasion, cannot conform to our Established Discipline; but do desire and endeavour to live peaceably under the Government, in all Godliness and Honesty. But still I say, it is both equal and just, that till such Persons shall be so rightly informed and convinced in their Judgments, as to conform to our Religion established, they ought to be content with such Liberty of Conscience, and Indulgence, as the Law allows them, and not to make it a Stalking-Horse to serve their Worldly Interest, or Design; for it is from *Lucifer*, and not from Heaven, if they aspire after, or attempt to share in the Government, upon any other Term.

The

The Jacobite Principles vindicated; in Answer to a Letter sent to the Author.

By CHARLWOOD LAWTON Esq;

Dedicated to the Queen of *England.*

To the Queen.

Madam,

I Beseech your Majesty's Pardon, that, without first consulting you, I lay at the Royal Feet of a most injured Queen the Vindication of a most injured Party; and I hope this Dedication will have so much Effect upon the Public, as to satisfy the World of my Candor in representing the Measures of your Majesties, and the Notions of those that are in your Interest; for it cannot be supposed I dare inscribe that to your Name, that is contrary to the Royal Intentions of his Majesty and yourself. I must confess I think I have Reason rather to beg Pardon that I have not sufficiently explained the good Inclinations you both have to make us happy. I chuse to put your Majesty's Name before these Sheets, rather than the King's, (though I suddenly design to dedicate a short Discourse to him) because, if possible, the World has been more maliciously unjust and inveterate towards you, than ever against him; nay, some have presumed to censure your Majesty for those Errors and Mistakes of his Reign (for which I don't pretend to apologize) which were entirely the Work of his false and corrupted Ministers; and yet I have heard from those who had Opportunity to know, and who are not much your Friends, that Public Affairs were not your Concern whilst his Majesty was here; which is the more to be admired and applauded in your Majesty, since all that had the Honour to wait upon you about Business when his Majesty's Absence in *Ireland* made it absolutely necessary for you to apply yourself to it, found in your Majesty a Genius fitted to all great Affairs. And, Madam, though you retired, as soon as the King returned to *St. Germains*, purely to the exercise of your own private Virtues; yet I am so assured that the Reflections you then made, whilst you was perfectly forced to look into the *British* Affairs, and since you have entirely quitted them to his Majesty's Care, have fully convinced you that these are proper Measures of Accommodation, that I don't doubt but your Majesty will graciously forgive my Presumption.

I know few Men approach Crowned Heads without making Panegyrics; but I shall not enter upon a Theme upon which Posterity will better bear just Things to be said than the present Age will yet; nor is a courtly Stile my Talent, though it is from a Sense of your Goodness as well as Greatness that I am devoted to your Commands and Interest.

I

I have heard of but few Faults that any Party has found with the firſt Edition of this Paper, which I hope is a good Sign that all Men are at laſt inclined to moderate Things. I am ſure it was written with all the good Meaning imaginable towards my King and Country, your Majeſty and Poſterity, and all the ſeveral divided Parties of your Subjects: And that you may be glorious, and they happy, is the conſtant Prayer, and ſhall be the Endeavour of,

May it pleaſe your Majeſtey,

Your Majeſty's moſt obedient Subject,

and faithful Servant.

The Jacobite Principles vindicated.

SIR,

AS much as *Engliſhmen* have been famed for their Hearts, they have been always reproached for their Heads. They have always loſt their Wits by National Intoxications. They have been always a tempeſtuous, a heady, and a divided People: But they never were more apparently ſo, than they have been in this laſt Change. They have not only out-run their own, but the Pretences of their Deliverer. He came not for a Crown, but to redreſs our Grievances; but we would give the Crown, yet neglect our Grievances, and all Amendment of our Conſtitution: And we will ſtill maintain our Injuſtice in the one, and Folly in the other. Thoſe that reſolve to do ſo, may ſee *Maeſtricht* taken after *Mons* and *Namur*, *Flanders* ſubmitted to *France*, the Confederacy broken, and we (divided as we are, and ſhall be, amongſt ourſelves) left to grapple with all that Power, which has now for four Years employed ſuch united Forces. Nor can we hope God will work a Miracle to ſupport ſo unjuſt a Quarrel. They may ſee all this War brought into our own Bowels, into this divided Kingdom; may ſee it make Havoc and Deſolation upon this Iſland; in a word, may ſee Friends and Kindred killing and deſtroying one another, embruing their Hands in each others Blood; and then our pretended Fears may become true, thoſe Miſeries overtake us, with the pretended Suſpicions of which we have coloured over and countenanced our unrighteous Doings. But you think it is too late to draw back, and you can ſee no Security in the Reſtoration; you can't ſee our Lives, and our Religion, our Liberty, and our Property will be ſafe, I aver you impoſe upon yourſelf, and one Man impoſes upon another. But you ſay you are frighted at the Diſcourſes of ſome, both Proteſtant and Catholic Jacobites. You ſay they talk for Slavery, and that when we are Slaves, we may be made Papiſts. Yet if you would conſider, you have been invited by publiſhed Pamphlets to reflect, who among the Jacobites are likely to give you Satisfaction. Would you have Men ſet their Names to what they write? There are Men that you believe are in King *James*'s Intereſt, that you have no reaſon to believe would ſacrifice their Country or their Religion, and that I aſſure you have as true a love for thoſe good things you mention as you can have yourſelf, and that would join with you and any *Engliſhmen*, to aſk in a reſpectful manner for every honeſt thing that is neceſſary to ſecure us from arbitrary Power,

and the Violence of all Sorts of Prieſts, and that are themſelves ſatisfied, and can authentically ſatisfy you that the King has been a long time willing to make all thoſe neceſſary Conceſſions that will ſecure the Church of *England*, as the eſtabliſhed Worſhip, make an impartial Toleration ſafe, and for the future put our Liberties and Property out of the Power (as much as good and who'eſome Laws can do it) of Male-Adminiſtration; nay, that are ſatisfied he muſt be willing to do ſo if ever he will come home. There are Jacobites that believe what *Gourville* is related to have once ſaid concerning our Kings; *Qu'n Roy d'Angleterre qui veut eſtre l'Homme de ſon Peuple, eſt le plus Grand Roy du Monde, mais s'il veut eſtre quelque choſe d'Avantage par Dieu, il n'eſt plus Rien.* There are Jacobites that are for Reformations, though they believe them more laſting under unconteſted Titles than where Title is too great a Part of the Diſpute; that think it lawful for Kings, and their Parliaments, to limit and explain the Nature of Prerogatives, though they think it ſafer to the Conſtitution to leave it to the three Eſtates ſo to do, than for one or two of them to innovate too rudely without the Conſent of the other; that own a great Difference between the Changing or Abolition of ſome particular Laws, and altering Fundamentals. And the greateſt Aſſertors of Liberty muſt acknowledge, that Prerogatives in Kings, ſuitable to the reſpective Conſtitutions, are neceſſary to maintain thoſe Conſtitutions, and to protect their Subjects, and conſequently that in all Pacts and Compoſitions their People make with them, due care ſhould be taken even by the People not to take from their Kings any eſſential Powers. Prerogative, like a River, ſometimes gains, and ſometimes decreaſes in its Banks; but the Bark of the Community ſails ſafeſt when it keeps its own natural Channel, according to the reſpective Conſtitutions. *Bacon*, that writes the Uniformity of the Government of *England*, is certainly no over-monarchical Author; yet he has this Expreſſion in relation to King *Stephen:* Too much Counter-Security from the King to the People, is like too many Covenants in Marriage, that make room for Jealouſy, and are but Seeds of an unquiet Life. After all, it is certainly the Nature of *Engliſhmen* to delight in, and they have been uſed to a limited, explained, and hereditary Monarchy; and *Naturam licet expellas furca tamen ipſa recurrat*, will be found true in a politic, as well as a natural Senſe, by all thoſe who would change our Government into an abſolute Monarchy or downright Democracy, or that will interrupt the Succeſſion. The *Lancaſtrian* Uſurpations, and the late Times, witneſs this. But perhaps ſome of theſe Jacobites you complain of, may think to diſgrace what I have ſaid, by calling theſe Notions Republican. To theſe Gentlemen I will firſt anſwer, that ſince we are ſo elemented for a Commonwealth, there is no keeping it out but by a Reformation of the Monarchy, that may as apparently anſwer all the Reaſons why Government was firſt depoſited in the Magiſtrates Hands, either by God, or the People. I will not diſpute the Original of Government at this time, but I will offer one thing to theſe Speculators to conſider of, which is, That whilſt they too much cajole Kings, they loſe their Intereſt with the People, and miſlead an *Engliſh* Monarch, and make way for that Government both in Church and State, which they would (if they underſtood how) oppoſe. They help the real Commonwealths Men to Arguments, and give the Preſbyterians opportunity to inſinuate, and gain the Hearts of the People. Perhaps were the People of *England* a *Prima Materia*, I would

be

be very well content that the Draughts of these superfine Projectors should be debated, but I think *Machiavel* was as good a Politician as most of them; and yet he says, *If the Variations of Times are not observed, and Laws and Customs altered accordingly, much Mischief must follow.* And in another Place, he affirms it *a very hard Thing to keep them in Servitude, who are disposed to be free.* And whoever has reflected upon the extravagant Courses we have taken to be so, ever since the Beginning of the late Civil Wars, cannot sure doubt of our Disposition: For though we have been mistaken in our Cures, nobody can be mistaken in our Propensity. I am no Lord, nor ever desire or hope for any Title. I had rather serve my Country in the Lower than the Upper-House; and if my Country never thinks fit to send me to that neither, I shall never court, much less bribe, for that Imployment from my Country: For I would not be bribed in it. Yet considering how much the Power of the Lords has in some Reigns been a Check to the Incroachment of Kings, and in others to the Hot-Headedness of the People, I should be willing to screw up the Aristocratical Part of our Government, though not to the Heighth it sometimes has had in our Policy; but the present Ferments of *England* make it impracticable. And though some Men are, I am not for driving Nails that will not go; when we may without Breach of Conscience let that Work alone to a more clear-sighted Age. Though I think our Oaths, and the Original Contract of our Law-Books, bind us to restore the King; yet I know no Obligation we lie under to restore Power to the Lords, but as there shall appear both great Feasibility and Expediency: I am not for hazarding much for bringing things exactly and minutely to my Platform. It will be always enough for me, if the Fundamentals of our Government are preserved. A Trimmer in Politics, if it means one that would avoid Extremities, and compose Things, and not one that serves himself by all Times and Changes, is a Name and Character that I shall always revere. But to give these Gentlemen a farther Answer, I must tell them, that it is plain, by undeniable Matter of Fact, that to those Persons that ingaged in the *Scotch* Plot; though he had not tried his Fortune in *Ireland*, nor could the Persons ingaged assure his Return, even upon such Condescensions; yet the King granted under the broad Seal of that Kingdom, a full Redress for all Grievances, and that at the Request of People that had opposed him; so that talking of Terms will be no harsh Language to him now; he can want no farther Illumination, by a longer Series of Misfortunes, to let him see, that Compliance with his People is his true and only Interest. In a private Pamphlet, and in a private Capacity, it is not proper to state the Manner and Bounds of our Redresses: But did ever People re-admit a King they had ejected upon the Male-Administrations of his Ministers (if they could any ways help it) without making good Provisions? Can any Body imagine we expect the People of *England* should? The Men of Sense, and Quality, and Estates, amongst the Jacobites, be they Protestants or Papists, don't wish they should do it. Would you have Trials secured? It is the Interest of all Parties, Care should be taken about them, or all Parties will suffer in their Turns. *Plunket*, and *Sidney*, and *Ashton*, were doubtless all murdered, though they were never so guilty of the Crimes wherewith they were charged: The one tried twice, the other found guilty upon one Evidence, and the last upon nothing but presumptive Proof. Either let Prisoners have

Council, or the Judges be forced to be more impartially ſo than they were in any of theſe Caſes; and let Juries underſtand that only *Allegata* and *Probata* are to direct their Verdict, and not deadly Feuds, foreign Belief, or State Neceſſity. In *Scotland*, at all Trials, the whole is taken down in Writing, Word for Word, as well all Probations, as what is ſaid, both by the King's Advocate, and the Pannel or Criminal, and is all made a Record; that After-times, (when the Heat of the Proſecution is over) may examine whether the Judge dealt impartially; and if he did not, and is alive at the Review of thoſe Proceedings, if the Priſoner ſuffered Death by his warping the Law, the Judge is to undergo the ſame Puniſhment; and if he is dead, the Heirs of the injured Perſon, is to recover equal Damages to what they ſuſtained in their Fortune, by his illegal Sentence, from the Heirs of the unjuſt Judge. The *Saxons* puniſhed falſe Judges, by giving Satisfaction to the Party wronged by them; and as the Caſe required, by Forfeiture of the Reſidue to the King, and by his diſabling them for ever for Places of Judicature, and by leaving their Lives to the King's Mercy. Who can have the Face to oppoſe the Revival of ſomething equivalent to that Law? But I will not diſcuſs too particularly the Particulars I ſhall mention. The granting of that Bill for Judges, that the Prince of *Orange* refuſed, and *Whitlock*'s for Tryals, will be the Glory of King *James*'s Reign, whenever he is reſtored.

As to the armed Force of *England*, I think there may be Ways found out to make our Militia as ſerviceable as any mercenary Bands, to employ all our Officers that have had military Experience, to raiſe from time to time ſuch Numbers of Officers, and ſuch Nurſeries of private Centinels, as may make both the King and Kingdom ſafe, add to the Glory and Majeſty of our Monarch, and yet not leave the leaſt Umbrage for Jealouſy in the Minds of the People. But this is not a time of Day for me to lay before the World ſuch Plans. I will not hold forth ſuch Doctrines under any Government I think unjuſt, and that I think too have not the Honeſty to embrace them if I would. But if ever I ſee an *Engliſh* Parliament under a rightful Prince, I will not be wanting in offering my Mite, in this and all other Things that may contribute to the Good of my Country: And ſure nobody can be ſo unreaſonable as to be unwilling to hear from one that has given Teſtimony of his Loyalty to his King and Nation too, any thing that ſuch an one will propoſe, to eſtabliſh the Throne, and quiet the Minds of his Fellow-Subjects. Prætorian Bands in *Rome* butchered as well as guarded their Emperors. It is but very lately that the *Janiſaries* depoſed the Grand Signior, and King *James*'s own Army deſerted from him in theſe Kingdoms; and I am confident I can ſhew, that the Love of his Subjects is the beſt ſtanding Army for an *Engliſh* King, as well as how he ſhall have it, and be able to look all his foreign Enemies in the Face to boot: But I ſay, it is not time for the Publication of theſe Things by my Hand, nor will I be too prolix upon any one Thing; therefore to come to Parliaments.

Is there any Man of Senſe and Fortune, that does not know them to be the Conſervators of all that we hold dear? Can there be an unjuſter Thing, any Thing more fatal, than a partial Repreſentation of the Minds and Intereſts of Men in that Houſe? Tho' this Reign has taught them to do very little elſe but give Money, or Sanction to, or Pardons for the Irregulations of Miniſters; yet

the

the Design of their Institution is as well to provide Remedies for the Complaints of the Kingdom, as Cash for the Prince's Coffers. I will not debate what is necessary to make them free, but I am sure they should be so. I will not say how often they must sit, but I am sure they should frequently: Both these Considerations are fittest for their own House, and I am not willing to make narrow Spirits peevish: But sure no Man of Interest, or that Hopes to keep any Reputation with the World, will deny they should be free and frequent, and that they should not be too much officered, that they may be faithful.

I shall not enter into a Detail of what is the Work of Parliaments; but there is one Thing I am sure is very properly theirs; and that is to make an exact Scrutiny into the public Administration, and to bring Ministers (who are above the reach of common Courts of Judicature, and can stem all other Prosecutions;) I say, it is the Work of Parliaments to bring such Ministers to condign Punishment, if they deserve it.

I know not any thing wherein Princes, and some of their Subjects, have been more unfortunately mistaken, than in their Wishes that Ministers should be impunible: Whereas Favourites that are not a Cement between Prince and People, that don't consult in all their Actions, the Laws of the Constitution, and Inclinations of the Inhabitants, become Rocks of Offence, and bring Ruin, sometimes upon all, too often upon their Princes, and God be praised for it, more generally upon themselves. What is the Reason of that admirable Maxim, that the King of *England* can do no wrong? Why do the People of *England* make him on epicurean God, so happy in the Enjoyment of his own Majesty? Why do we say, that he neither can nor does disturb the Peace of our World, but because his Eyes and his Ears, his Omniscience and his Omnipresency, are comprehended in his Ministers; but because, if those Ministers are Troublers of our State, they are to be punished, even for Inadvertencies, and much more for Sins of Malice? Tho' this Revolution has blotted out all our original Contract, raised all our Statutes and Law-Books, turned our Monarchy topsy-turvy, and scandalously prevaricated from all our civil Compacts, by employing the Men that persuaded King *James* to, and acted in what we imputed to him as false Steps; yet it was his Ministers should have been punished, and not he himself dethroned, and sure King *James*, after he has found so many Ministers were false, others flattering and foolish, cannot be unwilling to leave it an everlasting Law to his and our Posterity, that Ministers shall be accountable. It is our Law, tho' both weak and profligate Men have, the one fancied, and the other pretended the contrary; and for that Reason, and that Reason only, it ought to be written more legibly in our Statute-Books: Is it not the Interest of Kings, that Ministers should not male-administer away all the Affection of their good and loving Subjects? Is it not the Interest of Kings, that the representative Body should plainly shew them by whom and how they are betrayed? Yet, after all, those that will read that excellent Chapter in *Machiavel*, which shews how necessary it is for the Conservation of the State, that any Citizen be securely accused, *p.* 277. of his Works, ought to read the two next Pages, which shew, that unjust Calumnies are no less pernicious to a Commonwealth, than legal Accusations are profitable and good; and there you will find a great Difference betwixt Accusation and Calumny. Ministers ought to be punished; I am satisfied

fied the King is willing they ſhould be ſo, for the future: *Sunderland*'s Miniſtry ſuggeſts that Advice to him very effectually and ſtrongly; but *Beautefeaux* alſo are to be ſuppreſſed in all well-ordered States.

One Thing ſeems naturally here to fall in my way, which I beg leave to handle in the moſt inoffenſive manner that I can. I foreſee this Part will leſs pleaſe ſome Men, for whom no Man living can have a greater Honour than I have; yet I think it of ſo much Neceſſity and Importance, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. There was not an ill thing done in King *James*'s Reign, that I did not call ſo then; and all that know me, know that I have taken it as my Province to repreſent Truths, be they never ſo bold or bitter, whilſt they are for Inſtruction. I am no Advocate for any Man's Faults, nor for any Faults, though I would be charitable and good-natured, forgiving and forgetting towards all Men's Perſons. Methinks the State of Things require this Meaſure. I ſcarce believe there ever was a Period of Time, wherein an univerſal Amneſty was ſo requiſite; a Forgetfulneſs, as well as Forgiveneſs of all paſt Crimes. Methinks all Sides ſtand in need of this Temper. If the Miniſters of King *James* exceeded in their Management of our Affairs, as doubtleſs they did, we have doubtleſs exceeded too in our Revenge upon the King's Perſon; and beſides, thoſe that have fallen in with the Uſurpation have not proceeded againſt any one Man that has been in their hands, for any thing that was done amiſs in the two late Reigns; and therefore methinks it is very hard, if we cannot forgive thoſe that have undergone Baniſhment, (which in all Countries has been reckoned ſome Sort of Puniſhment) or ſuch as have hazarded Priſons, or the Gallows, every Day. Why ſhould we not forgive all thoſe that ſerve him amongſt us, or that are with the King (though they may have had Faults) when we deſire, or I am ſure ought to deſire, that the whole Land ſhould be forgiven? All Parties, and almoſt all Men, have ſome way or other been to blame; and therefore there ſeems to me to be a little too much Paſſion and Self-Intereſt in keeping up old Grudges. I avoid ſaying there is any Infatuation in keeping them up, though I cannot think that it is the likelieſt way to prepare the King to cloſe with wiſe Counſels, to revive or continue our Piques: For the King can ſcarce be ſuppoſed to be without ſome Kindneſs for thoſe who have either followed his Fortunes, or ventured their Necks for him; and conſequently, it is not perhaps adviſable to make thoſe that tranſact in his Affairs (though they have been peccant) believe they can have no Quarter, no Share in him, unleſs he return with a high Hand. They will have ſome Opportunities to put ill Conſtructions upon good Advices. I have read of but few of thoſe heroic Spirits in any Age, who have ſo diveſted themſelves of all Regard for their own Perſons and Poſterity, as to be willing to become a Sacrifice to their Country. I think this Age affords fewеſt Inſtances of thoſe great Minds; and therefore I think it the likelieſt way to make Men inſtrumental towards the Good of their Country, to ſhew them that they ſhall find their own Account in being ſo. I hope I have expreſſed myſelf in as modeſt and inoffenſive Words as any, in which I could conceive my Thoughts; and I hope I ſhall not be ſo miſunderſtood, as if I would juſtify any thing that was by any body done amiſs; for I will not juſtify a falſe Step, even in the King; but I would have us lay aſide all the Biaſſes of Factions

Factions and Friendſhips, and much more all Enmities, that we may unanimouſly offer to the King right Notions, and thereby reſtore him to his hereditary Kingdoms. After all, I would not have leſs than ſuch a Repentance as gives Evidence of Amendment entitle to Abſolution, but I would leave Room and Rewards for ſuch Repentance.

I fear this Moderation, and forgiving of Enemies, will be thought a hard Leſſon; but, I bleſs God, I have practiſed it, and I think it not only the nobleſt Precept in Chriſtian Morality, but an admirable Rule in civil Prudence, eſpecially in our Caſe; for it is as difficult for a Party that is ſubdivided within itſelf to pull down an Uſurpation, as it can be for a divided Kingdom to ſtand.

But I am ſenſible I have made too long a Digreſſion, and therefore muſt omit many other Particulars, upon which I would explain myſelf, and the Senſe of many other Jacobites; and I can aſſure you, I am ſorry that any Jacobites ſay any thing that offends well-meaning Men: But I wiſh, for their own Sakes, my Countrymen would not take a Standard, either of the King's Inclinations, or the reſt of his Friends, from their indiſcreet Tattle. There are in his Intereſt thoſe that know, that to talk too loftily and dogmatically, to diſpute, as they do in the Schools, concerning Prerogative and the Nature of Monarchy, to ſtand nicely upon Punctilios, to conſult *Ariſtotle*'s and *Xenophon*'s Kings, is as unlikely a way to come to a mutual Accommodation, as to peruſe and dream of *Plato*'s Commonwealth, Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*, *Harrington*'s *Oceana*, &c. There are Men of his Side, that think (as the great Lawgiver *Solon* did) that a Government muſt be framed according to the Nature of the governed, and that he is the beſt Subject, as well as Politician, that adapts all his Notions to our Tempers; that conſiders Men, as well as peruſes Books, when he is to draw a Scheme; and I believe, as you ſay, that the high Flights of ſome Jacobites hinder many honeſt Men from coming into his Intereſt; and farther, that they ſometimes miſlead the King. Nevertheleſs, there are in his Intereſt Men that I aſſure you are not frighted at Words, nor ſtartled at Nick-names, that know the King of *England* makes the greateſt Figure in *Europe*, when he is beſt with his People, and that is when he governs by the Meaſures of Commonweal. Theſe Men know, a good Commonwealth's Man was not a Character of Reproach in our Legiſlation and Politics, till all our Glory dwindled, and the Abſoluteneſs of Miniſters was more conſulted than the true Intereſt of King or Kingdom; till a Pack of Knaves forged a ſeparate Intereſt between the King of *England* and his People, and till they began to call a mixed Monarchy an errant Bull, and would reform our State by metaphyſical and Court Diſtinctions: Whereas, if our Hiſtories and Statute-Books were conſulted, they are every where full of Explanations. Are theſe Gentlemen you complain of weary of *Magna Charta*, (which was but a Revival and Recitation of the *Saxon* Liberties, and ancient *Britiſh* Laws?) I will prove to them farther, That Laws and lawful Prerogatives may be ſo abuſed, that it may be fit to take away the one, and to deſire that the other may never be again ſo uſed; and that our former Kings have thought ſo. But I will go no farther back than the Conjunction of the *Two Roſes*, and they may find that in *Henry* the Seventh's Time *Empſon* and *Dudley* haraſſed the People by obſolete

lete unrepealed Laws; nay, it has never been thought mean by our greateſt Kings, to make Condeſcenſions to their People: And, as haughty as King *Henry* VIII. was, my Lord *Herbert*, in his Hiſtory of his Reign, tells you, That in his firſt Parliament he repealed, explained or limited thoſe Statutes, by which his Father had taken Advantage of his People; and (as my Lord *Herbert* judiciouſly obſerves therein) was willing to reſtrain his own Authority, in ſome ſort, that he might enlarge the People's Confidence and Affection. This that King did in the celebrated Part, to wit, in the Beginning of his Reign, though he had at the ſame time in his Exchequer what was equivalent to ſeven Millions Sterling now, and was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Throne, and had no particular preſſing Occaſion to pleaſe his People. How much more neceſſary is this Meaſure to regain the People's Confidence and Affection towards an exiled Prince? The Author of this Hiſtory (my Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*) profeſſes in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, great Deference to Kings; and that the King (to whom he dedicates his Hiſtory) had luſtrated by his gracious Eye, and conſummated by his judicious Animadverſions, all the Parts of that Hiſtory, as faſt as he finiſhed them. And therefore this Inſtance ought to be of great weight with every Body, even with thoſe Jacobites you talk of. It is a Royal, as well as my Lord *Herbert*'s, Hiſtory of *Henry* VIII.

I am not ignorant, that this King *Henry* VIII. is brought as an Inſtance of a King that could pull up Foundations, and do what he pleaſed; but there was a ſtrange Concurrence in his Time to help him in the Buſineſs he was doing, and he did it by Parliaments, and often uſed Palliations; and perhaps if a Man looks obſervingly upon his Life, he was but the Head of the Rabble-Rout; and that neither he nor the People knew what he would be at. It was an Age big with Changes; and his greateſt Exorbitances fell upon a Sort of People who were wearing into Diſeſteem, or were of a more private Nature. Beſides, he began his Reign with a wondrous good Grace, and he ſacrificed now and then a Miniſter; and what he took from the Church, he divided amongſt the Gentry and Nobility. But, after all, I will own, there are ſome Periods of his Reign, wherein the Prince went farther and faſter than the People, and he had the good luck to do ſtrange Things by incomprehenſible Ways: For my Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* (as judicious and ſharp-ſighted an Author as he is) ſeems to wonder, and not to underſtand all the Occurrences of his Reign. His beginning it ſo condeſcendingly, makes it leſs a wonder, that the People were a great while apt to put good Conſtructions upon what he did afterwards. He gave up *Empſon* and *Dudley* merely to their Rage; and *Wooliey*'s Fall was pleaſing; and, as I juſt now intimated, he was more ſacrilegious towards the Church, which was then going down with the People, than he was otherwiſe oppreſſive.

The next Perſon I will introduce ſhall be Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Speech in the forty-third Year of her Reign, occaſioned by Complaints againſt Monopolies, is ſo excellent, that I think fit to tranſcribe it at Length; though I will not commend the Sanguinary Laws ſhe made in Matters of Religion, as well againſt *Browniſts*, &c. as Papiſts, no more than I will many other Parts of her Reign. I have often wondered why meer Church of *England* Men cried out againſt, or Whigs ſo much extolled her, ten or twelve Years ago; for ſhe was

a meer Church of *England* Queen: But, I proteſt, I know not how enough to commend this Speech which ſhe made to her Parliament; I wiſh every Body would peruſe the Context of it in *Camden*, but the Words of it are theſe:

'We owe unto you ſpecial Thanks and Commendations for your ſingular 'Good-will towards us, not in ſilent Thought, but in plain Declaration ex-'preſſed; whereby ye have called us back from an Error, proceeding from 'Ignorance, not Willingneſs. Theſe Things had undeſervedly turned to our 'Diſgrace (to whom nothing is more dear than the Safety and Love of our 'People) had not ſuch Harpies and Horſe-Leeches as theſe been made known 'unto us by you. I had rather be maimed in Mind, or Hand, than with 'Mind or Hand to give Allowance of ſuch Privileges of Monopolies as may 'be prejudicial to my People. The Brightneſs of regal Majeſty hath not ſo 'blinded mine Eyes, that licentious Power ſhould prevail more with me, than 'Juſtice. The Glory of the Name of a King may deceive unſkilful Princes, as 'gilded Pills may deceive a ſick Patient, but I am none of thoſe Princes; for I 'know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the Benefit of thoſe who 'are committed, not of thoſe to whom it is committed; and that an Account 'is one Day to be given before another Judgment-Seat. I think myſelf moſt 'happy, that by God's Aſſiſtance I have hitherto ſo governed the whole 'Commonwealth, and have ſuch Subjects, as for their Good I would willingly 'leave both Kingdom and Life alſo. I beſeech you that what Faults others 'have committed by falſe Suggeſtions, may not be imputed to me. Let the 'Teſtimony of a clear Conſcience be my abſolute Excuſe. Ye are not igno-'rant that Princes Servants are now and then too attentive to their own Bene-'fit, that the Truth is often concealed from Princes; and they cannot them-'ſelves look preciſely into all Things, upon whoſe Shoulders lieth continually 'the Weight of the greateſt Buſineſs.'

I cannot but obſerve, before I go any farther, that this Queen was not willing to take upon herſelf the Faults of her Servants; but, on the contrary, gave them very hard Names. I muſt obſerve likewiſe, that Commonwealth was no odious Word then; for ſhe calls the Government of *England* ſo twice in this Speech; and in her Time Secretary *Smith* wrote a Book of our Government, to which he gave that Title. This was an Age wherein Majeſty could court, and Miniſters affect to be Patriots of the People; and yet Prerogative did not loſe much ground, although it ſometimes yielded.

But I will come nearer to our Times, as far as the Union of this Iſland. Sir *Francis Bacon* adviſed King *James* the Firſt (as you may find in his *Reſuſcitatio*) to amend by Conſent of Parliament ſome of our Laws, and to expunge others, eſpecially penal ones.

He quotes a learned Civilian (though he does not name him) that expoundeth the Courſe of the Prophet, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, of Multitude of Penal Laws; which (continues he) are worſe than Showers of Hail, or Tempeſts upon Cattle; for they fall upon Men.

He goes on, There are ſome Penal Laws fit to be retained, but the Penalty too great. And it is ever a Rule, That any over-great Penalty (beſide the Acerbity of it) deads the Execution of the Law.

He ſays alſo, There is a farther Inconvenience of Penal Laws obſolete, and out of Uſe; for it brings a gangrene Neglect, and habit Diſobedience upon other wholeſome Laws, that are fit to be continued in Practice and Execution. So that our Laws endure the Torment of *Mezentius*, the Living die in the Arms of the Dead.

I choſe to expreſs my Lord *Bacon*'s Words: But I will add to what he has ſaid a farther Inconvenience that I myſelf have obſerved in the reading of Hiſtories; which is, that the Revival of obſolete Powers, and obſolete Penal Laws, have not only proved a Snare to the People, but given Kings too often an Handle to fall into ſuch Meaſures as have proved deſtructive to themſelves. Powers in a Crown, that are wholly unfit to be exerciſed, are only Temptations to Oppreſſion and Miſunderſtanding. Knight-Service was once a very politic Tenure: It was once fit, before the ſeveral People of this Kingdom were mixed and civilized, that whoever was born upon a Lord's Land, ſhould be brought up under his Care; and that no Woman that held Land of any Lord ſhould carry her Eſtate to any Man that was an Enemy to that Lord: Yet in King *James* the Firſt's Days, the ſame Sir *Francis Bacon*, though then Solicitor-General to him, in a Conference with the Lords, by Commiſſion from the Commons, made a Speech to perſuade the Lords to join with the Commons in a Petition to the King, to obtain Liberty to treat of a Compoſition with his Majeſty for Wards and Tenures. This was in the ſeventh Year of King *James*'s Reign, in *Halcyon* Days. The Speech is in the thirty-fourth Page of my Lord *Bacon*'s *Reſuſcitatio*, and worth any Man's Reading. He therein propoſeth, in Recompence of the Revenue of Tenures, a more ample, a more certain, and a more loving Dowry; loving Dowry expreſſeth admirably well, that Kings ſhould be willing to change any Part of their Revenue, for what may ſuit better with the People's Inclinations. But I won't make Remarks upon this Speech.

The next Paragraph ſpeaks of the Nature of thoſe Things, and how it is changed with the Times. *Verabula manent, Res fugiunt*, are his Words.

And the next Paragraph to that ſays a great deal more in theſe two Axioms, *Naturæ vis maxima, & ſuus cuique diſcretus ſanguis:* For reſtoring Children to the Care of their moſt affectionate Relatives.

I come to the Reign of King *Charles* I. and muſt ſay, that the ſtrained Uſe of ſome Powers and Prerogatives, for which the flattering Lawyers had ſome dark Semblance of Authority in our Law Books, gave the fatal Riſe to the late Civil Wars, which ended in the horrid Murder of that King; and when King *Charles* II. was reſtored, though the firſt Parliament he called will be allowed by every Body to be ſufficiently devoted to him, yet he therein, when they were under the greateſt Tranſports and Raptures of Loyalty, paſſed many Acts that plainly own the great Inexpediency, if not Illegality of ſeveral Things done in his Father's Days, and ſecured us againſt the like Abuſes hereafter; and had he lived, he muſt have owned that he himſelf had carried the *Quo Warranto's* too far, or he would have ſate uneaſy; and thoſe very Men that were inſtru-

mental

mental in *Quo-warranting* Corporations, did every where declare, that Regulations, which (however illegal I take them to be in themselves, how much soever I think them a Fanatic *Rowland* for the Church of *England Oliver*, yet I think they were agreeable to the Powers the Crown reserved to itself in the New Charters;) I say, That those very Men that were instrumental to the *Quo-warranting* Corporations, did every where declare, that the Regulations in the succeeding Reign, made the very Legislative Power insecure, and resolved all our Government into an absolute and despotic Rule. Questionless there should be some to punish the Abuses in Corporations, but the Penal Laws that are against Corporations have perhaps annexed to them too great a Penalty; perhaps it would be better to punish the Persons that offend, than to fall upon the poor innocent Charter. I would have the Body Corporate be able to do no wrong, though the Members may.

But it is not my Business in this Place to propound the Remedies, but to shew that it is lawful to make, and that there used to be made, and that there ought to be Reformations now, as well as there have been formerly. And I hope I have made it plain, both from our Histories and Statute-Books, That Civil Infallibility was not formerly an Article in our Politics, nor has it the Universality on its Side; nor will any Party abide by it, unless for personal Ends, or when it serves their own Party. The Papists did not believe it in their Days; the Church of *England* did not believe it when his Majesty was amongst us; and the Fanatics never pretended to believe it. Thus you see my Thoughts; and, as different as they may be from the *Williamites* that have deluded, or from the *Jacobites* that have affrighted you, I defy any of the One to be readier to hazard themselves for their Country, or the Other to venture farther for the Service of King *James*. All I desire is, That the King may have for his Motto what the sincere Historian says of the two best Emperors of *Rome*. *Tacitus* his Words are, *Divus Nerva, et Divus Trajanus, Res olim insociabiles miscuerunt, Imperium et Libertatem.* And may the Remainder of King *James* the Second's Days give yet leave, after he has lived long here, to write upon his Tomb, *Divus Jacobus Secundus*, &c. *Res olim insociabiles miscuit Imperium & Libertatem.* I would have the King consult his own Honour; but I think he does it best, when he considers well and thoroughly of the Liberties of the People. I allow that Maxim to be true, *Principum Actiones præcipue sunt ad Famam componendæ.* But no *English* King will preserve his Memory grateful, in the Records of Time, or his Name dreadful in Foreign Courts, who is not beloved by his People; and none will be so, that does not carefully fence, and inviolably preserve our Rights. We have been a People always jealous of our Rights, *Tenacissimi Libertatis.* The Word Conquest is often met with in our common Histories, and misleads our common Readers; but though our Nation has been often stormed, our essential Laws and Customs were never carried. The *Romans* governed us, in great Part, by our own Laws, and the wisest of their Lieutenants found we were more easily governed by Gentleness and Justice, than by Force. The *Danes* made no Alteration in our Constitution; and the *Saxon* and *Norman* Invasions ended in Treaty; and the *Saxon* Government was *homogeneous* to our Temperament; and when *William* (called the Conqueror) would have introduced the Customs of *Norway*, the People neither would, nor

did receive them. If a Man reads Hiſtories to underſtand Government, he muſt obſerve many Things beſides the Tale of them; and whoever looks into our Antiquities, will find the Footſteps of our Liberties are as ancient as of our Being. But to return to what I was ſaying ſome time ſince, I would not injure my Country for King *James*, nor would I injure King *James* for my Country, I think your Party wicked, and I fear too many Jacobites are weak: They are weak by fantaſtic Notions, and violent Averſions, and Perſonal, Party, and Church-Quarrels. But I would rather lament, than expoſtulate too freely, and I deſire no Body to ſerve King *James*, but on the Principles of making him the Father of his Country: I once again aſſure you, I neither do, nor will upon any other; and were he reinſtated in his Throne, if he purſued partial Notions, and ungrateful Meaſures, I would rather make a Vow of voluntary Exile, than accept the beſt Employment that a King of *England* has in his Power to give: I have many times told him ſo. And farther, I would always adviſe him to take into his Buſineſs popular Men, and to let them ſerve him by the Methods that made them popular: But at the ſame time, I ſay, I would adviſe him to forget as well as forgive all our Miſcarriage. I would have a perfect Act of Oblivion from him; and I would have the People paſs on their Part ſo entire an Act of Oblivion, that they ſhould not gall any one Man for what they did amiſs in his Reign, or under this Uſurpation, on condition they teſtify their Repentance by their Amendment of Life. Though *Henry* IV. of *France* (ſo juſtly called the Great) was in his abſence arraigned and condemned to Death, and executed in Effigy by *Harquebuſſes*; and this by the Votes and Order of the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*; yet, notwithſtanding he recovered his Kingdom by force of Arms, that great and excellent King did not in the leaſt revenge their traitorous and rebellious Uſage; by which generous as well as politic Carriage, he added to the Conqueſt of his Country the Conqueſt of the Hearts of all his People, reconciling at once all the Animoſities and Factions which had been the Product of near forty Years Civil Wars. Let a new Face of Things ariſe likewiſe out of our State-Chaos. May the King govern with that equal Hand, that Merit may be rewarded, and nothing but Vice in Diſgrace; that thoſe may be thought to ſerve him beſt, that moſt ſerve the general Good; and let it be a Crime, as well as ill Manners, to revive any of our old Diſtinctions; let there be no Diſtinction upon the Account of Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Faith; and let Obedience and Allegiance to the Civil Power be the only Teſt for Preferment. You know, my Friend! I am no Papiſt, though I am for a civil Comprehenſion: And as falſely as your *Iriſh* Dr. *King* has traduced his Majeſty for what he did in *Ireland*, I am told one thing for which his Wiſdom and Goodneſs can never be enough commended; and that is, that he required no Oath from any one Man that ſerved him, but truſted to their Honour and their Intereſt, rather than the Obligation of Oaths, being ſure an honeſt Man would do his Duty without them; and being alſo convinced by a late and ſad Experience, that they never bind a Knave. And thus he truly made himſelf the King of all Perſuaſions.

The Diſcipline of the *Lacedemonians* was poſitive, That every Man ſhould keep his Rank or die; yet they never put an Oath to their Soldiers: Shame and Honour had more Power over thoſe brave Minds, made them even ſcorn Death,

(which

(which is the greateſt Trial) had a more infallible Effect upon them, than we can pretend all Oaths have upon us.

Notwithſtanding this ſhort Remark about Oaths, I am neither Quaker nor Sectarian; therefore a Hint is enough from me upon that Subject: But from the ſeveral Heads of Diſcourſe I have handled, methinks I find myſelf under a Neceſſity of clearing, at leaſt, briefly three Things, and I will do it as briefly as I can.

The firſt is, That thoſe that are both zealous and jealous for Liberty and Property are more in Number, than thoſe that are for the Straint and Stretches of Prerogative.

I find there is a vaſt and unlucky Miſtake in the Computations of ſome People, and that by reaſon that they do not diſtinguiſh between the State and Religious Whig. I allow the fanatic Whig, or thoſe that refuſe to come to our Communion, are not perhaps the twentieth Man in *England*, but there are very great Numbers of Men, who never went formerly, nor do now go, even by reaſon of their Principle, to any other Church but the Church of *England*. There are likewiſe many others, who are not at all bigotted to any particular Form of Church Worſhip, who yet moſtly, if not altogether, go to the Church of *England*; and yet both the one and the other of theſe are as much, or perhaps more nicely Whigs in Civils, than are the Fanatics, though not ſo generally called ſo: So that there are Church of *England* and *Latitudinarian*, or (as the *Scotch* call them) *Eraſtian* as well as Fanatic Whigs. Now let us conſider what Intereſt all theſe three Sort of Whigs have in our Affairs; what Influence they have over them; and you will find by Matter of Fact, that theſe many Years laſt paſt, they all joining upon a civil Bottom, have all along been too hard for that which is the Church of *England*, as it is *contra-diſtinguiſhed* to the Whig. They were fatally ſo in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time. But to bring Things within all our Memories and Obſervation, the three laſt Parliaments in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, is not an improper Seaſon to calculate their Intereſt and Influence: For then they choſe before any illegal or unwarrantable Tricks had been played by either Side with Charters, and if the Nation was inflamed by a Popiſh Plot, I am ſure the Court leaned wholly to the high Prerogative Church of *England*. Then you ſee that the Bill of Excluſion (though it was an exceſſive and exotic Rant, rather than a natural Effect or Production of Whiggiſm) was carried in the Houſe of Commons, and that though almoſt all the Members were Church-goers. But I will ſhew you yet by a later Inſtance, that State Whiggiſm runs through this Nation. All thoſe that are for this Government act upon that Principle, and lay aſide the paſſive Obedience and prerogative Notions of the High Church of *England*-Men; notwithſtanding that they keep up the Epiſcopal Order, the Pomp, Ceremony, and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. And whoever will turn out a King for Male-Adminiſtration of his Miniſters, will never receive him without a Reformation in the Conſtitution: They will be State-Whigs, though they do not call themſelves ſo. It is for Liberty and Property that theſe Men ſtruggle, though they do not know how to name their own Actions.

The ſecond Thing that ſeems neceſſary for me to clear, is, That it is neceſſary to give a Liberty of Conſcience; and that theſe Aſſertors of Liberty and

Property

Property will be for Liberty and Conſcience, and be able, upon the King's giving good Securities for our Civil Rights, to give in Exchange of them an impartial Toleration. I will not diſpute the Inconſiſtency of Perſecution with either the Chriſtian or Moral Law; nor will I take pains to prove that where a Nation is greatly divided into Sects, it is the Intereſt of that Nation to give every Body leave to worſhip God in their own Manner: But I will ſhew the Likelihood that the State-Whigs ſhould and will exchange Religious Liberty for Civil Security. And now I muſt again carry you back to the Beginning of the late Civil Wars, and then you will find, becauſe the Church of *England* would not give Liberty of Conſcience, the State-Whigs ſet up Preſbytery. The next Conſultations I muſt make you acquainted with, are the Debates of the abovementioned three laſt Parliaments of King *Charles* the Second, and you may eaſily recollect they were for Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; nay, they made ſome Votes that were thought extravagant in their Favour, ſome ſuſpending diſpenſing Votes; for they reſolved it as the Opinion of that Houſe, that it was contrary to the Intereſt of the Nation, to put the Laws (which were then in being) in Execution againſt them: But you will ſay they did not vote as much for the Papiſts. You muſt conſider the Seaſon. Beſides that, the Papiſts have been eſteemed errant Courtiers ever ſince the Reformation. The Parliament then thought they had a Popiſh Plot on foot; they thought that Plot was not a Plot for Liberty to worſhip in the Popiſh Way, but to introduce Popery, by the Deſtruction of all our Civil and Religious Liberties. You know at the Beginning of my Letter I charged my Country with National Intoxications: We can at ſometimes believe inviſible Pilgrims, black Bills, St. *Jones*'s Gridirons, and that three thouſand *Iriſh* can maſſacre all *England*. And when that Popiſh Plot was proſecuted ſo violently, the Generality of Men looked upon the Papiſts as *Banditti* and *Miſanthropi*, in relation to the Proteſtants; they looked upon them as the Partizans or Janizaries of the Court, Propagators of Civil as well as Religious Superſtition and Idolatry. And if theſe Men had a mind to ruin the Papiſts at that Day, it was not becauſe of their Prayers and Beads, but becauſe they thought them Enemies to our Conſtitution; not only from their Dependance upon the *Roman* See; but for a Miſchief that was nigher at hand, their exceſſive Flattery of the Court and Crown; whereas the Diſſenters being avowedly tender of Liberty and Property, were only favoured by all thoſe Parliaments, but influenced great Numbers of thoſe who were not of their own Communion, at the reſpective Elections of each of thoſe Parliaments: So that the Principle of Liberty of Conſcience was perfectly prevalent, though they held a ſtrict Hand over the Papiſts, out of the Principle of Self-Preſervation; and conſequently, a truly choſen Parliament will make the Papiſts *Engliſhmen* where they find them ſo. In farther Proof of this laſt Aſſertion, I muſt beg you to remember how King *James*'s Declaration of Indulgence was at firſt entertained. I know the univerſal Joy with which it was firſt received laſted but a little while; but know that though the Whigs miſliked that it ſhould be put out upon a diſpenſing Power; yet believing it a Preface to comprehenſive Meaſures and Latitudinarian Politics, they forgave that Blemiſh in its Birth; and every where ſo unanimouſly embraced it, that thoſe narrow Spirits of the Church of *England* who had a mind, were aſhamed, if not afraid

afraid to oppoſe it. Liberty of Conſcience would have made King *James* the Second memorable and glorious in our Hiſtories, had not *Sunderland*'s Artifices, ſuch Speeches as Mr. *Alſop*'s, and ſuch Pamphlets as, *Can there come any Good out of* Galilee? ſpoiled the nobleſt Project any *Engliſh* Monarch ever ſet on foot, which was, *A Separation of Religious from Civil Intereſts.*

I confeſs we can make Popery a Bull-beggar, when we pleaſe, and that ought to teach the Papiſts Moderation; but the Liberty and Property-Men can alſo call off the Mob when they pleaſe: For you ſee at this time the Nation finds no fault with the Emperor's and the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Idolatry; no nor with the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, whilſt they fancy (though wildly and falſely) they are by their Help ſupporting their own Civil Rights. They fall not upon the Papiſts here, that they may not diſpleaſe the Confederates abroad; ſo that Popery is not ſo dreadful, as Property and Privileges are dear and charming.

And now ſince I have been proving that Intereſt governs the World, however Men may miſtake what is their own Intereſt, I think myſelf obliged in the third Place to ſhew that it is the Intereſt of the King, and every Sort of Men, that he ſhould be reſtored upon Civil Securities; and that it is not the Intereſt of the King, or any Sort of Men to endeavour that the Reſtoration ſhould be put upon any other Foot.

Whilſt I ſhew that it is the King's Intereſt, I ſhall anſwer the Objection of thoſe who ſay the Whigs won't think their Properties and Privileges ſufficiently ſecured, unleſs the King part with ſome of his Prerogative. I am ſure whilſt he is diſpoſſeſſed he has no Prerogative, or at leaſt no Exerciſe of, and Benefit by it; and the Chance of War is too doubtful to know whether he ſhall have any, unleſs the People pleaſe. He is outed of his Eſtate, and can in all Probability only have it upon Compoſition; which if he will not make with us, the Nation will try to the laſt to keep the Poſſeſſion; and it has thoſe *eleven Points of the Law.* Nor are all Things Prerogatives that flattering Lawyers have called ſo in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſome well-meaning, and other ſelf-deſigning Clergymen, have believed ſo in their Cloſets, or preached for as ſuch in their Pulpits. They can ſee farther than I, that expect to do any thing without an Accommodation. I think it impoſſible he ſhould be reſtored, or were he, that he ſhould keep his Throne without it. I think it impoſſible for one Man to govern the People of *England*, unleſs they have a mind he ſhould; and they will never have ſuch a Mind, unleſs he ſometimes gives way to their Impetuoſities. But farther, his Age, and the Minority of his Son, are the higheſt Inducements imaginable for him to endeavour to leave a ſettled Government, to *quiet the Minds, as well as ſuppreſs the Inſurrections of the People.* There is likewiſe another Reaſon, why as a Man of Conſcience he muſt be yielding; for he cannot but be willing that his Son ſhould be educated in his own Religion; and if he will let the Kingdom be ſecure of their own Religion, and of their own Laws, notwithſtanding that the Crown ſhould be of one Religion, and the People of another, I am ſatisfied that the People of *England* will be little ſollicitous which Way our Kings think the beſt to Heaven. This has Argument, as he is a religious Man. But I muſt again inforce Condeſcentions, as the Intereſt of the King under a natural Conſi[de]ra-

tion,

tion. Good Securities will make the Nation own the Legitimacy of his Son, more than all other Proofs; and without good Securities, there will be Pretences that his Birth is disputable; (though I affirm it impossible for any thinking Man to question in his own Mind the Prince of *Wales*'s being born of the Queen's Body.) Compliance with the People made Queen *Elizabeth*'s Title unquestioned; so that those that flatter the King with his Right, and seem to despise our Rights, take the most infallible Course to destroy both the King and his Posterity.

I need not have said one Word of this Matter, to inform the King's Judgment; for he is in that Temper in which his Subjects wish him, and that would satisfy a Parliament-House, were he to receive their Petitions and Addresses, to stamp their Votes, and to end our Disputes. I do not speak this by guess, but am convinced of it by many Discourses I have had the Honour personally to have with him, since his Misfortunes; and the Letters I have had from several of the best Hands since I left his Court, confirm me he remains in the same Opinion. But I thought it was necessary to say something of this Sort, to set before those Jacobites you complain of, the Interest of the King in the truest Light.

As for the Whigs of all Sorts, every Body knows that they will find their Account in a Restoration upon Civil Securities, and that no other Restoration will please them: So that I will not labour that Matter at all; but hasten to shew that it is the Interest both of the Church of *England* and Catholics, to promote such a Restoration.

The Church of *England* is not secure, that she shall be continued the National Church, so long as there is unlimited and unexplained dispensing Power; and she saw *Quo Warranto*'s could produce Regulations, and so I might go through other Things. And the Ministers of a Catholic King may again mistake in the Exercise of his Power, if the Boundaries of the Administration are not plainly chalked out; and whilst the Church of *England* appear Enemies to Liberty and Property, they will lose their Interest with the People; and the next Revolution will conclude in Presbytery and a Commonwealth: For Popery wants Numbers to establish itself; though some of the Members of that Communion may have Vanity enough to hope to establish it; and if the Church of *England* do not join in Civil Securities; nay, if there should be a Restoration without them, those Catholics (though it will be to their certain Ruin) may be able to do enough towards it, to make the Church of *England* fall, and the Presbyterians get all in the Scramble. And though the Presbyterians have an odd hankering after a King; yet, after they have been bit once more, they will become tuneable to a Democracy. Nothing can destroy the Church of *England*, but their Opposition to the Liberties of their Country, or to Liberty of Conscience, or their closing with Comprehension.

It is a little light, but however I will set down what I have often heard said concerning it by Men of very large Minds. They have said, That if the Members of the Church of *England* were as good-natured as the Constitution, it is the best-bred civilest National Church in *Christendom*. I set it down as a light Expression to be used concerning Church-Affairs, and yet there may be Instruction in it: For I believe its Civility, if it does not make too extra-

vagant

vagant Compliments of our Liberties, will for ever make it ſtand; but if our Liberties are not well guarded, that may be pulled down, and Preſbytery will be ſet up.

As for the *Roman Catholics*, I think it is in the higheſt Degree improbable that the King ſhould ever be able to come home by Conqueſt, and yet more improbable he ſhould be able to ſtay here upon that Title, (if indeed it is one in a natural King:) And if the Catholics would in all Places declare for Civil Securities, I think this is the propereſt Opportunity for their Incorporation. Our having been in Confederacy with Princes of that Perſuaſion, has made us capable of allowing fair Quarter to thoſe Catholics that are here. We can follow our Intereſt, notwithſtanding our old Grudges; and if the Catholics will come to a Temper, we are enough in one to embody them: Whereas, ſhould not the Reſtoration be in the Life of the King, the Prince of *Wales* would be fetched home upon a meer Church of *England* Plot, and the Proofs of his Birth will be authentic, and without Diſpute, during his Non-age, and till he has diſobliged us; and the Church of *England* Men will, in point of Religion, carry all Things before them, as far as is in Oppoſition to Popery; he will be bred up a Proteſtant, and muſt in Proof of his being ſo, conſent to any farther Laws that the Church of *England* will think neceſſary to ſecure their Church againſt Popery: So far will it then be from repealing the Teſt, or even the Penal Laws, in relation to Catholics. And the Church of *England*, whilſt they may have their Church ſecured, will, during the Minority of the Prince, (before Flattery will advance to Preferment) agree with the Liberty and Property-Men for any good and wholeſome Laws; and the Protectors of young Princes muſt give way to the Importunities of the People. Now the Catholics will not have an Opportunity to bribe us by Civil Securities; the Church of *England* will remember all thoſe Male-Adminiſtrations of his Miniſters, for which they turned out King *James*; and will ſay it was the Papiſts hindered us from being redreſſed againſt them. And the Whigs will throw it in their Diſh, that they offered them Friendſhip upon legal Eſtabliſhments, and that they did not cry out upon the Declaration for Indulgence, though founded upon a diſpenſing Power, till the *Roman-Catholics* flew, or made at leaſt an Appearance to fly, at ſeveral of our moſt invaluable Rights and Privileges. The Whigs will ſay the Papiſts doated upon *French* Power, rather than National Reſtoration; nay, that they ſlighted the laſt, and have every where declared againſt the King's coming home upon Terms, Conceſſions, Reformations, and Amendment of our Conſtitution; though unleſs they had intended to exerciſe a *Daniſh* Lordlineſs over us, their own Welfare muſt have been concluded in every thing that made *England* happy. It matters not how unjuſt theſe Accuſations will be: It is a true, though a coarſe Proverb, *It is eaſy to find a Stick when one has a mind to beat a Dog.* Is it the firſt Time that we have againſt you believed Lies? I neither am, nor I hope to God ever ſhall be a *Roman Catholic*; but I have ſuch Bowels towards all Mankind, that I ſeriouſly proteſt I have ſuch melancholy Bodings for the *Roman-Catholic* Party, I foreſee ſuch a Period of Calamity (according to human Reckoning) falling upon them, if the King is not reſtored by great Compliances with his

People, and in his own Person, that it has given me many a painful Thought; and I must confess I am infinitely concerned for many excellent Persons of that Communion, who deserve better than to be made a Sacrifice to our Rage and Madness, who deserve all the Benefits of Fellow-Subjects. The Whigs and Church of *England* Men will come to a Compromise at that Day; but in all human Appearance it will be a dreadful one to the Catholics. Now they have an Opportunity to be incorporated with the Protestants; but if they do not make use of it, they may be pitied, but no Man will, in all Probability, be able to help them. How universal and Catholic soever their Religion may be in other Places, I am sure they are Fanatics in *England* under a civil Consideration; and therefore that they have all the reason in the World to be State-Whigs, and as such only will ever be impartially used by us.

I think nothing that I have said has depreciated the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience. I do not pretend to determine who is in the Right in that Controversy, much less to handle it as a religious one: But give me leave to tell an admirable Story concerning Dr. *Colvil*, a great Man in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but one that was thought not to understand clearly the Principle of Non-Resistance. The late Earl of *Middleton* having him once at Dinner, asked him, *Whether there could be no Case in which defensive Arms were lawful?* The Doctor replied, *It was fit for the People to believe them unlawful, and for Kings to believe them lawful.* It was an admirable Repartee upon a sudden Question: But perhaps, had he thought of it, he would have said likewise, *That it is fit for the Ministers of Kings to believe them lawful too*; and I presume the present Earl of *Middleton* set down that additional Instruction to the Apothegm. For though, to the eternal Shame of the Judges who now sit upon the King's Bench, they violated our Laws in the Continuance of his Imprisonment, it must be allowed, for his everlasting Honour, that that noble Lord was as cautious of making the Law the Limits of his Ministry, as if it were lawful to rise up in Arms whenever the Laws were broken.

But I must answer your Postscript, wherein you tell me, that you neither know how the King can be restord now the Prince of *Orange* is in Possession; nor what will become of the Prince of *Orange* if we should restore the King; nor what Security we could have from any Conditions the King could make with us. I answer, that if the Prince of *Orange* is not kept in Possession by *Englishmen*, he may soon be brought to Reason; and I do assure you, that there are many Jacobites that desire rather to see the Prince of *Orange* return to his Station of Stadtholder again in *Holland*, than wish him any personal Injury: And as for the Security you require for any promised Conditions, you must forgive me if I think you a little insincere, if not trifling, when you place so much Weight upon the Pope's giving King *James* an Absolution for any Promises he should make. You might have said this artfully to the Mob; but you cannot suppose that I would believe you were in earnest, though you make such a clutter with it. I allow, as you say, that our Histories tell us of some Kings that were absolved by Popes; but you know that Bulls, Absolutions, and the Pope's Excommunications were like to go farther with the Nation in Popish Times,

Times, than they are like to do now: And yet by your very Instance of King *Henry* the Third, you might be convinced, that the People of *England* never would, even then, let a King be at rest, till he had performed his Promises. I will not write a long Confutation of a Thing that I know cannot stick with you, or any wise considering Man: And besides, I do not go about to persuade you to take up with a Constitution, that will depend either upon a King's Temper or Religion, Honour or Veracity. Make a Government that is easy to all, and it will be the Interest of all to preserve it: But if you would do so, you must bring the Right Line into it; you must nicely preserve the Church of *England*, as the National Church; and yet you must remember that the Kingdom of Heaven is not of this World: You must take care in your Civil Compacts, that Priestcraft does not spoil all at last: You must take care even of a Protestant, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*; and let the Tares and the Wheat grow up together. But farther, although you have such wild Accounts concerning the Jacobites; there are amongst those that serve King *James*, Men that know what you are a doing; that know you are looking far and near for a Deliverance; that know how impotent you think the Prince of *Orange* is to rule; how that you despise him, as much as the Nation misliked *Richard Cromwel* before the Restoration; that know your extravagant Projects, and more temperate Thoughts, and yet have accounted for all Things; and will, as Things ripen, find Ways to give you Satisfaction, if any Thing will. We know that *Maud* the Empress, even when King *Stephen* was a Prisoner; and though her Title was indisputable, and though the Nation was all Catholics, lost the Crown, because she was refractory and haughty, and denied to the *Londoners*, *Edward* the Confessor's Laws. And I assure you there will be Men that will lay before the King the Necessity and Wisdom of giving Satisfaction to all your reasonable Demands. If you do not ask too much Counter-security, Things unfit for an *English* King to grant, there are Jacobites that will not only deliver, but second your Petitions. A good and settled Monarchy you may have; and a Commonwealth is scarce practicable, will be hazardous at present, and cannot be lasting.

I know there are some amongst the Jacobites, who are otherwise Men of great Honour and Worth; and yet suspect every Thing, such as you promote is to make the King a Doge of *Venice*: But there are others who have compared, and taken in Pieces, and viewed in Parts, all the Models of Government; who, if you would rectify, and not change, either the Name or Nature of ours, will receive very kindly any thing you offer, will instruct you how to make it palatable to the King, and shew him how consistent it is both with his Honour and his Interest. Let the Manner be decent, and your Propositions allow King *James* to have the Ballance that an *English* King should have, and must necessarily have in our Constitution. And I assure you many of the Jacobites know no other but such an *English* King to be our supreme Head and Governour.

But, after all, if King *James* is called home by the Nation, we need no other Security than a well-chosen Parliament. The present Parliament may call him home when they please, without any other Force, but their own Denial of Money. And the King's being of another Religion, will in some measure check the Effects of a Revolutionary Joy, and prevent our Excesses. And

if ſober and honeſt Men would in all Corporations (inſtead of all other Projects) inſtruct all the Populace, That all thoſe that drink upon their Members Coſt, hazard being Slaves for that Draught; and that it is time ſeriouſly to take Care of themſelves and their Poſterity, by chuſing Men of Virtue, rather than the Favourites or the Factions of any Opinion, whether they are *Jure divino* or Original Contract-Men; Men that are as well Loyal to their Conntry as their King, and to their King as their Country; Men that have good Nature, Eſtates, Honeſty, Senſe, and moderate Minds: Such a Parliament would be an healing Parliament; might not only end, but take away all Occaſions for Strife and Changes. And Eſtabliſhment, Virtue and Liberty, are a nobler Happineſs than exceſſive Riches, pompous Buildings, and all the other Glories that a People can poſſeſs. How is the Excellency of the *Spartan* Inſtitution every where and every Day applauded, though all their Pleaſures ſeem to be nothing elſe but Hardſhips and Self-denial? But we may add Plenty to our Peace, increaſe our Trade and our Strength, and by our naval Force, and a perfect Union amongſt ourſelves, be again conſidered as the Arbiters of *Europe*.

But I am unawares launching into a ſpacious Subject. It is time to conclude. I wiſh all *Engliſhmen* would conſider how to do it; and I wiſh there could ſuddenly, before we are undone, a Method be found out to reconcile the King and his Nephew, and all his Children, both natural and national; a Method found out to adjuſt all our Intereſts, and bring us all to our reſpective Duties. I beſeech God ſo to order Things, that all Sects and Sorts of *Engliſhmen* may think it a national Good to reſtore our King. I have read our Annals; I wiſh every Body had. Could I here delineate the Scars and Wounds, the Bloodſheds and Diſtreſſes, that the Violation of the Hereditary Title (which will hover over all Uſurpations, and all Forms of a Commonwealth) have coſt the poor People of this Nation; could I paint out the Executions, and Extinctions of Noble Families, that the Wars between the Two Houſes have occaſioned, they would repreſent but an horrid Proſpect, a doleful Scene.

'Oh, Bleſſed God! Viſit not this Land for its Iniquities with Deſtruction; 'but in Judgment remember Mercy. Let Righteouſneſs and Mercy reſtore 'him to it, and on them eſtabliſh the Throne of thy Servant *James*; Teach 'him to go in and out before this great People, which (by our Laws and Oaths, 'and his Inheritance) thou haſt committed to his Charge: Let his Children 'honour, his Subjects obey, and his Nephew be juſt to him, and God be glo-'rified, be ſtill glorified, in his and our wonderful Deliverance; that Wicked-'neſs may no longer proſper, but Peace return to us, and our Children's 'Children, to all Generations. *Amen, Amen.*' And God put it into the Hearts of all his Subjects to ſay likewiſe *Amen* to this national and honeſt Prayer.

I find that my Letter has grown under my Hands; but if it tires you, you muſt thank yourſelf that you ſtarted ſo much Game; a great deal has riſen before me in writing that I have not followed, though I hope I have writ enough to let you know, that whatever Spirit you find ſome Jacobites in, yet there are others

others that cannot disgust a reasonable Man; and also that I am the same *English-man* you ever knew me, as well as,

SIR,

Your affectionate Friend, and

faithful Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Letter I sent you last *August*, being shewn to some that are yours as well as my old Friends, and more so to *England* than to either of us, it was, at their Importunity, sent to the Press, soon enough to have been published long before the Parliament met; but when Part of it was printed, the rest was stopped by some Accidents that are not so proper to mention, and therefore some few Expressions of it may not be altogether so seasonable as they were when I wrote it to you (since the Money is now given;) however I hope in the main it may be of some Use. And now we have begun this scribbling Conflict, I desire that in your next you will let me know when you can reasonably suppose this War, and consequently Taxes, will end? And whether, if the Confederacy should break before you have thought fit to restore your rightful and lawful King, or the *French* are more humbled (as you call it) than they are hitherto, we should not indeed run a greater risk of our Liberties, for the present, (after such a continued Provocation of the King) than either you, or I, or any good *English* Man could wish to see? Tell me likewise, whether those that are not of our Army or Fleet, cannot, if they have a Mind to restore the King upon a national Foot, influence those Natives that are in both, to restore King *James*, as the *old Army* did his Brother. You have read History, and know that an Army of Natives follows the Inclinations of the Inhabitants; you know the real Power your Party has in the Nation; and that it is not the Tories, who have broke in upon their own Consciences, but you, who have forsaken your Understandings, that keep the Prince of *Orange* (as much as you every Day ridicule him) from being sent for good and all to *Holland*; and though you do not know how to make him either value your Persons, or see his own Interest; yet you can soon find ways (notwithstanding your own Latitude) to make an *English* Army reflect upon their Oaths and Obligations to King *James*, and their Usage under this Man; nay, you cannot but know they begin themselves to have these Reflections, and therefore with very little pains you may prepare them nationally to restore the King; which if they do (with all due Regard to him be it spoken) he is, as it were, in our Power, and he must grant those Concessions we really want; and where a King, whose Title is disputed, frankly hears Advice from a duly-elected Parliament, the genuine and united

united Sense of the Nation may be gathered up, and a natural Cure given to all our Troubles, and only from thence can come an impartial Settlement. Think of these Things seriously, and let not the Discourses of such Jacobites, as you complain of, (who have as little Interest with the King, as you say they have with *England*) either give you disturbance, or make you any longer willing to undergo worse Things under this Usurpation, than you can have any just Reason to fear, if the King returns; especially, if you yourselves restore him. Besides, I must tell you, I have good Reason to believe, the King of *France* himself (with whom you fright the Mob) is not politically an Enemy to a limited Monarchy in *England*; and that he will agree to a reasonable Peace in *Europe*, if the Restoration of King *James* is made one of the Conditions of it; and that he will not be brought to any Peace unless we restore him, how much soever the Prince of *Orange* has flattered you, that (instead of the Vineyards and Spoils of *Paris*, that he seemed to promise) *he will bring him to an honourable Peace.* I will only add, That whereas some of your Party do now, as you did formerly, raise malicious and unjust Calumnies upon the Queen; I am fully satisfied that she is as desirous the King should comply with his People, as the noblest and nicest Patriots could be, were King *James* upon the Throne: She has a mind that the Struggles between the Crown and the People should be adjusted, that so the Succession of her Son may be secured. Think of all this seriously, write me your Mind freely, and act as becomes a true Lover of *England.* Be not over-fond of your own Creation, as a *Williamite.* Meddle not with those who would yet farther change the Name and Nature of our Government, and then (fiercely as you are so now) be *Anti-Jacobite* as long as you can. Once again, Adieu.

Certamen

Certamen utriuſque Eccleſiæ:

OR,

A LIST of all the eminent Writers of Controverſy, Catholics and Proteſtants, ſince the Reformation.

WITH

An Hiſtorical Idea of the politic Attempts of both Parties in every Reign, in order to ſupport their reſpective Intereſts.

By *CHARLES DODD.*

Printed in the Year 1724.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatise.*	*Death*	*Adverf.*
1	John Colet	D D. Deanof S *Pauls*	De pavore Chriſt.	1519	Eraſmus
2	William Grocin	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Contra Hoſtiolam	1522	Luther
3	Thomas Brinknel	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Tractatus contra	1522	Luther
4	Thomas Spencer	Charterhouſe Monk	Trialogus againſt	1529	Bilney
5	Henry Bullock	D.D. Prof. in Cambr.	De Cap. Babylonica	1530	Luther
6	Rich. Kedermyſter	Abb. of Winchcomb.	Tractatus contra	1531	Luther
7	John Batmanſon	Pri. of the Charterh.	Tractatus contra	1531	Luther
8	Nicholas Weſt	Biſhop of Ely	Againſt the Divorce	1533	Cranmer
9	John Roper	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Tractatus contra	1534	Luther
10	Sir Thomas More	Lord Chancellor	Supplicat. of Souls	1535	Fiſh
11	Henry Standiſh	Biſhop of St. Aſaph.	Againſt the Notes of	1535	Eraſmus
12	John Fiſher	Biſhop of Rocheſter	Real Preſence	1535	Oecolamp
13	John Kynton	D.D. Franciſcan	Tractatus contra	1536	Luther
14	John Raſtall	Learned Printer	Defen. of Purgatory	1536	Fryth
15	John Hildeſley	Biſhop of Rocheſter	De veri corporis eſu	1538	Latymer
16	John Forreſt	D.D. Franciſcan	Popes Supremacy	1538	Hen. VIII.
17	Edward Powell	D.D. Preb. of Sarum	Propugnacul. &c.	1540	Luther
18	Richard Fetherſton	D.D. Q. *Cath.* Chap.	Againſt the Divorce	1540	Wakefield
19	Thomas Abel	D.D. Q. *Cath.* Chap.	Againſt the Divorce	1540	———
20	Richard Whitford	Confeſ. of Sion houſe	Defen. of the 3 Vows	1541	Luther
21	Edward Lee	Archbiſhop of York	Againſt the Notes of	1544	Eraſmus
22	Henry VIII.	King of *England*	Defence of 7 Sacram.	1547	Luther
23	Stephen Gardiner	Bp. of Wincheſter	De Euchariſtia	1555	Cranmer
24	Robert Aldridge	Biſhop of Carliſle	Real Preſence	1556	———
25	Richard Thornton	Suffragan of Dover	Real Preſence	1557	Bland

1 Thomas

HENRY VIII.

BEgan his Reign in *June* 1509, died in *January* 1547. *Proteſtant Attempts.* They inveſt the King with the Spiritual Supremacy, and vote themſelves into a National Independent Church. Abbey-Lands are ſeized, and diſtributed among the Lords and Leading-Men of the Houſe of Commons, the more effectually to engage them in the Court Meaſures. Wives more than ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm are provided for the King, the Contrivance of *Cromwel* and *Cranmer* to poiſon the Court. While *Gardiner* is attempting

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
1	Thomas Bilney	Cambridge Divine	Againſt Purgatory	1520	Spencer
2	Simon Fiſh	Lawyer Grey's-Inn	Supplic. of Beggars	1531	T. More
3	John Fryth	A. B. of Oxford	Againſt Purgatory	1533	Raſtall
4	William Tyndale	Schoolmaſter	Engliſh Bible	1536	Tunſtall
5	John Lambert	Pariſh Prieſt	Real Preſence	1538	K. *Henry* 8
6	Robert Barnes	Auguſtine Fryer	Indulgences, &c.	1541	Standiſh
7	Martin Bucer	Dominican Fryer	Of Juſtification	1551	Gardiner
8	William Thomas	Lay Gentleman	Le Pelerine	1554	
9	Hugh Latymer	Biſhop of Worceſter	Real Preſence	1555	Brooks
10	John Hooper	Biſhop of Gloceſter	Anſw. to the Detect.	1555	Joliff
11	Nicholas Ridley	Biſhop of London	Real Preſence	1555	Langdale
12	John Philpot	Archd. of Winchef.	Real Preſence	1555	Harpsfield
13	John Bradford	Preb. of St. Pauls	Real Preſence	1555	Pendleton
14	John Rogers	Vicar of S. Sepulcres	Engliſh Bible	1555	Tunſtall
15	Robert Farrar	Biſhop of S. Davids	Real Preſence	1555	Morgan
16	Thomas Cranmer	Archb. of Canterb.	For the Divorce	1556	Gardiner
17	Sir Richd. Moriſon	Ambaſ. in Germany	Apamaxis	1557	Cockleus
18	John Plough	Rect. in Nottingham	Apolog. for Proteſt.	1558	Hoggard
19	John Bale	Biſhop of Oſſery	Engliſh Writers	1559	
20	Barth. Trahern	Dean of Chicheſter	Paranæſis	1561	T. Trahern
21	Peter Martyr	Canon Regular	De Euchariſtia	1562	Smith
22	John Poynet	Bp. of Wincheſter	Prieſts Marriage	1566	Martin
23	William Turner	Lay Preacher	Reſcuing the Fox	1568	Gardiner
24	Roger Aſcham	Tutor to *Edw.* VI.	Contra Miſſam, &c.	1568	
25	John Knox	Scotch Preacher	Govern. of Women	1568	Leſley

26. William

HENRY VIII.

attempting a Reunion with *Rome*, *Cranmer* inveigles the King in his laſt Sickneſs to ſtrike him out of his Will. *Catholic Attempts.* *Gardiner* promotes the Six Article Act, to croſs *Cranmer*'s Deſign of privately introducing Lutheraniſm. Princeſs *Mary*, notwithſtanding her declared Illegitimacy, is admitted into the Succeſſion. Several Perſons of all Ranks and States impatient of giving up their Property confirmed by ſo many Ages, and Acts of Parliament, have recourſe to Reſiſtance.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
26	William Forreſt	Chapl. to Q. Mary	Juſtificat. by Works	1555	———
27	John Seaton	D.D. of Cambridge	De Euchariſtia	1555	———
28	Miles Hoggard	Learned Merchant	Tranſubſtantiation	1556	Crowley
29	John Standiſh	D.D. Rect. of Wigan	Unity of the Chur.	1556	Barnes
30	Alban Langdale	D.D. Ar. D. of Lewes	De Euchariſtia	1556	Ridley
31	John Gwineth	D.D. of Oxford	Detection, &c.	1557	Fryth
32	William Pye	D.D. Dean of *Chich.*	Tranſubſtantiation	1557	Latymer
33	Hugh Weſton	D.D. Dean of Wind.	Tranſubſtantiation	1558	Ridley
34	William Perin	Prior of Black Friars	Tranſubſtantiation	1558	———
35	John Holyman	Biſhop of Briſtol	Agſt the Divorce	1558	Cranmer
26	Reynold Pole	Archb. of Canterb.	De Unitate Eccleſiæ	1558	Hen. VIII.
37	Jn. Chriſtopherſon	Biſhop of Chicheſter	Tranſubſtantiation	1558	———
38	Robert Ward	Prof. in Oxford	Tranſubſtantiation	1558	Ridley
39	Cuthbert Tunſtall	Biſhop of Durham	Againſt the Bible of	1559	Tyndale
40	Robert Johnſon	D.D. Chan. of *Worceſ.*	Reſpon. ad Articul.	1559	Hooper
41	John White	Bp. of Wincheſter	Diacoſio Martyrion	1560	P. Martyr
42	James Brooks	Biſhop of Gloceſter	Tranſubſtantiation	1560	Cranmer
43	Thomas Heſkins	D.D. Chan. of Sarum	Parliam. of Chriſt	1560	Jewell
44	Roger Edgworth	D.D. Chan. of Wells	Artic. of Faith, &c.	1560	———
45	Henry Pendleton	D.D. Queen's Preach.	Diſputation with	1560	Bradford
46	Ralph Baynes	Biſhop of Lichfield	Tranſubſtantiation	1560	Glover
47	Richard Smith	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Defenſio Cœlibatus	1563	P. Martyr
48	Robert Points	M. A. of Lovain	Real Preſence	1567	Jewell
49	Edmund Bonner	Biſhop of London	A neceſſary Doctr.	1569	———
50	William Treſham	D.D. of C. Church	Real Preſence	1569	P. Martyr

26 Jam s

EDWARD VI.

BEgan his Reign in *January* 1547, died in *July* 1553. *Proteſtant Attempts.* The King's Will is broke into, and thoſe Perſons laid aſide who favoured the Catholic Cauſe. The Nobility and Gentry are ſtill ſecured to the Court Party by the Remainder of Church-Lands, and Goods, *viz.* Chanteries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Plate, Ornaments, Libraries, *&c.* The Lord Protector *Seymour* ſends for an Army of *German* Soldiers, *Lutherans*, to bring his Matters to bear in caſe the Catholics made any Reſiſtance. Queen *Mary* of *Scotland* is demanded for King *Edward* as a Means to defeat

the

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Date.*	*Adverſ.*
26	James Calfhill	Bp. elect of Worceſt.	Of the Croſs	1570	Martial
27	John Jewell	Biſhop of Saliſbury	Apology, &c.	1571	Harding
28	Walter Haddon	Preſ. of Magd. Coll.	Anſwer to	1572	Glorius
29	John Bridges	D.D. Chap. to Q. *Eliz.*	Regal Supremacy	1573	Stapleton
30	Matthew Parker	Abp. of Canterbury	Antiquit. Brit.	1573	
31	Edward Deering	D.D. Cha. to Q. *Eliz.*	Modeſt Anſwer to	1576	Harding
32	Robert Horn	Bp. of Winchester	Pope's Supremacy	1579	Feckenha.
33	Richard Cox	Biſhop of Ely	Real Preſence	1581	Treſham
34	George Bucanan	Tutor to K James I.	De Jure Regni, &c.	1582	Leſley
35	John Story	Biſhop of Hereford	Exhort. to Martyrs	1585	
36	Miles Coverdale	Biſhop of Exeter	Engliſh Bible	1585	Tunſtall
37	George Ackworth	LL.D. Layman	Agſt Viſib. Monar.	1586	Saunders
38	John Fox	Preb. of Sarum	Acts and Monum.	1587	Parſons
39	Robert Crowley	Parſon in London	Agſt the 6 Reaſ. of	1588	Pound
40	John Field	Rector in London	A Caveat to	1588	Houlet
41	Thomas Sampſon	Preb. of St Pauls	A Warning againſt	1589	Fowler
42	George Wither	Archd. of Colcheſt.	Rheim's Notes	1589	Briſtow
43	William Fulk	M. of Pemb. Hall	Rheim's Teſtament	1589	Martin
44	Laur. Humphfrey	Preſ. of Magd. Coll.	Jeſuitiſmus	1590	Campion
45	Thomas Bell	Parſon in Lancaſhire	Downfal of Popery	1590	Woodwar
46	Barth. Clerk	Dean of the Arches	Agſt Viſib. Monar.	1593	Saunders
47	William Whitaker	M. of S. Johns Cam.	De Scriptura Sacra	1595	Stapleton
48	John Rackſter	A.M. of Cambridge	Anſ. to Motives of	1598	Alabaſter
49	Richard Hooker	M. of the Temple	Eccleſiaſtic. Polity	1600	
50	Alexander Nowell	Dean of St. Pauls	A Reproof of, &c.	1602	Dorman

51 Laurence

EDWARD VI.

the Catholic, and *Scottiſh* Title, and War is declared upon Refuſal. *Catholic Attempts.* Princeſs *Mary* makes a Stand againſt the New Liturgy, and Injunctions, and refuſes to conform. The Biſhops and moſt of the dignified Clergy oppoſe a farther Reformation; and candidly acknowledge their Diſſimulation in ſubmitting to the Regal Supremacy. Queen *Mary* of *Scotland* is conveyed into *France*, apprehending ſhe might be delivered up to the *Engliſh* by her Rebel Proteſtant Subjects.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
51	Laurence Vaux	Ward. of Manchеſ.	Church Ceremonies	1570	———
52	Thomas Harding	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Agſt the Apology of	1572	Jewell
53	Henry Joliff	D.D. Dean of Briſtol	Reſpon. ad Articul.	1573	Hooper
54	William Cheadſey	Preſid. of C.C. Coll.	Real Preſence	1574	P. Martyr
55	Morgan Philips	Prin. of S. Mary's hall	Defence of Q. Mary	1577	Goodman
56	Thomas Dorman	D.D. Paſtor in Tour.	Diſproof of a Repr.	1577	Nowell
57	John Harpsfield	D.D. Archd. of Mid.	Homil. on the Creed	1578	———
58	Henry Cole	D.D. Dean of S. Pauls	Anſw. to the Chal.	1579	Jewell
59	Nicholas Heath	Archbiſhop of York	Pope's Supremacy	1579	———
60	John Young	D.D. Ma. of Pem. H.	Treatiſe of Schiſm	1579	———
61	John Fowler	Learned Printer	Catholic Pſalter	1579	Sampſon
62	Alan Cope	D.D. Can. of S. *Pet.* R	Hiſtoria Evangelica	1580	———
63	George Bullock	D.D. Pre. of S. Jo. Col	Concor. of Scripture	1580	———
64	Edmund Campion	Learned Jeſuit	Decem Rationes	1581	Whitaker
65	Ralph Sherwin	B.D. Prieſt of Doway	Conference with	1581	Fulk
66	Thomas Pound	Lay Gentleman	Six Reaſons	1581	Crowley
67	Richard Briſtow	D.D. of Doway Col.	Motives of Faith	1582	Fulk
68	Gregory Martin	Prof. D. of Doway	Rheim's Teſtament	1582	Fulk
69	John Howlet	Learned Jeſuit	Agſt Conformity	1582	Fulk
70	Nicholas Saunders	D.D. Prof. in Oxford	Viſibilis Monarchia	1583	Nowell
71	Nichol. Harpsfield	D.D. Archd. of Can.	Sex Dialogi	1583	Jewell
72	Thomas Watſon	Biſhop of Lincoln	Real Preſence	1584	Crowley
73	John Martin	LL.D. Chan. of Win.	Defen. of Celibacy	1584	Poynet
74	Edward Ruſhton	Prof. D. of Doway	Twenty-ſo. Motives	1585	———
75	John Feckenham	Abbot of Weſtmin.	Of the Supremacy	1585	Horn

51 Chriſt.

Queen *MARY.*

BEgan her Reign in *July*, 1553, died in *November* 1558. *Proteſtant Attempts.* Lady *Jane Gray*, of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, is ſupported by an Army to defeat Queen *Mary*'s Right, the Intereſt of Reformation putting *Cranmer* upon this Expedient jointly with the Duke of *Northumberland*, Father-in-Law to *Jane Grey*. Sir *Thomas Wyat* heads an Army to oppoſe the Match with *Spain*, Biſhop *Poynet* of *Wincheſter*, and many that were Friends to the Reformation, joining with him. Princeſs *Elizabeth*, though

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
51	Chriſt. Goodman	M.A. Prof in Oxford	Regim. of Women	1602	Philips
52	William Perkins	D.D. Prof. in Camb.	Reform'd Catholic	1602	Biſhop
53	George Downham	Reader of St. Pauls	Of Antichriſt	1603	Chriſtoph.
54	Meredith Hanmer	D. D. of Dublin	Agſt the Challen. of	1604	Campion
55	John Reynolds	Preſ. of Cor. Ch. Col.	De Idolatria	1607	Reynolds
56	Gabriel Powell	Chap. to Bp. of Lond.	Agſt. tolerat. Pop.	1607	———
57	Matthew Sutcliff	D.D. Dean of Exeter	Survey of Popery	1609	Kelliſon
58	Michael Rhanger	D.D. Rec. of Crowley	De *Pii* V. Furoribus	1609	———
59	Sir Francis Haſtings	Earl of Hunt. Son	Watchword	1610	Parſons
60	Richard Bancroft	Archbiſhop of Can.	Conference with	1610	Bagſhaw
61	Gervaſe Babington	Bp. of Worceſter	Real Preſence	1610	———
62	Richard Thompſon	M.A. of Oxford	Elenchus Refutat.	1611	Bellarmin
63	Richard Sheldon	Once a Rom. Prieſt	Motives of Conver.	1612	———
64	William Barlow	Biſhop of Lincoln	Diſcuſſion, &c.	1613	Parſons
65	John Harmer	D.D. M. of Win. Sch.	Conference with	1613	Stephens
66	John Owen	Chap. to E. of Hold.	Herod and Pilate	1613	———
67	Iſaac Caſaubon	French Gentleman	Anſwer to	1614	Baronius
68	Robert Cook	Vicar of Leeds	Cenſura Scriptor.	1615	Bellarmin
69	Thomas Rogers	Rector of Horniger	XXXIX Articles	1616	Broughton
70	Thomas Bilſon	Bp. of Winchester	Xian Subjection	1616	Allen
71	Richard Field	D.D. Dean of Glou.	Treatiſe of the Chu.	1616	Norris
72	Robert Tilney	Archdeacon of Ely	Falſe Doctrines	1616	Chambers
73	Thomas Spark	Parſon of Bletchley	Highway to Heav.	1616	Bellarmin
74	John White	D.D. Vicar of Eccles	Succeſſion of Prot.	1617	Fiſher
75	Sir Edward Hobby	Of the Privy Cham.	Counterſnarle	1617	Floyd

76 William

Queen *MARY*.

though a Catholic, all this Reign is courted privately by Proteſtants, and more than ſuſpected to have fomented the late Rebellion. *Catholic Attempts.* Abbey-Lands are ſecured by the Pope to the preſent Poſſeſſors, that it might be no Obſtacle towards a Re-union. Both Houſes of Parliament ſubmit to the See of *Rome*, and are abſolved with great Solemnity by Cardinal *Pole*. A Match is concluded with the King of *Spain*, a Prince able to ſupport Catholic Religion with his Arms, and inrich the Kingdom by Trade.

Queen

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatise.*	*Death.*	*Adverf.*
76	William Good	Learned Jeſuit	Ecc. Ang. Tropheæ	1586	———
77	John Gibbons	D.D. Canon of Bonne	De Antichriſto	1589	Sohn
78	Arthur Faunt	Learned Jeſuit	Prayer to Saints	1591	Toſſan
79	William Reynolds	D.D. Prof. in Doway	Def. of Rhem. Teſt	1594	Whitaker
80	William Allen	Pref. of Dow. Card.	Defen. of Purgatory	1594	Fulk
81	John Bridgwater	D.D. Rec. of Lin. Col.	De Antichriſto	1594	Sohn
82	John Hart	B.D. Prieſt of Doway	Conference with	1595	Reynolds
83	John Leſley	Biſhop of Roſſe	Defen. of Q. Mary	1595	Bucanan
84	Thomas Neal	Prof. of Heb. in Oxfo.	Notes on the Script.	1595	———
85	Robert Southwell	Learned Jeſuit	Supplicat. to Q. Eliz.	1595	———
86	John Martial	D.D. Canon in Liſle	Treatiſe of the Croſs	1597	Calf hill
87	Thomas Hyde	Maſt. of Winch. Sch.	Agſt Conformity	1597	———
88	Thomas Stapleton	D.D. Prof. in Doway	De Princip. Doctri.	1598	Whitaker
89	William Sheprey	D.D. Prof. in Italy	Notes on St. Paul	1598	———
90	Robert Turner	D.D. Prof. at Ingolſt.	De Imaginibus	1598	———
91	Gaſper Heywood	Learned Jeſuit	Controverſ. Leſſons	1598	———
92	John Raſtall	B. D. Jeſuit	Beware of Jewell	1600	Jewell
93	William Harries	Prieſt of Doway	Theatre of Brit. Ch.	1602	———
94	John Sanderſon	D.D. Can. of Cambra.	De Locis Scripturæ	1602	———
95	Thomas Hill	D.D. Chap. to Q. *Eli.*	A Quartern of Reaſ.	1604	Abbot
96	Humphrey Ely	D.D. Prof. in Lorain	Church Authority	1604	———
97	Rich. Huddleſton	Benedictine Monk	Short and plain Way	1604	———
98	Gregory Sayer	Benedictine Monk	Church Authority	1609	———
99	Philip Woodward	B.D. Prof. in Doway	Agſt the Challenge	1610	Bell
100	Robert Parſons	Learned Jeſuit	Agſt the Acts of	1610	Fox

76 Francis

Queen *ELIZABETH.*

BEgan her Reign in *November* 1558, died in *March* 1603. *Proteſtant Attempts.* She is made to believe her Title would be queſtioned at *Rome*, ſo was adviſed to ſtrike in with the Reformers; accordingly ſhe aſſiſted the Proteſtant Rebels in *Scotland*, *Holland*, and *France*. The Nobility are made to believe there would be a Reſumption of Abbey-Lands. The Council is purged of all that were well affected to the Catholic Cauſe. The Exchequer is employed in packing a Houſe of Commons. Many of the Lords are deceived by miſtaking their Proxies; and not the leaſt Regard is

had

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
76	Francis White	Biſhop of Norwich	Conference with	1617	Fiſher
77	John Dove	D.D. Preach. in Oxf.	Perſuaſion to Recu.	1618	———
78	Thom. Cartwright	Diſſenting Parſon	Rheim's Teſtament	1618	Martin
79	Robert Abbot	Biſhop of Saliſbury	Defence of Perkins	1618	Biſhop
80	Edmund Bunny	Rec. of Bolton Piercy	Book of Reſolut.	1618	Parſons
81	Thomas Thompſon	Parſon in Briſtol	Monaſtic Vows	1618	———
82	William Tooker	Dean of Lichfield	Singulare Certamen	1620	Becan
83	Francis Maſon	Archd. of Norfolk	Proteſt. Ordination	1621	Champney
84	Andrew Willet	Rector of Barley	Synopſis Papiſmi	1621	O. E.
85	William Pemble	A.M. Prof. in Oxfo.	Juſtifying Faith	1623	———
86	Rd. Crackenthorp	Rect. of Blacknotley	Defenſ. Eccl. Angl.	1624	Spalato
87	John Gee	Curate of Winwick	Foot out of the Sna.	1625	Muſket
88	James Stuart	King of England	Apology for Alleg.	1625	Peron
89	William Compton	A. M. of Oxford	St. Auguſtin's Sum	1626	Breerley
90	Sir John Davis	Judge of Com. Pleas	Eng. Independency	1626	———
91	Richard Bernard	M. A. of Oxford	Rheims agſt Rome	1626	Kelliſon
92	Lancelot Andrews	Bp. of Wincheſter	Regal Supremacy	1627	Bellarmin
93	Sir Ant. Hungerford	Of Glouceſterſhire	Adv. of a Son to his	1627	Mother
94	Toby Matthews	Archbp. of York	Concio Apologetica	1628	Campion
95	George Carlton	Bp. of Chicheſter	Regal Supremacy	1628	———
96	Thomas James	D D. Librar. of Oxf.	Corrupt. of Fathers	1629	Bellarmin
97	John Deniſon	Parſon in Reading	Auricul. Confeſſion	1629	———
98	Sir Edwin Sandys	Preb. of York	Europæ Speculum	1629	———
99	Sebaſtian Benefield	D.D. Prof. in Oxfo.	De Conſiliis Evang.	1630	Leech
100	Thomas Dove	Bp. of Peterborough	Real Preſence	1630	———

101 Ralph

Queen *ELIZABETH.*

had to the Opinion of the Clergy. *Catholic Attempts.* All the Biſhops excepting one jointly with moſt of the dignified Clergy oppoſe the Court, declaring the Change of Religion at that Time could not be eſteemed the Sanction of the National Church, but only a Parliamentary and Politic Eſtabliſhment. Colleges and Monaſteries are erected abroad, in order to preſerve Religion, by Catholic Miſſioners; and give the Gentry of both Sexes a proper Education. The King of *Scotland* is courted, and aſſiſted with Money from abroad for the Relief of his Mother, and he ſeemed inclined to be grateful to Catholics.

JAMES

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
101	Ralph Buckland	Prieſt of Doway	Agſt Conforming	1611	———
102	John Fenn	Confeſſor at Lovain	Defence of Martyrs	1611	———
103	Richard Gibbons	Learned Jeſuit	Notes of Controver.	1611	———
104	Richard White	L.L.D. Pro. in Doway	De Sanctis & Reliq.	1612	Calvin
105	Richard Stephens	D.D. Prof. in Doway	Conference with	1612	Featley
106	Nichol. Fitzherbert	Lay Gentleman	De Antiq. Ec. Ang.	1612	———
107	George Blackwell	B. D. Arch-Prieſt	Conferen. on Relig.	1613	———
108	Franc. Walſingham	Learned Jeſuit	Search into Relig.	1614	White
109	Benjamin Carrier	D.D. Chap. K. James	A Miſſive, &c.	1614	Hackwell
110	Chriſt. Holyoak	Learned Jeſuit	Defenſio Con. Trid	1616	Andrews
111	John Pitts	D.D. Dean of Liverd.	De Peregrinatione	1616	Calvin
112	Sylveſter Norris	D.D. and Profeſſor	Antidote, &c.	1617	Field
113	Mi. Chriſtopherſon	Prieſt of Doway	Of Antichriſt	1617	Downham
114	John Breerley	Prieſt of Paris	Proteſt. Apology	1617	Morton
115	Edward Mayhew	Benedictine Monk	Fundamentals, &c.	1617	Field
116	John Redman	D.D. Prof. in Doway	Pope's Supremacy	1617	———
117	Richard Stanyhurſt	Chapl. to Arch Duke	Brevis Præmonitio	1618	Uſher
118	Clement Reyner	Benedictine Monk	Apoſtolatus Bened.	1621	———
119	John Barkley	Scotch Gentleman	Paranæſis	1621	———
120	Sir Herbert Croft	Of Herefordſhire	Defence of the Ch.	1622	Field
121	John Wright	D.D. Dean of Courtr.	Real Preſence	1624	Hutton
122	William Biſhop	Biſhop of Calcedon	Reform. of a Cath.	1624	Perkins
123	William Reyner	D.D. of Sorbon.	De Proteſtantiſmo	1625	———
124	Henry Holland	Licent. of D. Prof.	De Sacrificio miſſæ	1625	———
125	William Smith	Prieſt of Doway	Of Faith in Chriſt	1625	———

101 Sampſon

JAMES I.

BEgan his Reign in *March* 1603, died in *March* 1625. *Proteſtant Attempts.* Some Perſons in chief Power ſuſpecting the King would be very indulgent to Catholics ſeveral Stratagems were made uſe of to exaſperate him againſt them, and cheriſhing the Gunpowder Plot is thought to be a Maſter-piece in that way. The King is induced to aſſiſt his Son-in-Law the Elector Palatine, who, to ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt, was choſen King of *Bohemia* in the Emperor's Wrong. An ambiguous Oath of Allegiance is invented, to divide and puzzle Catholics Conſciences, a plain and diſtinct

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
101	Sampſon Price	D.D. Vicar in Lond.	Cotroverſial Serm.	1630	———
102	Lionel Sharp	Archd. of Berks	Lookingl. for the P.	1630	———
103	Richard Pilkinton	Archd. of Leiceſter	Parallela in Anſ. to	1631	Champney
104	John Donne	D.D. Dean of S. Pauls	Pſeudomartyr	1631	Fitzheld
105	John Buckeridge	Biſhop of Rocheſter	De Poteſtate Papæ	1631	Bellarmin
106	Samuel Harſnet	Archb. of York	Anſwer to	1631	Weſton
107	John Houſon	Biſhop of Durham	Papal Supremacy	1632	———
108	Alexander Cook	Vicar of Leeds	Work for a Maſs Pr.	1632	———
109	John Rider	Biſhop of Kilaloe	Claim of Antiquity	1632	Fitzſimas
110	George Abbot	Archb. of Cant.	Agſt the Reaſons of	1633	Hill
111	Francis Godwin	Biſhop of Hereford	Lives of Biſhops	1633	Parſons
112	Sir Humph. Lynd	Learned Layman	Via Tuta & Devia	1636	Jeniſon
113	Thomas Goad	D.D. Preb. of Cant.	Tranſubſtantiation	1636	———
114	John Burges	DD. Rect. Sut Coffiel	Popes dead. Wound	1637	———
115	Richard James	B.D. of Oxford	Controverſial Serm.	1638	Poſſeim
116	Thomas Jackſon	Preſ. of C.C. Col.	Upon the Creed	1640	———
117	Rd. Montague	Biſhop of Norwich	A new Gagg, &c.	1641	Kelliſon
118	Robert Burhill	D.D. Rect. Northw.	Pro Tortura Torti	1641	Becan
119	Henry Rogers	Vicar of Dorſton	Anſ. to 5 Queſtions	1641	Fiſher
120	John Davenant	Biſhop of Saliſbury	De Judice Controv.	1641	———
121	William Bedle	Biſhop of Kilmore	Conference with	1643	Wadſworth
122	Daniel Featley	Prov. of Chelſea Col.	Defence of Via Tuta	1644	Smith
123	Wm Chillingworth	Chancellor of Sarum	Prot. Rel. a ſafe way	1644	Knott
124	William Laud	Archb. of Cant.	Conference with	1645	Fiſher
125	William Twiſſe	D.D. Rect. of Newb.	Scriptures Sufficien.	1645	Digby

126 Chriſt.

JAMES I.

diſtinct Submiſſion to the Civil Power not anſwering the Projector's Intention. *Catholic Attempts.* Some Divines throw a Scruple into the King's Head about the Lawfulneſs of aſſiſting the *Dutch* againſt their Sovereign the King of *Spain*, and he grows cool in aſſiſting the Elector Palatine upon the ſame Account. He hearkens to a Match with *Spain* for his Son Prince *Charles*, in which very advantageous Stipulations were intended for *Engliſh* Catholics. Catholic Noblemen are careſſed at Court, and vaſt Numbers are proſelyted by the Liberty of Conferences, and publiſhing Books of Controverſy.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
126	Chriſt. Bagſhaw	Princ. of Gloc. Hall	Real Preſence	1625	Featley
127	Tho. Worthington	Preſ. of Doway Col.	Anchor of Ch. Doct.	1625	Sutcliff
128	William Gifford	Archb. of Rheims	Inventory of Errors	1629	Morney
129	Humphrey Leech	Learned Jeſuit	Triumph of Truth	1629	Benefield
130	Edward Weſton	D.D. Prof. in Doway	Trial of Ch. Faith	1633	———
131	Arthur Pitts	D.D. Chan. of Rheims	Notes on the 4 Goſp.	1634	———
132	Richard Broughton	Prieſt of Doway	Upon the 39 Articles	1634	Rogers
133	John Colleton	Dean of the Chapter	For Toleration	1635	———
134	John Fiſher	Learned Jeſuit	Conference with	1635	Laud
135	John Jones	Benedictine Monk	Loci Communes	1636	———
136	Thomas Southwell	Learned Jeſuit	Regula viva	1638	———
137	Anthony Champney	D.D. of Sorbon	De Vocatione Minif.	1639	Maſon
138	Wm. Ruſhworth	Prieſt of Doway	Dialogues of Trad.	1639	———
139	Tho. Fitzherbert	Learned Jeſuit	Policy and Religion	1640	Barlow
140	Edmund Stratford	D.D. Prof. in Doway	Diſputat. on the Ch.	1640	White
141	Matthew Kelliſon	Preſ. of Doway Col.	Survey of new Relig.	1641	Sutliff
142	Auguſtine Baker	Benedictine Monk	Collect. of Hiſtory	1642	———
143	Henry Fitzſimons	Learned Jeſuit	Confutation of	1644	Rider
144	George Muſket	Preſ. of Doway Col.	Conference with	1645	Featley
145	Thomas Vane	D.D. Chap. to K. *Ch.* I.	Loſt Sheep, &c.	1645	Coſens
146	Thomas Read	LL.D. Prieſt of Dow.	Of the Name Cath.	1649	Boughen
147	Edward Knott	Learned Jeſuit	Infidelity unmaſk'd	1651	Chillingw.
148	Richard Barton	Learned Jeſuit	Nullity of Prot. Cler.	1651	Bramhall
149	John Talbot	Archb. of Dublin	Of Catholic Faith	1655	———
150	Matthew Patenſon	Doctor of Phyſick	Jeruſalem and Babel	1655	———

126 Chriſtopher

CHARLES I.

BEgan his Reign in *March* 1625, died in *January* 1648. *Proteſtant Attempts.* The private Articles relating to the Queen's Chapel are diſregarded, many of her Prieſts ordered back into *France*, and a Rupture enſuing between the two Crowns, the *French* Proteſtants are aſſiſted againſt their Sovereign. The King's extraordinary Complaiſance to his Catholic Wife is miſrepreſented as an Inſtance of Affection for her Religion, and to wipe off the Aſperſion, the Nation urge him to a ſevere Execution of the Penal Laws, as the beſt Proof of a contrary Diſpoſition. Upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars, Catholics are made odious to both Parties, by the inconſiſtent Calumnies

of

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
126	Chriſtopher Potter	D.D. Dean of *Wor.*	Want of Charity	1646	Knott
127	George Hackwell	Archd. of Surrey	Anſw. to the Miſſive	1649	Carrier
128	John Prideaux	Biſhop of Worceſter	Caſtigatio, &c.	1650	Eudæmon
129	John Williams	Archb. of York	Controverſ. Letters	1650	——
130	Samuel Colins	Prov. of K.Col.*Cam.*	Epheta to F. T.	1651	Fitzherb.
131	George Walker	Parſon in Watlingſtr.	Fiſher's Folly	1651	Fiſher
132	George Singe	Archb. of Tuam	Rejoin. to Reply of	1653	Malony
133	Edward Boughen	D.D. Rec. Wood Ch.	Of the Name Catho.	1654	Read
134	Joſua Hoyle	M. of Univer. Col.	Real Preſence	1654	Malony
135	James Uſher	Archb. of Armagh	Anſw. to the Chal.	1655	Malony
136	John Hales	Fellow of Eaton	Diſcourſe of Schiſm	1656	Scott
137	Simon Birbeck	Vicar of Gilling	Anſw. to Antidotiſt	1656	Norris
138	Joſeph Hall	Biſhop of Norwich	No Peace with Rome	1656	E. C.
139	Thomas Morton	Biſhop of Durham	Catholic Appeal	1659	Breerley
140	John Bramhall	Archb. of Armagh	Treatiſe of Schiſm	1659	Serjeant
141	Francis Rouſe	Provoſt of Eaton	Catholic Charity	1659	Knott
142	Theoph. Higgons	Rector of Hunton	Myſtical Babel	1659	——
143	Henry Hammond	D.D.Can.Ch.Ch.*Ox.*	Seaſonable Exhort.	1660	Serjeant
144	Brian Walton	Biſhop of Cheſter	Prologomena	1661	——
145	Peter Heylin	D.D. Subd. of Weſt.	Ch.Eng. not Parlia.	1662	Baily
146	John Gauden	Biſhop of Worceſter	Eccleſiæ Suſpiria	1662	——
147	Robert Sanderſon	Biſhop of Lincoln	Viſibility of the Ch.	1663	——
148	Thomas Pierce	D.D. of Oxford	Novelties of Rome	1663	Serjeant
149	George Hughes	Rector in Plymouth	Sure footing exam.	1667	Serjeant
150	Jeremy Taylor	Biſhop of Down	Diſſuaſive, &c.	1667	Worſley
151	Abraham				

CHARLES I.

of being for and againſt the King. *Catholic Attempts.* The Match with *France* was a hopeful Prelude to the Catholic Cauſe, and the Succeſs anſwered by the Advantage of a zealous Politic Queen, and a fond Huſband. The two Secretaries of State, *Cottington* and *Windebank*, warded off many a Blow againſt the Catholics, and their dying in that Faith gives Grounds to think they were projecting ſomething to make them very eaſy. Several Proteſtant Biſhops and Divines came near to *Rome* in Doctrinal Points, and both in Diſcourſe and Diſcipline, the Church of *England* began to appear ſomewhat Catholic.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death.*	*Adverſ.*
151	Michael Alford	Learned Jeſuit	Britiſh Annals	1655	———
152	Richard Smith	Biſhop of Calcedon	Prudential Ballance	1655	Morton
153	Thomas Baily	D.D. Sub-d. of Weils	End of Controverſy	1656	Heylin
154	Henry Turberville	Prieſt of Doway	Manuel of Controv.	1656	Thomas
155	John Spencer	Learned Jeſuit	Scripture miſtaken	1656	———
156	Robert Jeniſon	Learned Jeſuit	Pair of Spect. for	1656	Lynd
157	Joſeph Munford	Learned Jeſuit	Queſt. of Queſtions	1658	———
158	William Malony	Learned Jeſuit	A Reply to	1659	Uſher
159	Henry Holden	D.D. of Sorbon	Analyſis Fidei	1659	Laney
160	Richard Laſſells	Prieſt of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1664	Coſens
161	Robert Everard	Lay Gentleman	Epiſtle to Nonconf.	1664	———
162	Sir Kenelm Digby	Queen's Secretary	Conferen. on Relig.	1665	Twiſſe
163	John Lewgar	Parſon formerly	Eraſtus ſenior, &c.	1665	Burnet
164	Edward Worſley	Learned Jeſuit	Prot. whout Princip.	1665	Stillingfl.
165	John Auſten	Lay Gentleman	Xſtian Moderator	1669	———
166	Walter Mountague	Abb. of St. Martin's	Motives of Converſ.	1670	Falkland
167	William Clifford	Prieſt of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1670	Coſens
168	Vincent Canes	Learned Franciſcan	Fiat Lux	1672	Owen
169	Anthony Errington	D.D. of Paris	Catechiſm, &c.	1672	———
170	William Lacy	Learned Jeſuit	Judgm. of a Univ.	1673	Chillingw.
171	John Theyer	Lay Gentleman	Friendly Debate	1673	———
172	Thomas Carr	Prieſt of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1674	Coſens
173	Serenus Creſſy	Benedictine Monk	Exomologeſis	1674	Chillingw.
174	Thomas White	B.D. Prof. in Doway	Apology for Trad.	1676	Chillingw.
175	George Leyburn	Preſ. of Doway Col.	Holy Characters	1677	———

151 William

CHARLES II.

BEgan his Reign in *January* 1648, died in *February* 1684. *Proteſtant Attempts.* The Parliament oblige him to recal the Promiſe of Indulgence he made in Favour of Catholics. As a Politic Precaution to ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt, the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter is married to the Prince of *Orange*. Catholic Peers are excluded from the Houſe of Lords, and all others of that Perſuaſion from Places of Truſt, by the Teſt and Oath of Supremacy. They are charged with burning *London*, *Oates*'s Sham-Plot of killing the King, calling in a *French* Power, *&c.* to exaſperate his Majeſty who was deſigning ſomething in their Favour. The Bill of Excluſion is brought in to extinguiſh the Duke of *York*'s Title and Right of Inheritance, on account of his being a Catholic. *Catholic Attempts.* The Match with *Catherine*

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death*	*Adverſ.*
151	William Prynn	Bencher of Linc. Inn	Rome's Maſt. Piece	1669	———
152	Henry Fowlis	Fellow of Linc. Col.	Romiſh Treaſons	1669	———
153	Meric Cauſabon	D.D. Preb. of Cant.	Rule of Faith	1671	Serjeant
154	John Coſens	Biſhop of Durham	Canon of Scripture	1671	Laſſels
155	Samuel Mather	Of Trin. Col. Dublin	Anſw. to Fiat Lux	1671	Canes
156	Edward Bagſhaw	Vicar of Amerſden	Of Infallibility	1671	Creſſy
157	Daniel Whitby	D.D. of Oxford	Of Idolatry	1671	Godden
158	Herb. Thorndyke	Preb. of Weſtminſter	Juſt Wts. and Meaſ.	1672	———
159	Benjamin Laney	Biſhop of Lincoln	Queſt. propos'd to	1674	Holden
160	Edward Hyde	Lord Chancellor	Animadverſions on	1674	Creſſy
161	John Milton	Secret. to O. Cromw.	Growth of Popery	1674	———
162	Joſuah Stopford	Rector in York	Paganoz papiſmus	1675	———
163	Walter Blanford	Bp. of Worceſter	Conference with the	1675	D. of York
164	Thomas Tully	D.D. Dean of Ripon	Juſtificatio Paulina	1676	———
165	John Tombes	Parſon of Bewdley	Anſw. to Manuel of	1676	Tubervill.
166	Iſaac Baſire	Archd. of Northum.	Libert. of Brit. Ch.	1676	———
167	Iſaac Barrow	M. of Trin. Col. *Cam.*	Pope's Supremacy	1677	Bellarmin
168	Robert Sheringham	Fellow of Caius Col.	Regal Supremacy	1677	———
169	Andrew Marvel	Secret. to O. Cromw.	Growth of Popery	1678	———
170	Matthew Pool	Diſſenting Parſon	Nullity of *Ro.* Faith	1679	Worſley
171	Thomas Hobbs	Lay Gentleman	Hiſtory of Hereſy	1679	———
172	Joſeph Glanvill	Parſon at the Bath	Impartial Proteſt.	1680	White
173	Myrth Waferer	D.D. Rec. of Upham	Def. of Dr. Featley	1680	Stratford
174	Ezrael Tongue	D.D. Parſon in Lon.	Acc. of Rom. Doct.	1680	———
175	Thomas Jones	Rec. of Landurnog.	*Rome* no Mother Ch.	1682	———

176 Abraham

CHARLES II.

Catharine Infanta of *Portugal* gave the Catholics ſome remote Hopes of being well treated during this Reign. Their undiſputed Fidelity during the Civil War, and the generous Reception the King met with from Catholics abroad, while his Proteſtant Subjects fought his Deſtruction, gave them a modeſt Aſſurance to petition for Protection. Five Miniſters of State, *viz. Lauderdale*, *Shaftsbury*, *Arlington*, *Clifford* and *Buckingham*, ſtiled the Cabal, engage to ſtand by the King's Prerogatives, and it is thought they had a farther Deſign in Favour of Catholics. The Diſcovery of the Preſbyterian Plot made the King abſolute Maſter of his Enemies Projects, and his dying a Catholic is a Comment upon ſeveral Occurrences in his Life favourable to that Intereſt

JAMES

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death*	*Adverſ.*
176	Abrah. Woodhead	Of Univerſity Col.	Guide of Controv.	1678	Stillingfl.
177	Robert Pugh	D.D.Cha.toM *Wor.*	Elenchus Elenchi	1678	Bates
178	Chriſt. Davenport	Learned Franciſcan	Enchirid. of Faith	1680	———
179	Thomas Gawen	Preb. of Wincheſter	Real Preſence	1684	———
180	John Belſon	Lay Gentleman	Tradidi vobis	1684	Falkland
181	Robert Brown	Scotch Prieſt	Pax vobis		
182	William Baſſet	M. of Sidney Col.	Church Authority		Stephens
183	Thomas Dean	Of Univerſity Col.	Eſſay for Cat.Com.		Stephens
184	Obediah Walker	M. of Univerſ. Col.	The B. Sacrament		Patrick
185	Andrew Pulton	Learned Jeſuit	Conference with		Teniſon
186	Thomas Ward	Learned Schoolmaſt.	Monomachia		Teniſon
187	John Serjeant	Prieſt of Liſbon Col.	Sure footing		Tillotſon
188	John Warner	Learned Jeſuit	Stillingfleet againſt		Stillingfl.
189	George Touchet	Benedictine Monk	Hiſtorical Collect.		———
190	Roger Palmer	Earl of Caſtlemaine	Catholic Apology		L. Claren.
191	Anthony Le Grand	Learned Franciſcan	De Sacrificio Miſſæ		———
192	William Darrel	Learned Jeſuit	Vindic. of St. Ign.		Stillingfl.
193	Lewis Sabran	Learned Jeſuit	Preſervative conſid.		Sherlock
194	Thomas Godden	D.D. Chap. to Q. *Ca.*	Catho. no Idolaters		Stillingfl.
195	John Croſs	Learned Franciſcan	Tranſubſtantiation		———
196	James Corker	Benedictine Monk	Tranſubſtantiation		———
197	Roger Heſketh	D.D.of Liſbo Col.	Tranſubſtantiation		Patrick
198	John Gother	Prieſt of Liſbo Col.	Cat. miſrepreſented		Patrick
199	Sylveſter Jenks	Prieſt of Doway	Real Preſence		———
200	John Wilmot	Prieſt of Rom. Col.	Treatiſe of the Ch.		Sherlock

Writers in the Reign of King *James* II.

176 John

JAMES II.

BEgan his Reign in *February* 1684, died in *September* 1701. *Proteſtant Attempts.* The Duke of *Monmouth* invades the Kingdom, exhorting the People to fly to Arms in Defence of the Proteſtant Cauſe. This proving ineffectual, a deeper Plot was laid. Some Miniſters of State pretending to be Catholics, together with the Judges of the Nation, put him upon Methods which rendered him odious to his People, and were deſtructive to his Intereſt, *viz.* The diſpenſing Power; the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, ſeizing Colleges, impriſoning Biſhops, calling in Charters, *&c.* The Prince of *Orange* is called over to ſtand by the Proteſtant Religion; and to prevent Catholics for ever making any more Efforts, by the Act of Settlement on the *Hanoverian*

Proteſtant Writers.

	Name.	*Dignity.*	*Treatiſe.*	*Death*	*Adverſ.*
176	John Owen	D.D. Diſſent. Parſon	Anima. on Fiat Lux	1683	Canes
177	John Durell	D.D. Dean of Wind.	Def. of Ch. of Eng.	1683	
178	George Morley	Bp of Wincheſter	Conference with	1684	Darcy
179	Peter Gunning	Biſhop of Ely	Confer. on Schiſm	1684	N. N.
180	Peter du Moulin	D.D. Preb. of Cant.	Anſw. to Philanax	1684	
181	William Thomas	Bp of Worceſter	Anſw. to Manuel of		Turbervill
182	Samuel Parker	Biſhop of Oxford	Reaſ. offer. to K. J. 2.		
183	John Pearſon	Biſhop of Cheſter	Expoſ. of the Creed		
184	Thomas Barlow	Biſhop of Lincoln	Popiſh Principles		Walſh
185	Seth Ward	Biſhop of Saliſbury	Juſtifying Faith		
186	Richard Baxter	Diſſenting Parſon	Chur. and Councils		Johnſon
187	Andrew Sall	Formerly a Jeſuit	Votum pro Pace		J. S.
188	Francis Brevall	Formerly a Capucin	Motives of Conver.		
189	Edward Bernard	D.D. Re. of Brightw.	Tranſubſtantiation		Heſketh
190	Anthony Horneck	D.D. Parſ. in the Sav.	Conference with		Gother
191	George Bull	Bp of St. Davids	Anſw. to the Bp. of		Meaux
192	William Sherlock	D.D. Dean of S. Pauls	Preſervative		Sabran
193	Simon Patrick	Biſhop of Ely	Tranſubſtantiation		Serjeant
194	John Tillotſon	Archb. of Cant.	Rule of Faith		Serjeant
195	Edwd. Stillingfleet	Bp of Worceſter	Idolatry of Rome		Godden
196	John Teniſon	Archb. of Cant.	Conference with		Pulton
197	Gilbert Burnet	Biſhop of Saliſbury	Hiſt. of the Reform.		Le Grand
198	George Hicks	D.D. Non-Juror	Tranſubſtantiation		Woodhea.
199	Henry Dodwell	D D. Non-Juror	Anſw. to ſix Queries		
200	Henry Aldridge	Biſhop of Briſtol	Adorat. of the Sacr.		Woodhea.

Writers in the Reign of King *James* II.

JAMES II.

verian Line, they are for ever excluded from enjoying the Crown. *Catholic Attempts.* A Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience very much encreaſed the Number of Catholics, and was a politic Scheme to gain the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The King ſtrikes into the *French* Intereſt to ſupport himſelf in his Throne, but there was either a Power, or a Will wanting to withſtand the grand Alliance, which was a Mixture of Catholic and Proteſtant Powers. At preſent *Engliſh* Catholics have no Proſpect beſides the Plea of Hereditary Right, when any one next in Blood has Power ſufficient to make good his Claim; which God forbid, ſhould ever happen.

The

The preſent Caſe ſtated; or, the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy no Badges of Slavery. 1689.

THE Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Crown of *England* having been invaded and broke in upon by the Power of the Court of *Rome*, in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time all Foreign Power was aboliſhed, and the antient legal Supremacy reſtored, and by many additional Acts corroborated. But all that was done of that kind, in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, was undone again in Queen *Mary*'s; and therefore in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, an Act of Parliament was made, entitled *All Ancient Juriſdiction reſtored to the Crown. A Repeal of divers Statutes, and Reviver of others: And all foreign Power aboliſhed:* Which Act recites, That whereas in the Reign of *K. H.* VIII. divers good Laws were made and eſtabliſhed, as well for the utter Extinguiſhment and putting away of all uſurped and Foreign Powers and Authorities out of this Realm, as alſo for reſtoring and uniting to the Imperial Crown of this Realm the ancient Juriſdictions, Authorities, Superiorities, and Preheminences to the ſame of Right belonging and appertaining; by reaſon whereof the Subjects of this Realm were kept in good Order, and diſburthened of divers great and intolerable Charges and Exactions, until ſuch time as all the ſaid good Laws and Statutes by one Act of Parliament made in the Firſt and Second Years of the Reigns of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, were clearly repealed and made void; by Reaſon of which Act of Repeal the Subjects of *England* were eſtſoons brought under an uſurped Foreign Power and Authority, and yet remained in that Bondage to their intolerable Charges; and then Enacts, That for the repreſſing of the ſaid uſurped Foreign Power, and the reſtoring of the Rights, Juriſdictions and Preheminences appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, the ſaid Act made in the Firſt and Second Years of the ſaid late King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* (except as therein is excepted) be repealed, void, and of none effect.

The ſaid Act of *Primo Elizabeth*, proceeds, firſt, to revive by expreſs Words many Statutes that had been made in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, and repealed in Queen *Mary*'s; and ſecondly, to aboliſh all Foreign Authority in theſe Words; *viz.* And to the Intent that all uſurped and Foreign Power and Authority Spiritual and Temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguiſhed, and never to be uſed or obey'd within this Realm, &c. May it pleaſe your Highneſs that it may be enacted, That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, Spiritual or Temporal, ſhall at any time after the laſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament, uſe, enjoy, or exerciſe any manner of Power, Juriſdiction, Superiority, Authority, Preheminence or Privilege, Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, *&c.* but the ſame ſhall be clearly aboliſhed out of this Realm, *&c.* any Statute, Cuſtom, *&c.* to the contrary notwithſtanding. Thirdly, the ſaid Act reſtores in the next Paragraph to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, ſuch Juriſdictons, Privileges, Superiorities, *&c.* Spiri-

tual

tual and Eccleſiaſtical, as by any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority had theretofore been, or might lawfully be exerciſed or uſed *&c.* Fourthly, the Act impowers the Queen to aſſign Commiſſioners to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. And fifthly, For the better Obſervation and Maintenance of this Act, impoſes upon Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Officers and Miniſters, *&c.* the Oath, commonly called the Oath of Supremacy, which runs thus; *viz.*

The Oath of Supremacy.

I A. B. *do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, that the Queen's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things and Cauſes, as Temporal; and that no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all Foreign Juriſdiction, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highneſs, her Heirs and lawful Succeſſors; and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminencies and Authorities, granted or belonging to the Queen's Highneſs, her Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and by the Contents of this Book.*

It cannot but be obvious to every impartial Purſuer of the Statute, eſpecially if he have the leaſt Knowledge of what Condition the Government of this Nation was reduced to by Papal Encroachments and Uſurpations. That the Makers of this Law, and the Senſe of this Oath, was no other in general, than that the People of this Realm ſhould bear Faith and true Allegiance, even in Matters relating to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to the Queen's Highneſs, her Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and not to the Pope or any foreign pretended Juriſdiction.

What the ſeveral Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen, her Heirs and Succeſſors, are in particular; and what the Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, are in particular, is not material here to be diſcourſed of; though the ſeveral Statutes made in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, and King *Edward* the Sixth's, and revived in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, will unfold many of them; and clear the Diſtinction, which the Oath makes, betwixt Authorities granted or belonging to the King, and Authorities united and annexed to the Imperial Crown: And Mr. *Prynn*'s Hiſtory of the Pope's intolerable Uſurpations upon the Liberties of the Kings and Subjects of *England* and *Ireland*; together with Sir *Roger Twiſden*'s Hiſtorical Vindication of the Church of *England* in Point of Schiſm, will in a great meaſure acquaint the curious how Matters ſtood with us here, with reſpect to Church-Government, before the Pope had wreſted the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction almoſt wholly out of the Hands of our Kings, our Parliaments and Courts of Juſtice.

In ſhort, thoſe Juriſdictions, *&c.* are ſuch as the ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Uſages of the Realm, or latter Acts of Parliament have created, given, limited and directed.

The Makers of this Law did not deſign to impoſe upon the People of *England* any new Terms of Allegiance, but to ſecure the old ones, excluſive of any Pretences of the Pope or See of *Rome.*

Nor are there any Words in this Oath more ſtrong more binding to Duty and Allegiance, than are Words which the old Oath of Fealty is conceived in; which all men were anciently obliged, and may yet be required to take to the King in the Court-Leet at twelve Years of Age; which runs thus; *viz.*

You ſhall ſwear that from this Day forward you ſhall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord King James, *and his Heirs: And Faith and Truth ſhall bear of Life and Limb, and terrene Honour: And you ſhall not know or hear of any Ill or Damage intended to him, that you ſhall not defend. So help you Almighty God.*

This is as full and comprehenſive as the Oath of Supremacy: *I do promiſe that I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highneſs, her Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors, and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions,* &c. So that the true Senſe and Meaning of the Oath of Supremacy is this, *viz. I will be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and will to my Power aſſiſt and defend all his Rights, notwithſtanding any Pretence made by the Pope or any other foreign Power to exerciſe Juriſdiction within the Realm; all which foreign Power I utterly renounce, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical as well as Temporal.*

The Oath of Allegiance is appointed by the Act of 3 *Jac.* 1. Chap. iv. entitled, *An Act for diſcovering and repreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants.* It recites *the daily Experiences that many of his Majeſty's Subjects, that adhere in their Hearts to the Popiſh Religion, by the Infection drawn from thence; by the wicked and deviliſh Counſel of Jeſuits, Seminaries and other like Perſons dangerous to the Church and State, are ſo far perverted in the Point of their Loyalties and due Allegiance to the King's Majeſty, and the Crown of* England, *as they are ready to entertain and execute any treaſonable Conſpiracies and Practices.* And *for the better Trial how his Majeſty's Subjects ſtand affected in point of their Loyalties and due Obedience,* enacts, That *it ſhall be lawful for any Biſhop in his Dioceſe, or any two Juſtices of the Peace, whereof one to be of the* Quorum, *within the Limits of their Juriſdiction, out of the Seſſions, to require any Perſon of the Age of eighteen Years or above, which ſhall be convicted or indicted of Recuſancy, other than Noblemen,* &c. *or which ſhall not have received the Sacrament twice within the Year then next paſt, or any Perſon paſſing in or through the Country, unknown, that being examined upon Oath ſhall confeſs, or not deny him or herſelf to be a Recuſant, and to take the Oath therein after expreſſed,* viz. &c. *the Oath of Allegiance.*

So

So that by the Occaſion of impoſing the Oath, and by the appointing it to be tendered only to Papiſts, or ſuſpected Papiſts, it is apparent that the Deſign of the Law-makers was to detect ſuch Perſons as were perverted, or in danger to be perverted in their Loyalty, by Infection drawn from the Popiſh Religion.

The Form of the Oath makes it yet more evident, being wholly levelled againſt any Opinion of the Lawfulneſs of depoſing the King, or practiſing any Treaſon againſt him, upon pretence of his being excommunicated or deprived by the Pope; and againſt any Opinion of the Pope's Power to diſcharge Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity to their Princes. It runs thus, *viz.*

I A. B. *do truly and ſincerely profeſs, teſtify, and declare in my Conſcience before God and the World, that our Sovereign Lord King* James, *is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and of all his Majeſty's Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of* Rome, *or by any other Means, with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe any of his Majeſty's Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any Foreign Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance or Obedience to his Majeſty, or to give Licence or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raiſe Tumults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, State, or Government, or to any of his Majeſty's Subjects within his Majeſty's Dominions.*

Alſo I do ſwear from my Heart, That notwithſtanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his Succeſſors, or by any Authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his See, againſt the ſaid King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or any Abſolution of the ſaid Subjects from their Obedience, *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by Reaſon or Colour of any ſuch Sentence or Declaration, or otherwiſe, and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known unto his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and traitorous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him, or any of them.*

And I do further ſwear, that I do from my Heart abhor and deteſt and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, That Princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, *may be depoſed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever.*

And I do believe, and in Conſcience am perſuaded, that neither the Pope nor any Perſon whatſoever, hath Power to abſolve me of this Oath, or any Part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and lawful Authority to be lawfully adminiſtered unto me, and I do renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe

Things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these expres's Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian. So help me God.

And the Statute of 7 Jacobi *Cap.* 6. recites, that 'Whereas by a Statute 'made in the third Year of the said King's Reign, the Form of an Oath to be 'ministred and given to certain Persons in the same Act mentioned, is limited 'and prescribed, tending only to the Declaration of such Duty, as every true 'and well-affected Subject, not only by Bond of Allegiance, but also by the 'Commandment of Almighty God, ought to bear to the King, his Heirs and 'Successors; which Oath such are infected with Popish Superstition do oppunge 'with many false and unsound Arguments, the just Defence whereof the King 'had therefore undertaken and worthily performed, to the great Contentment 'of all his Subjects, notwithstanding the Gainsayings of contentious Adversaries. 'And to shew how greatly the King's loyal Subjects do approve the said Oath, 'they beseech his Majesty, that the said Oath be administred to all his Subjects.

The Pope, and Authority of the See of *Rome* run through the first Paragraph; *Notwithstanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication, &c.* governs the second Paragraph: *Excommunicated and deprived the Pope* are the material words in the third Paragraph. The fourth is added in *Majorem cautelam*, in Opposition to the Popish Doctrine of *Dispensing* with Oaths, *absolving Subjects* from their Allegiance, *Equivocations*, *Mental Evasions*, &c.

So that as the Oath of Supremacy did but enforce the ancient Oath of Fealty, with an Acknowledgment of the Queen's supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes and Things, as well as Temporal, and a Renunciation of all Foreign Jurisdictions; so the Oath of Allegiance does but enforce the same old Oath of Fealty, by obliging the Subjects of *England* expresly to disown any lawful Authority in the Pope or See of *Rome* to depose, invade or annoy the King, his Dominions or Subjects. And notwithstanding any Sentence of Excommunication, Deprivation, *&c.* by the Pope, *&c.* to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King, his Heirs and lawful Successors; and to abjure that Position, that it is lawful to depose Princes that are excommunicated or deprived by the Pope.

Whatever is added, is either Oath over and above what was expressed in the old Oath of Fealty, is but as explanatory of it, and branching it out into such Particulars, as Time and Occasion required.

So that the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance not having altered the Terms of Allegiance, due from the People of *England* to their Princes, if their Princes by ancient Laws of the Realm, and by the Practice of our Forefathers, were liable to be deposed by the great Councils of the Nation, for Male-Administration, Oppressions, and other Exorbitancies, for not keeping their Coronation-Oaths, for Insufficiency to govern, *&c.* then they continue still liable to be deposed in like

like manner, the ſaid Oaths, or any Obligation contracted thereby, notwithſtanding.

For the Practice of former Times, I ſhall begin with a very ancient Precedent in the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons.* viz.

Cudred King of *Weſt-Saxony* being dead, *Sigebert* his Kinſman ſucceeded him in that Kingdom, and held it but a ſmall Time; for being puffed up with Pride by the Succeſſes of King *Cudred* his Predeceſſor, he grew inſolent, and became intolerable to his People. And when he evil intreated them all manner of ways, and either wreſted the Laws for his own Ends, or eluded them for his own Advantage; *Cumbra*, one of his chief Officers, at the Requeſt of the whole People, intimated their Complaints to the ſavage King. And becauſe he perſuaded the King to govern his People more mildly, and that laying aſide his Barbarity, he would endeavour to appear acceptable to God and Man: The King immediately commanded him to be put to Death, and increaſing his Tyranny, became more cruel and intolerable than before: Whereupon in the Beginning of the ſecond Year of his Reign, becauſe he was arrived to an incorrigible Pitch of Pride and Wickedneſs, the Nobles and the People of the whole Kingdom aſſembled together, and upon mature Deliberation, did by unanimous Conſent of them all, drive him out of the Kingdom. In whoſe Stead they choſe *Kenwolph*, an excellent Youth, and of the Royal Blood, to be King over the People and Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons. Collect.* p. 769, 770. *Ibid.* p. 795, 796.

Cudredo *Rege* Weſt-Saxiæ *defuncto*, Sigebertus *cognatus ejus ſibi in eodem Regno ſucceſſit*; *brevi tamen Tempore Regnum tenens, nam ex* Cudredi *Regis Preceſſoris ſui eventibus tumefactus, & inſolens intolerabilis ſuis fuit cum autem eos Modis omnibus male tractaret, Legeſque vel ad Commodum ſuum depravaret, vel pro Commodo ſuo devitaret*; Cumbra, *Conſul ejus nobiliſſimus Prece totius Populi Regi fero eorum Querimonias intimavit. Et quia ipſe Regi ſuaſerat, ut leniùs Populum ſuum regeret, & Inhumanitate depoſitâ Deo & Hominibus amabilis apparet. Rex eum impiâ nece mox interfici jubens, Populo ſævior & intolerabilior quàm priùs ſuam Tyrannidem augmentavit, unde in Principio ſecundi Anni Regni ſui cum incorrigibilis Superbiæ & Nequitiæ eſſet, Congregati ſunt Proceres & Populi totius Regni & eum Provida Deliberatione a Regno unanimi Conſenſu omnium expellebant. Cujus Loco* Kenwolfum *Juvenem egregium de Regia Stipe oriundum, in Regem ſuper Populum & Regnum* Weſt-Saxiæ *elegerunt.* Collect. 769, 770. *Ibid.* p. 795, 796.

This Depoſition of King *Sigebert* appears to have been done in a formal and orderly Manner; *viz.* in a Convention of the *Proceres* and the *Populus totius Regni*; and it was done *providâ Deliberatione & unanimi omnium Conſenſu*, and conſequently

conſequently was not an Act of Heat, Rebellion, or Tumultuary Inſurrection of the People; But was what the whole Nation apprehended to be legal, juſt, and according to the Conſtitution of their Government, and no Breach of their Oaths of Allegiance.

Nor have we any Reaſon to wonder that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould free themſelves in ſuch a Manner from Oppreſſion, if we conſider that by an ancient poſitive Law enacted in King *Edward* the Confeſſor's Time, and confirmed by *William* the Conqueror, the Kings of *England* are liable to be depoſed, if they turn Tyrants.

The King, becauſe he is the Vicar of the ſupreme King, is conſtituted to this End and Purpoſe, that he may govern his Earthly Kingdom and the People of the Lord, and eſpecially to govern and reverence God's holy Church, and defend it from Injuries, and root out, deſtroy, and wholly to extirpate all Wrong-doers. Which, if he do not perform, he ſhall not retain ſo much as the Name of a King. And a little after; the King muſt act all Things according to Law, and by the Judgment of the *Proceres Regni*. For Right and Juſtice ought to reign in the Realm, rather than a perverſe Will. It is the Law that makes Right; but Wilfulneſs, Violence and Force, is not Right. The King ought above all Things to fear and love God, and to keep his Commandments throughout his Kingdom. He ought alſo to preſerve, to cheriſh, maintain, govern and defend againſt its Adverſaries, the Church within his Kingdom entirely and in all Freedom, according to the Conſtitution of the Fathers, and of his Predeceſſors, that God may be honoured above all Things, and always be had before Men's Eyes. He ought alſo to ſet up good Laws and approved Cuſtoms, and to aboliſh evil ones, and put them away in his Kingdom. He ought to do right Judgment in his Kingdom, and maintain Juſtice by

Rex autem, quia Vicarius ſummi Regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, ut Regnum terrenum & Populum Domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam veneretur Eccleſiam ejus & regat & ab injurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab ea evellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſper. Quod niſi fecerit, nec nomen Regis in eo conſtabit. Et paulò poſt; Debet Rex omnia ritè facere in Regno, & per Judicium Procerum Regni. Debet enim Jus & Juſtitia magis regnare in Regno, quàm voluntas prava. Lex eſt ſemper quod Jus facit, voluntas autem, Violentia & Vis non eſt Jus. Debet verò Rex Deum timere ſuper omnia & diligere, & mandata ejus per totum Regnum ſuum ſervare. Debet etiam ſanctam Eccleſiam Regni ſui cum omni Integritate & Libertate juxta Conſtitutiones Patrum & Prædeceſſorum ſervare, fovere, manutenere, regere, & contra Inimicos defendere, ita ut Deus præ cæteris honoretur, & præ Oculis ſemper habeatur. Debet etiam bonas Leges & Conſuetudines approbatas erigere, pravas autem delere, & omnes à Regno deponere. Debet Judicium rectum in Regno ſuo facere, & Juſtitiam per Conſilium Procerum Regni ſui tenere. Iſta verò debet omnia Rex in propria Perſona, inſpectis & tactis ſacroſanctis Evangeliis, & ſuper ſacras & ſanctas Reliquias coram Regno & Sacerdotio & Clero jurare antequam ab Archie-

Advice

Advice of the *Proceres Regni ſui.* All theſe Things the King, in proper Perſon, looking upon and touching the holy Goſpels, and upon the holy and ſacred Reliques, muſt ſwear in the Preſence of his People and Clergy to do, before he be crowned by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Kingdom. *Lamb of the ancient Laws of England*, pag. 142.

piſcopis & Epiſcopis Regni coronetur. Lamb. de Priſcis Anglorum Legibus, *p.* 142.

Another Inſtance of the Depoſition of a King of *England*, ſubſequent to this Law, we find in King *John*'s Time, whoſe Oppreſſions and Tyrannical Government our Hiſtories are full of. Of which take this following Account out of a very ancient Hiſtorian.

Whereas the ſaid *John* had ſworn ſolemnly at his Coronation, as the manner is, that he would preſerve the Rights and Uſages of the Church and Realm of *England*, yet contrary to his Oath, he ſubjected, as far as in him lay, the Kingdom of *England*, which has always been free, and made it tributary to the Pope, without the Advice and Conſent of his Barons; ſubverting good Cuſtoms, and introducing evil ones, endeavouring by many Oppreſſions, and many Ways, to enſlave both the Church and the Realm, which Oppreſſions you know better than I, as having felt them by manifold Experience. For which Cauſes, when after many Applications made, War was waged againſt him by his Barons; at laſt, among other Things, it was agreed, with his expreſs Conſent, That in caſe the ſaid *John* ſhould return to his former Villainies the Barons ſhould be at Liberty to recede from their Allegiance to him, never to return to him more. But he, after a few Days, made his latter End worſe than his Beginning, endeavouring not only to oppreſs his Barons, but wholly to exterminate them; who, therefore,

Cum præfatus Johannes *in Coronatione ſuâ ſolennitèr prout moris eſt juraſſet, ſe Jura & Conſuetudines Eccleſiæ & Regni* Angliæ *conſervaturum, contra Juramentum ſuum abſque Conſilio vel Conſenſu Baronum ſuorum idem Regnum, quod ſemper fuit Liberum, quantum in ipſo fuit, Domino Papæ ſubjecit, & fecit Tributarium, bonas Conſuetudines ſubvertens, malas inducens, tam Eccleſiam quam Regnum multes Oppreſſionibus multeſqui Modes ſtudens ancellare, quas Oppreſſiones vos meliùs noſtis, quam nos, ut qui eas Familiari ſenſeſtis Experimento. Pro quibus, cum poſt multas Requiſitiones guerra mota eſſet contra ipſum a Baronibus ſuis, tandem inter cætera de ejus expreſſo Conſenſu ita convenit, ut ſi idem* Johannes *ad Flagitia prima rediret, ipſe Barones ab ejus Fidelitate recederent, nunquam ad eum poſt modùm reverſuri. Verùm ipſe nihilominus paucis Diebus Evolutis, fecit noviſſima ſua Pejora prioribus, ſtudens Barones ſuos non tantum opprimere, ſed potiùs penitùs exterminare. Qui de communi Regni Conſilio & Approbatione ipſum Regno Judicantes indignum, nos in Regem & Dominum elegerunt.* Collect.

in

in a general Aſſembly, and with the Approbation of all the Realm, adjudging him unworthy to be King, choſe Us for their Lord and King. *Collect.* p. 1868, 1869. *Chron.* W. Thorn.

1868, 1869. Chron. *W. Thorn. Lewis*'s Letter to the Abbot of St. *Auſtins, Canterbury.*

The next Inſtance ſhall be that of King *Edward* the ſecond: The Record of whoſe Diſpoſition, if it were extant, would probably diſcloſe all the legal Formalities that were then accounted proper for the depoſing an unjuſt, oppreſſive King: But they were cancelled and embezzled (as is highly probable from *Raſtal's Stat.* pag. 170, 171. compared with the Articles exhibited in Parliament againſt King *Richard* the Second, of which hereafter) in King *Richard* the Second's Time, and by his Order: Yet the Articles themſelves are preſerved in the *Collect.* And are as followeth; *viz.*

Accorde eſt que Sire Edward *Fitz aiſnè du Roy ait le Government du Royalme & ſoit Roy Couronne, pur les Cauſes que s'enſuent.*

It is accorded, that Prince *Edward*, the King's eldeſt Son, ſhall have the Government of the Kingdom, and be crowned King for the Cauſes following.

1. *Pur ceo que la Perſon le Roy n'eſt pas ſuffiſant de Governer. Car en tout ſon temps il ad eſtre mene & governe per auters que ly ont mavaiſement conſeillez, à deſhonour de ly & deſtruction de Saint Eſgliſe, & de tout ſon People ſanz ceo que il le vouſiſt veer ou conuſter lequel il fuſt bon ou mauvays ou remedie mettre, ou faire le vouſiſt quant il fuit requis par les Grants & ſages de ſon Royalme, ou ſouffrir que amende fuiſt faite.*

1. For that the Perſon of the King is inſufficient to govern: For that during his whole Reign he has been led and governed by others, who have given him evil Council, to his Diſhonour and the Deſtruction of Holy Church, and of all his People; he being unwilling to conſider or know what was good or evil, or to provide Remedy even when it was required of him by the great and wiſe Men of his Realm, or ſuffer any to be made.

2. *Item, par ſon temps il ne ſe voloit doner à bon Counſel, ne le croire, ne à bon Government de ſon Royalme, mes ſe ad done tous Jours as ouvrages & occupations nient convenables, enterleſſant l'eſploit des beſoignes de ſon Royalme.*

2. Alſo, during all his Time, he would neither hearken to, nor believe good Council, nor apply himſelf to the good Government of his Realm, but hath always given himſelf over to Things and Occupations altogether inconvenient, omitting in the mean time the neceſſary Affairs and Buſineſs of the Kingdom.

3. *Item, par defaut de bon Government ad il perdu le Royalme d'Eſcoce & auters Terres & Seigneuries en* Gaſcoine & Hyrland, *les queux ſon Pere*

3. Alſo, for want of good Government, he hath loſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and other Lands and Territories in *Gaſcoin* and *Ireland*, which his

le

le leiſa en pees & amiſtè du Roy de France, *& dets mults des auters Grants.*

4. *Item, par ſa Fiertè & Qualte & par mauvays Counſel ad il deſtruit Saint Eſgliſe, & les Perſons de Saint Eſgliſe tenus en Priſon les uns: Et les auters en Diſtreſce, & auxynt pluſors grants & nobles de ſa Terre mys à honteuſe Mort, enpriſones, exulets & deſheritez.*

5. *Item, Là ou il eſt tenus par ſon ſerment à faire droit à toute il ne l' ad pas volu faire, pur ſon propre proffit & covetiſe de ly, & de ces maveis conſailires, que ount eſte pres de ly, Ne ad garde les auters points del ſerment qu'il fiſt à ſon Coronement, ſi come il fueſt tenus.*

6. *Item, il deguerpiſt ſon Royalme & fiſt tant come en ly fuſt que ſon Royalme & ſon People fuſt perduz, & que pys eſt, pur la cruaute de ly & defaute de ſa perſonne il eſt trove incorrigible ſaunz eſperance de amendment, les queux choſes ſont ſi notoires, qu'ils ne pount eſte deſdits.*

For theſe Cauſes, *De Conſilio & Aſſenſu omnium Prælatorum, Comitum & Baronum & totius Communitatis Regni amotus eſt à Regimine Regni.* [Apolog. *Ade de Orleton*, Collect. *p.* 2765, 2766.]

Father left him in Peace and Friendſhip with the *French* King, and with many other Grandees.

4. Alſo, by his Pride and Arrogance and evil Council, he hath deſtroyed Holy Church; impriſoning ſome Perſons thereof, and put others in diſtreſs. And alſo he hath put to a ſhameful Death, impriſoned and diſinherited many of the Great Men, and Nobles of the Land.

5. Alſo, whereas he is bound by his Oath to adminiſter Juſtice to all, he would not do it, through his own Covetouſneſs, and that of evil Counſellors, that were about him; neither hath he kept the other Points of the Oath, which he took at his Coronation, as he was bound.

6. Alſo, he hath waſted his Kingdom, and did what in him lay, that his Realm and People ſhould be deſtroyed; and, which is worſe, by his Cruelty and perſonal Failings or Defects he is found to be incorrigible, and paſt all Hopes of Amendment. All which Things are ſo notorious, that they cannot be denied.

For theſe Cauſes, by *Advice and Aſſent of all the Prelates, Earls and Barons, and of the whole Commonalty of the Kingdom*, he was depoſed from the Government. [*Apology of* Adam de Orleton, *Collect.* p. 2765, 2766.]

Theſe Proceedings againſt King *Edward* the Second are no where extant but in that Author. Which is the leſs to be wondered at, if we conſider, that in King *Richard* the Second's Time the King's Paraſitical Court-Favourites ſo influenced the Judges; That to the Queſtion, *How he was to be puniſhed, that moved in the Parliament, that the Statute ſhould be ſent for, whereby* Edward, *the Son of King* Edward, *was another Time indited in the Parliament*; They anſwered, *That as well he that moved, as the other who by Force of the ſame Motion brought the ſaid Statute in the Parliament-Houſe, be as criminous and Traitors worthy to be puniſhed.* V. Raſtal's *Statutes*, 170, 171. (Though for that and other extravagant, pernicious and treaſonable Opinions delivered, thoſe Judges were ſeverely puniſhed, as is notoriouſly known.) And alſo, That it was afterwards

one Article of Impeachment againſt King *Richard* the Second, *That he had cancelled and razed ſundry Records.*

In King *Richard* the Second's Time many Animoſities aroſe from time to time betwixt him and his Parliaments; inſomuch, that in the eleventh Year of his Reign, the Parliament then ſitting at *London*, the King abſented himſelf from them, and ſtayed at *Eltham*, refuſing to come at them, and join with them in the Public Affairs upon which Occaſion the Lords and Commons ſent Meſſengers to him with an Addreſs; which the Hiſtorian *H. Knighton* ſets forth at large, and which I will here give the Reader a Tranſcript of at large, becauſe it will afford many uſeful Inferences and Obſervations.

Salubri igitur uſi conſilio miſerunt, de communi Aſſenſu totius Parliamenti Dominum Thomam de Wodeſtoke, *Ducem* Gloceſtrie, & Thomam de Arundel, *Epiſcopum* Elyenſem, *ad Regem apud* Eltham, *qui ſalutarent eum ex Parte Procerum & Communium Parliamenti ſui, ſub tali ſenſu verborum ei referentes vota eorum.*

Domine Rex, Proceres & Domini atque totus Populus Communitatis Parliamenti veſtri, *cum humilimâ Subjectione ſe commendant excellentiſſimo Regalis Dignitatis veſtræ, cupientes proſperum iter invincibilis honoris veſtri contra inimicorum potentiam, & validiſſimum vinculum pacis & dilectionis cordis veſtri erga ſubditos veſtros, in augmentum commodi veſtri, erga Deum, & ſalutem animæ veſtræ, & ad inedicibilem conſolationem totius populi veſtri quem regitis: Ex quorum parte hæc vobis intimamus, Quod* ex antiquo Statuto habemus, & Conſuetudine laudabili & approbata, *cujus contrarietati dici non valebit, quod Rex noſter convocare poteſt Dominos & Proceres Regni atque Communes ſemel in Anno ad Parliamentum ſuum, tanquam ad ſummam curiam totius Regni, in quâ omnis æquitas relucere deberet abſque qualibet ſcrupuloſitate vel nota, tanquam Sol in aſcenſu meridiei, ubi pauperes & divites pro refrigerio tranquillitatis & pacis, & repulſione injuriarum refugi-*

Wherefore taking wholeſome Advice, they ſent by common Aſſent of the whole Parliament, the Lord *Thomas de Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, to the King, to *Eltham*, to ſalute him on Behalf of the Lords and Commons of his Parliament, who expreſſed their Deſires to the King to this Effect.

Sir, *The Lords, and all the Commons of your Parliament*, have themſelves commended to your moſt excellent Majeſty, deſiring the Succeſs of your invincible Honour againſt the Power of your Enemies, and a moſt firm Bond of Peace and Love in your Heart towards your Subjects, for your Good Godwards, and the Good of your Soul, and to the unſpeakable Comfort of all your People whom you govern: on whoſe Behalf we intimate theſe Things to you, That it appears to us *by an ancient Statute, and by laudable and approved Uſage, which cannot be denied*, that our King can call together the Peers of the Realm and the Commons once a Year to his Parliament, as to the ſupreme Court of the whole Kingdom, in which all Right and Juſtice ought to ſhine forth without any Doubt or Stain, as the Sun at Noonday, where Poor and Rich may find an infallible Refuge, to enjoy the Refreſhments of Tranquility and Peace, and for repelling of Injuries; where

um infallibile quærere poſſent, ac etiam errata Regni reformare, & de Statu & Gubernatione Regis & Regni cum ſapientiori conſilio tractare, & ut inimici Regis & Regni intrinſeci & hoſtes extrinſeci deſtruantur & repellantur, quomodò convenientius & honorificentius fieri poterit cum ſalubri tractatu id eo diſponere & prævidere; qualiter quæque onera incumbentia Regi & Regno levius ad ediam communitatis ſupportari poterunt. Videtur etiam iis, quod ex quo onera ſupportant incumbentia, habent etiam ſupervidere qualiter & per quos eorum bona & catalla expendantur. Dicunt etiam, quod habent ex antiquo Statuto, *quod ſi Rex à Parliamento ſuo ſe alienaverit ſua ſponte, non aliquâ infirmitate, aut aliquâ aliâ de cauſâ neceſſitatis, ſed per immoderatam voluntatem protervè ſe ſubtraxerit per abſentiam temporis quadraginta dierum, tanquam de vexatione populi ſui & gravibus eorum expenſis non curans, extunc licitum omnibus & ſingulis eorum abſque domigerio Regis redire ad propria, & unicuique eorum in patriam ſuam remeare: Et jam vos ex longiore tempore abſentâſtis, & quâ de cauſâ neſciunt, venire renuiſtis,* Ad hæc Rex, *Jam planè conſideramus, quod populus noſter atque communes intendunt reſiſtere, atque contra nos inſurgere moliuntur;* & in tali infeſtatione melius nobis non videtur, quin cognatum noſtrum Regem *Franciæ* & ab eo conſilium & auxilium petere contra inſidiantes, & nos ei ſubmittere potiùs quàm ſuccumbere ſubditis noſtris. Ad hæc illi reſponderunt. *Non eſt hoc vobis ſanum conſilium, ſed magis ducens ad inevitabile detrimentum;* nam Rex *Franciæ* capitalis inimicus veſter eſt, & Regni veſtri adverſarius permaximus; & ſi in terram Regni veſtri pedem figeret potius, vos ſpoliare laboraret,

alſo Errors in Government are to be reformed, and the State and Government of King and Kingdom treated upon by ſage Advice, and the deſtroying and repelling of both inteſtine and foreign Enemies to the King and Kingdom, with moſt Convenience and Honour, may be debated upon, and provided for; as alſo in what Manner the Charges incumbent upon the King and Kingdom may be borne with moſt Eaſe to the Commonalty. They conceive likewiſe, that ſince they bear the incumbent Charges, it concerns them to inſpect how and by whom their Goods and Chattels are expended. They ſay alſo, that it appears to them by *an ancient Statute*, that if the King abſent himſelf from his Parliament voluntarily, not by Reaſon of Sickneſs, or for any other neceſſary Cauſe, but through an inordinate Will, ſhall wantonly abſent himſelf by the Space of forty Days, as not regarding the Vexation of his People, and their great Expences, it ſhall then be lawful to all and ſingular of them to return to their own Homes without the King's Leave: And you have now been longer abſent, and have refuſed to come to them, for what Cauſe they know not. *Then ſaid the King*, I now plainly ſee that my People and the Commons deſign to oppoſe me with Force, and are about to make an Inſurrection againſt me: And *if I be ſo infeſted, I think the beſt Courſe I can take will be to apply to my Couſin the King of* France, *and aſk his Advice, and pray in Aid of him againſt thoſe that way-lay me, and rather to ſubmit myſelf to him, than be foiled by my own Subjects. To which they replied, That Counſel is not for your Good, but will inevitably tend to your Ruin; for the King of* France *is your capital Enemy, and the greateſt Adverſary that your*

boraret, & Regnum veſtrum invadere, voſque à ſublimitate Regalis ſolii expellere, quam vobis aliquatenùs manus adjutrices cum favore apponere; ſi, quod abſit, ejus ſuffragio quandoque indigeretis. *Ad memoriam igitur revocetis, qualiter avus veſter* Edwardus *tertius Rex, & ſimiliter pater* Edwardus *Princeps nomine ejus in ſudore & anguſtiis in omni tempore ſuo per innumerabiles labores in frigore & calore certaverunt indefeſſe pro conquiſitione Regni* Franciæ, *quod eis jure hæreditario attinebat, & vobis per ſucceſſionem poſt eos. Reminiſcamini quoque qualitèr Domini Regni & Proceres atque Communes innumerabiles tam de Regno* Angliæ *quam* Franciæ, *Reges quoque & Domini de aliis Regnis atque populi innumerabiles in Guerrâ illâ mortem & mortis periculum ſuſtinuerunt, bona quoque & catalla inæſtimabilia & theſauros innumerabiles pro ſuſtentatione hujus Guerræ, Communes Regni hujus indefeſſe effuderunt. Et quod gravius dolendum eſt, jam in diebus veſtris tanta onera iis impoſita pro Guerris veſtris ſuſtinendis, ſupportaverunt, quod ad tantam pauperiem incredibilem deducti ſunt, quod nec reditus ſuos pro ſuis tenementis ſolvere poſſunt, nec Regi ſubvenire, nec vitæ neceſſaria ſibi ipſis miniſtrare, & depauperatur Regia Poteſtas, & Dominorum Regni, & magnatum infelicitas adducitur, atque totius populi debilitas. Nam Rex depauperari nequit, qui divitem habet populum; nec dives eſſe poteſt, qui pauperes habet communes. Et mala hæc omnia redundant non ſolum Regi, ſed & omnibus & ſingulis Dominis & Proceribus Regni, unicuique in ſuo gradu. Et hæc omnia eveniunt per iniquos miniſtros Regis, qui malè gubernaverunt Regem & Regnum uſque in præſens. Et niſi manus citiùs apponamus adju-*

Kingdom has; and if he ſhould ſet his Foot within your Kingdom, he would rather endeavour to prey upon you, and invade your Realm, and to depoſe you from your Royal Dignity, than afford you any Aſſiſtance, if, which God forbid, you ſhould ſtand in need of his help. Call to mind therefore, how your Grandfather King *Edward* III. and your Father Prince *Edward* for him, fought indefatigably in Sweat and Sorrow all their Days, and went through innumerable Hardſhips of Cold and Heat, to acquire the Kingdom of *France*, which by hereditary Right appertained to them, and does now to you by Succeſſion after them. Remember likewiſe, how innumerable Lords and Commons of both Realms, and Kings and Gentlemen of other Kingdoms, and People innumerable, periſhed, or hazarded periſhing, in that War: and that the Commons of this Realm poured out Goods of ineſtimable Value, and innumerable Sums of Money, for the carrying on of that ſame War; and, which is more to be lamented, they have now in your Days undergone ſuch heavy Taxes towards the maintaining of your Wars, that they are reduced to ſuch incredible Poverty, that they cannot ſo much as pay their Rents for their Farms, nor aid the King, nor afford themſelves Neceſſaries; and the King himſelf is impoveriſhed, and the Lords become uneaſy, and all the People faint; for a King cannot become poor, that has a rich People; nor can he be rich, whoſe People are poor. And all theſe Miſchiefs redound not to the King only, but alſo to all and ſingular the Peers of the Realm, in proportion: And all theſe Miſchiefs happen by means of the King's evil Miniſters, who have hitherto miſgoverned both the King

trices,

trices, & remedii fulcimentum adhibeamus, Regnum Angliæ *doloroſe attenuabitur tempore, quo minus opinamur. Sed & unum aliud de nuncio noſtro ſupereſt nobis ex parte populi veſtri vobis intimare.* Habent enim ex antiquo Statuto, *& de facto non longe retroactis temporibus experienter quod dolendum eſt habito, ſi Rex,* ex maligno Conſilio quocunque, *vel* inepta Contumacia, *aut* Contemptu, *ſeu* proterva Voluntate ſingulari, *aut* quovis Modo irregulari, *ſe alienaverit, à populo ſuo, nec voluerit per Jura Regni & Statuta ac laudabiles Ordinationes cum ſalubri conſilio Dominorum & Procerum Regni Gubernari & Regulari, ſed capitoſe in ſuis inſanis conſiliis propriam voluntatem ſuam ſingularem proterve exercere, extunc licitum eſt iis,* cum communi aſſenſu & conſenſu Populi Regni ipſum Regem de Regali ſolio abrogare, *& propinquiorem aliquem de ſtirpe Regia loco ejus in Regni ſolio ſublimare.* H. Knighton, Coll. 2681.

and Kingdom; and if ſome courſe be not taken, the Kingdom of *England* will be miſerably diminiſhed ſooner than we are aware. But there remains yet another Part of our Meſſage, which we have to impart to you on the Behalf of your People. They find in *an ancient Statute*, and it has been done in fact not long ago, That if the King, through any evil Counſel, or fooliſh Contumacy, or out of Scorn, or ſome ſingular petulant Will of his own, or by any other irregular Means, ſhall alienate himſelf from his People, and ſhall *refuſe to be governed and guided by the Laws of the Realm, and the Statutes and laudable Ordinances thereof*, together with the wholſome Advice of the Lords and great Men of his Realm, but perſiſting head-ſtrong in his own hair-brained Counſel, ſhall petulantly proſecute his own ſingular Humour, That then *it ſhall be lawful for them, with the common Aſſent and Conſent of the People of the Realm, to depoſe that ſame King from his Regal Throne, and to ſet up ſome other of the Royal Blood in his Room.* H. Knighton, Coll. 2681.

No Man can imagine that the Lords and Commons in Parliament would have ſent the King ſuch a Meſſage, and have quoted to him an old Statute for depoſing Kings that would not govern according to Law, if the People of *England* had then apprehended that an Obedience without Reſerve was due to the King, or if there had not been ſuch a Statute in being. And though the Record of that excellent Law be loſt, as the Records of almoſt all our ancient Laws are; yet is the Teſtimony of ſo credible an Hiſtorian, who lived when theſe Things were tranſacted, ſufficient to inform us, that ſuch a Law was then known and in being, and conſequently that the Terms of *Engliſh* Allegiance, according to the Conſtitution of our Government, are different from what ſome modern Authors would perſuade us they are.

This Difference betwixt the ſaid King and his Parliament ended amicably betwixt them, in the Puniſhment of many evil Counſellors, by whom the King had been influenced to commit many Irregularities in Government.

But the Diſcontents of the People grew higher by his After-Management of Affairs, and ended in the Depoſition of that King, and ſetting up of another, who was not the next Heir in lineal Succeſſion.

The

The Articles againſt King *Richard* the Second may be read at large in *H. Knighton*, Collect. 2746, 2747, *&c.* and are yet extant upon Record. An Abridgment of them is in *Cotton's Records*, pag. 386, 387, 388. out of whom I obſerve theſe few, there being in all Thirty-three.

The firſt was, His waſting and beſtowing the Lands of the Crown upon unworthy Perſons, and overcharging the Commons with Exactions. And that whereas certain Lords Spiritual and Temporal were aſſigned in Parliament to intend the Government of the Kingdom, the King by a Conventicle of his own Accomplices endeavoured to impeach them of High-Treaſon.

Another was, For that the King by undue means procured divers Juſtices to ſpeak againſt the Law, to the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, at *Shrewſbury*.

Another, For that the King againſt his own Promiſe and Pardon at a ſolemn Proceſſion, apprehended the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and ſent him to *Calais*, there to be choaked and murdered; beheading the Earl of *Arundel*, and baniſhing the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Cobham*.

Another, For that the King's Retinue, and a Rout gathered by him out of *Cheſhire*, committed divers Murders, Rapes, and other Felonies, and refuſed to pay for their Victuals.

Another, For that the Crown of *England* being freed from the Pope, and all other Foreign Power, the King notwithſtanding procured the Pope's Excommunication on ſuch as ſhould break the Ordinances of the laſt Parliament, in Derogation of the Crown, Statutes and Laws of the Realm.

Another, That he made Men Sheriffs, who were not named to him by the Great Officers, the Juſtices and others of his Council; and who were unfit, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and in manifeſt Breach of his Oath.

Another, For that he did not repay to his Subjects the Debts, that he had borrowed of them.

Another, For that the King refuſed to execute the Laws, ſaying, That the Laws were in his Mouth and Breaſt, and that himſelf alone could make and alter the Laws.

Another, For cauſing Sheriffs to continue in Office above a Year, contrary to the Tenor of a Statute-Law, thereby incurring notorious Perjury.

Another, For that the ſaid King procured Knights of the Shires to be returned to ſerve his own Will.

Another,

Another, For that many Juſtices, for their good Counſel given to the King, were with evil Countenance and Threats rewarded.

Another, For that the King paſſing into *Ireland*, had carried with him, without the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Realm; the Treaſure, Reliques, and other Jewels of the Realm, which were uſed ſafely to be kept in the King's own Coffers from all Hazard; and for that the ſaid King cancelled and razed ſundry Records.

Another, For that the ſaid King appeared by his Letters to the Pope, to Foreign Princes, and to his Subjects, ſo variable, ſo diſſembling, and ſo unfaithful and inconſtant, that no Man could truſt him, that knew him; inſomuch, that he was a Scandal both to himſelf and the Kingdom.

Another, That the King would commonly ſay amongſt the Nobles, that all Subjects Lives, Lands and Goods were in his Hands without any Forfeiture; which is altogether contrary to the Laws and Uſages of the Realm.

Another, For that he ſuffered his Subjects to be condemned by Martial-Law, contrary to his Oath, and the Laws of the Realm.

Another, For that whereas the Subjects of *England* are ſufficiently bound to the King by their Allegiance, yet the ſaid King compelled them to take new Oaths.

Theſe Articles, with ſome others, not altogether of ſo general a Concern, being conſidered, and the King himſelf confeſſing his Defects, the ſame ſeemed ſufficient to the whole Eſtates for the King's Depoſition, and he was depoſed accordingly.

The Subſtance and Drift of all is, That our Kings were anciently liable to, and might lawfully be depoſed for Oppreſſion and Tyranny, for Inſufficiency to govern, *&c* in and by the Great Council of the Nation, without any Breach of the old Oath of Fealty, becauſe (to ſay nothing of the Nature of our Conſtitution) expreſs and poſitive Laws warranted ſuch Proceedings: And therefore, the Frame of our Government being the ſame ſtill, and the Terms of our Allegiance being the ſame now, that they were then, without any new Obligations ſuperinduced by the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, a King of *England* may legally at this Day, for ſufficient Cauſe, be depoſed by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in a great Council of the Kingdom, without any Breach of the preſent Oaths of Supremacy or Allegiance. *Quod erat demonſtrandum.*

MAN-

MANTISSA.

WHen *Stephen* was King of *England*, whom the People had choſen rather than ſubmit to *Maud*, though the great Men of the Realm had ſworn Fealty to her in her Father's Life-time, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Son of the ſaid *Maud*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, invaded the Kingdom *Anno Dom.* 1153, which was towards the latter End of King *Stephen*'s Reign; and *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* endeavoured to mediate a Peace betwixt them, ſpeaking frequently with the King in private, and ſending many Meſſages to the Duke; and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* took pains likewiſe to make them Friends. *Factum eſt autem, ut menſe* Novembris, *in fine menſis, ex Præcepto Regis et Ducis, convenirent apud* Wintoniam *Præſules & Principes Regni, ut & ipſi jam initæ paci præberent aſſenſum, & unanimiter juramenti ſacramento confirmarent* *, i. e. It came to paſs, that in the Month of *November*, towards the latter End of the Month, at the Summon of the King and of the Duke, the Prelates and great Men of the Kingdom were aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, that they alſo might aſſent to the Peace that was concluded, and unanimouſly ſwear to obſerve it.

In that Parliament the Duke was declared King *Stephen*'s adopted Son, and Heir of the Kingdom, and the King to retain the Government during his Life.

I obſerve only upon this Authority, That there being a Controverſy betwixt the King and the Duke, which could no otherwiſe be determined and ſettled but in a Parliament, the Summons of this Parliament were iſſued in the Names of both Parties concerned.

Quiſquis habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.

* Collect. *pag.* 1374, 1375.

The

The Declaration of the Lord *Petre* upon his Death, touching the Plot.

In a Letter to his moſt ſacred Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Give myſelf the Hopes that your Majeſty will pardon this Preſumption of a dying but dutiful Subject, in giving you the Trouble of this ſhort Account and Declaration of myſelf, by which in the firſt Place I offer to God my hearty Prayers for your Majeſty's long Life and happy Reign, with all the Bleſſings of this Life, and eternal Happineſs of the next; I having been now above five Years in Priſon, and what is more grievous to me, lain ſo long under a falſe and injurious Calumny of a horrid Plot and Deſign againſt your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and am now by the Diſpoſition of God's Providence called into another World, before I could by a public Trial make my Innocence appear; I conceived it neceſſary for me, as an incumbent Duty I owe to Truth, and my own Innocency, to make this enſuing Proteſtation to your Majeſty and the whole World. That whereas one *Titus Oates* hath maliciouſly and falſely ſworn that he ſaw me receive a Commiſſion directed to me from *Joannes Paulus de Olivia*, conſtituting me Lieutenant-General of an Army, which he pretended was to come into *England*; I declare in the Preſence of the all-ſeeing God, before whoſe juſt Tribunal I am ſhortly to appear, that I never ſaw any ſuch Commiſſion directed to me, or any other Perſon whatſoever, and do firmly believe there never was any ſuch: But of the Folly as well as the Falſhood of the Information, the ſober Part of Mankind, as I conceive, ſufficiently, e'er this are convinced.

And as for thoſe Aſperſions which the ignorant and malicious have thrown upon the *Roman* Catholic Church (of which I am, and by the Grace of God do die a Member) as if murdering of Kings, and taking up Arms againſt our Sovereigns were an authoriſed Principle of that Religion: I do knowingly affirm there is nothing with more Horror deteſted by the Catholic Church, as being expreſsly contrary to the Command of our Saviour and Chriſtian Doctrine, and as ſuch I renounce and deteſt it, as I do all Plots and Conſpiracies againſt your ſacred Perſon. Having thus briefly, and with all Sincerity of a dying Man diſcharged my Conſcience, I ſhall end where I began, and with my laſt Breath beg of God to defend your Majeſty from all your Enemies, and to forgive thoſe, who by their

Perjuries have endeavoured to make me appear to be one, who living and dying am (as in Duty bound, *&c.*)

Your moſt obedient,
and loyal Subject,

W. PETRE.

The Loyal Speech of *George Plaxtone*, M. A. Miniſter of *Sheriff-Hales* in *Shropſhire*; ſpoken at *Shifnal*, in the ſame County, upon the Proclamation of his ſacred Majeſty, King *James* the Second, *&c.*

Gentlemen!

YOU have laid the greateſt Taſk upon me, that I ever underwent in all my Days: You have obliged me to ſpeak of the moſt important Matters of our Nation, and allowed me ſcarce one Minute for Thought or Premeditation: But may that Almighty Power, by whom Kings reign, inſtruct me! and may an Heart and Soul full of Loyalty, furniſh my Tongue with Argument and Elocution.

My Undertaking is great and difficult: Who can ſpeak of Kings, without Awe and Reverence? Or, Who can be an Orator, when thoſe two contrary Paſſions of Grief and Joy, at once ſtruggle in his Breaſt? I cannot look back to the peaceful Days of *Charles* the Second; I cannot remember the laſting Happineſſes of his Reign, but I muſt drop a Tear upon his Hearſe: Nor can I look forwards, towards the preſent Glories of *James* the Second, but I am overwhelmed with Joy, and a loyal Tranſport ſeizes me. We have loſt one of the beſt of Princes, which ever ſwayed theſe *Britiſh* Scepters, *Charles the gracious*: a Prince, who was the Care of Heaven, the Darling of his Subjects; whoſe Life was a Miracle, and his whole Reign one continued Bleſſing: Mercy and Juſtices were the Supporters of his Throne; and Peace and good Wiſhes the Legacy he has left us. I cannot relate the laſt Words of that incomparable Prince, without a Sigh; I dare not name them, without Tears for our general Loſs: Thus he remembred us in his dying Words, if ſuch a Prince may be ſaid to die: *Brother I am now going to reſign up my Self to God, and my Crown and Government to you; grant me theſe few Requeſts.*

I. *In all your Undertakings, ſet the Fear of God before your Eyes, and let that direct you.*

II. *Remember to maintain the Church of* England, *as now by Law eſtabliſhed.*

III. *Govern your Subjects with Mercy, Eaſe and Peace.*

IV. *Be good to my Queen, and Children.*

This was the Royal Legacy which he left us; a Legacy, truly becoming ſuch a Prince as *Charles* the Second. But this is not all, though a great deal more than we deſerved, the greateſt Bleſſing is ſtill behind; he has left us his Royal Brother, *James* the Second, to ſucceed him in his Throne, and Virtues: This muſt wipe away all our Griefs, this muſt make our Joys perfect, and crown our Lives with a laſting Happineſs. The Sun is ſet with us; but no Night follows: *Charles the gracious*, is only exchanged for *James the juſt*: And though our King be dead, yet the Monarch lives. We are bleſt again with a gracious Prince; a Prince, whoſe Virtues need no Panegyric; and to praiſe him according to his moſt excellent Greatneſs, is above the feeble Power of Oratory and Eloquence. What Virtues can we wiſh for in a Prince, which our preſent Sovereign brings not to his Throne? What Joys are wanting to make us happy, which he will not beſtow?

Would we have our Religion ſecured? We have the Laws on our ſide, and the Royal Word of a King for it: The King has declared, that he will maintain our Religion, as now by Law eſtabliſhed; and do what in him lies, to make the Church of *England* flouriſh.

Gentlemen! *Where the Word of a King is, there is Power:* And what the King hath declared, he will make good; for no Prince is juſter to his Word, than he is. Would we have our Rights and Liberties preſerved? We have a Prince of the greateſt Juſtice upon Earth. Whilſt he was a Subject, he was the moſt faithful Friend, and the beſt of Maſters to his Servants; and I hope, a good Maſter will never make an ill King. But more; We have his Royal Promiſe, *That he will walk in the Steps of his deareſt Brother.* Would we have the Glories of our Kingdom maintained; would we ſee the Old *Engliſh* Bravery once again flouriſh! We have now the moſt victorious and warlike Prince in *Chriſtendom*; a King, who dares attempt any thing, but an ill Act; a King, who has been a Soldier almoſt from his Cradle. I need not tell you, how he ſignalized his Valour under the Proteſtant Mareſchal *Turenne* in *France:* I need not ſpeak of his Magnanimity under *Don Juan* of *Auſtria*, againſt the *French* King then in League with the *Engliſh* Rebels: I need not remember you of the extraordinary Hazards of his Royal Perſon, in the *Dutch* Engagements, fighting for the Rights and Honour of our Nation, and expoſing himſelf in a Shower of Fire and Bullets; Bullets, which diſtinguiſh not the greateſt Prince from the meaneſt Soldier.

Gentlemen! He was then the Joy and Treaſure of our Nation; and our Repreſentatives in Parliament, did not only gratefully acknowledge his Services;

but did almoſt loyally chide him, for hazarding his Royal Perſon in War, in whom all our Hopes and Expectations were centered. He is ſtill the ſame *James the Juſt*, the valiant, and the brave; though we (I wiſh I were not to name it, for the Honour of my Nation) ingratefully revolted from him.

Away then with all Fanatic Fears and Jealouſies! Can the Grand-Child of *James the peaceful*, can the Son of *Charles the Martyr*, can the Brother of *Charles the gracious* can the victorious and juſt *James* Duke of *York* and *Albany* prove an ill King? It cannot be. Can he, who has been an Obedient Subject for Fifty-two Years together; can the juſteſt Maſter, and the firmeſt Friend, and the moſt faithful Brother, prove an ill King? It cannot be; and God forbid, that any one ſhould think it.

Gentlemen! Let us remember our Duties, and endeavour all we can to be loyal; and then we need not doubt, but God will bleſs us with a merciful and a gracious King. Our Submiſſion to his Rule, our Content and chearful Obedience under his Government, will return to us in Showers of Mercy, Kindneſs and Juſtice.

Good Subjects do generally make good Kings; and if our King ſhould prove otherwiſe, it will be our own Faults. What ſhall I ſay more? *Charles the gracious* ſtill lives in *James the juſt*. We have only changed the Name, not altered the Sovereign.

Away then with thoſe odious Names of Whig and Tory; let them be forgotten and buried: Let us remember, that we are Chriſtians, and *Engliſh*-Men; the former will teach us Loyalty and Allegiance to our King; Love, Unity, and good Wiſhes towards one another: the latter will engage us to maintain the Glories and Peace of our Church and Nation; and to preſerve the beſt of Kings, and the happieſt of Governments. Let us all, with one Heart and Mind, bleſs God for theſe Mercies; and ſay,

God ſave King James *the Second.*

The Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, upon the Obſervations of the Commiſſioners for taking, examining and ſtating the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, delivered into the Houſe of Peers.

Die Veneris 15o. Januarii, 1702.

THIS Day Mr. *King*, Secretary to the Commiſſioners appointed by a late Act of Parliament, to take, examine and ſtate the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, delivered at the Bar an Account of the general State of the Receipts and Iſſues of the public Revenue between the Feaſt

Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1700, and the Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1701. And alſo, the Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1701, and the Feaſt of St. *Michael* 1702. With their Obſervations thereupon.

Die Martis 26*o* Januarii, 1702.

The Houſe being moved, That a Day be appointed for taking into Conſideration the Book of public Accounts, now before this Houſe: It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Book of Accounts ſhall be taken into Conſideration on *Tueſday* next at Eleven o'Clock.

Die Lunæ 1*o* Februarii, 1702.

It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Commiſſioners of Accounts do lay before this Houſe To-morrow at Eleven o'Clock, what further Obſervations they have made in relation to the Accounts, ſince the Delivery of the general State of Receipts and Iſſues of the public Revenue into this Houſe.

Die Martis 2*o* Februarii, 1702.

The Order being read for taking into Conſideration the Book of Accounts. It is thereupon ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Queen's Remembrancer do immediately bring to this Houſe the Impreſt Rolls tranſmitted to him ſince *November*, 1699.

Then the Title of the Book of Accounts was read, and the Commiſſioners Obſervations.

After which it was propoſed to read the Obſervations upon the Accounts Paragraph by Paragraph.

And the firſt Paragraph being read,

The Lord *Halifax* was heard thereto.

Then the Houſe being informed, That Mr. *Gregory King* attended at the Door from the Commiſſioners of Accounts:

He was called in, and at the Bar delivered the Commiſſioners of Accounts further Obſervations.

Then the Queen's Remembrancer attending, was called in, and delivered the Impreſt Rolls tranſmitted to him ſince 1699, as ordered.

The Houſe being moved to appoint a Committee to conſider of the Obſervations delivered to this Houſe from the Commiſſioners of Accounts, it was agreed to, as followeth: And

Lords Committees were appointed to conſider of the Obſervations in the Book of Accounts delivered into this Houſe the fifteenth Day of *January* laſt, and this Day. Whoſe Lordſhips having conſidered thereof, and heard ſuch Perſons concerning the ſame, as they ſhall think fit, are afterwards to report their Opinion thereupon to this Houſe. Whoſe Lordſhips, or any five of them, are to meet To-morrow at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, in the Prince's Lodgings, near the Houſe of Peers, and to adjourn as they pleaſe.

It

It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Queen's Remembrancer do bring to the Lords Committees appointed to consider of the Observations delivered by the Commissioners of Accounts, To-morrow at Ten o'Clock, the Impress Rolls transmitted to him since the Twentieth of *April* 1697, being the Time from which the Act commenced.

It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Commissioners for public Accounts have notice, that this House hath appointed a Committee to consider of the Observations delivered into this House by them, To-morrow at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, in the Prince's Lodgings near the House of Peers.

Die Mercurii 30 Februarii, 1702.

This Day Mr. *Barker*, Deputy to her Majesty's Remembrancer, brought the other Impress Rolls, as ordered Yesterday, which were delivered to the Committee.

His Grace the Duke of *Somerset* reported, That the Lords Committees appointed to consider of the Observations from the Commissioners of Accounts, That they have taken the first Observation into Consideration, in relation to the Auditor of the Exchequer; and that the Commissioners of Accounts had notice of the Committee's Sitting, yet none of them attended; and therefore the Committee is of Opinion, That a Message be sent to the House of Commons, that they may have leave to attend: To which the House agreed.

Then,

A Message was sent to the House of Commons by Sir *John Franklyn* and Sir *Richard Holford*, to acquaint them, That this House hath appointed a Committee to consider of the Observations in the Book of Accounts, laid before this House by the Commissioners of Accounts the fifteenth of *January* last, and also those delivered yesterday from the said Commissioners: That the Committee met Yesterday in the Morning, and had proceeded upon the first Observation, and the additional Observation, relating to the Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer; and those Commissioners being Members of the House of Commons, the Lords do desire that the House would give leave, that those Commissioners, or some of them, should attend the said Committee, on *Friday* next, at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon.

Die Jovis 40 *Februarii*, 1702.

The Messengers sent to the House of Commons Yesterday, return Answer, that the Commons will send an Answer by Messengers of their own.

Die Veneris 50 Februarii, 1702.

His Grace the Duke of *Somerset* reported from the Lords Committees appointed to consider of the Observations delivered into this House from the Commissioners of Accounts, That the said Commissioners had not attended the Committee, but upon Consideration of the whole Matters, the Committee had ordered him to report, as followeth.

The

The Committee appointed to consider of the Observations in the Book of Accounts, delivered into this House the fifteenth Day of *January* last, and the second of this Instant *February*, have made some Progress in considering the said Observations, and do humbly take leave to acquaint the House, That they have examined into the first of those Observations, and also the further Observation delivered into this House the second Instant, relating to the transmitting the ordinary Impreſt Rolls to the Queen's Remembrancer: They have inspected several of the original Impreſt Rolls delivered into the House by Mr. *Barker*, Deputy to her Majesty's Remembrancer: They also examined divers Officers of the Exchequer, and others upon Oath; and do find, That by the ancient and uninterrupted Course of the Exchequer, two Impreſt Rolls are to be made out for each Year; the one comprehending all Sums Impreſt from the End of *Trinity* Term, to the End of *Hillary* Term; the other containing all such Sums from that Time to the End of *Trinity* Term; which Rolls are commonly called Half-Yearly Rolls, though improperly: They find that by the ancient Course of the Exchequer, these Impreſt Rolls, being made out by the Auditor of the Receipt, are to be delivered by him to the Clerk of the Pells, whose Duty it is to examine and sign them; And this being done, the Clerk of the Pells delivers them to the Remembrancer.

This Usage was by Degrees discontinued in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; and the Remembrancer or his Agent used to come to the Office of the Auditor of the Receipt, and take away the Impreſt Rolls from thence immediately: But in the Time when the Earl of *Rocheſter* was Treasurer, the ancient Usage was restored, and he did order that the Impreſt Rolls should be carefully examined and signed by the Clerk of the Pells, before they should be transmitted to the Remembrancer, and accordingly since that Time, the ancient Custom has been observed, as well before, as since the Act of Parliament made in the Eighth and Ninth Year of his late Majesty, *For the better Observation of the Course anciently used in the Receipt of the Exchequer:* (that is to say) The said Half-Yearly Rolls, when made out and signed by the Auditor, have been by him transmitted to the Clerk of the Pells, and when the Clerk of the Pells has examined and signed them, he or his Deputy has delivered them to the Remembrancer, and this appears by the Remembrancer's Endorsement upon the Rolls. The Committee finds that *Charles* Lord *Halifax* has been Auditor of the the Receipt from the End of *November*, 1699. Since which time six Impreſt Rolls have been transmitted to the Remembrancer, and there is a seventh Roll now under Examination of the Office of the Pells, and no other Roll can be prepared till after the twelfth of this Instant *February*.

Upon the whole Matter the Committee are humbly of Opinion, That *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, hath performed the Duty of his Office, in transmitting the ordinary Impreſt Rolls to the Queen's Remembrancer, according to the ancient Custom of the Exchequer, and the Direction of the Act VIII. and IX. *Gulielmi* III. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for the better Observation of the Course anciently used in the Receipt of the Exchequer*; and that he hath not been guilty of any Neglect or Breach of Trust, upon that Account.

Which

Which Report being read, as alſo the Examinations taken upon Oath by the Committee, as alſo the Dates and Endorſements of the ſeveral Impreſt Rolls, delivered by Mr. *Barker*, Deputy to the Queen's Remembrancer; it was propoſed to agree with the Opinion of the Committee in this Report.

Then the Queſtion was put, Whether this Houſe will agree to the Opinion of the Committee in this Report?

It was reſolved in the Affirmative.

It is reſolved and declared by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer hath performed the Duty of his Office, in tranſmitting the ordinary Impreſt Rolls to the Queen's Remembrancer, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Exchequer, and the Direction of the Act VIII. and IX. *Gulielmi* III. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for the better Obſervation of the Courſe anciently uſed in the Receipt of the Exchequer*, and that he hath not been guilty of any Neglect or Breach of Truſt upon that Account.

The

The Naked Truth: Or, the true State of the Primitive Church. By an Humble Moderator, *Herbert Croft* Biſhop of *Hereford*, as verily ſuppoſed.

Zach. viii. 19. *Love the Truth and Peace.*
Gal. iv. 16. *Am I therefore become your Enemy, becauſe I tell you the Truth?*

Anno 1675.

An Humble Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament.

My Lords and noble Gentlemen, You have fully expreſſed your Zeal to God and his Church in making Laws for Unity in Faith, and Uniformity in Diſcipline: for, as our Saviour ſaid, *A Kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; ſo the ſame may certainly be ſaid of a Church, the reaſon being the ſame for both: And I call the Searcher of all Hearts, the God of Life and Death, to witneſs, that I would moſt readily, yea moſt joyfully ſacrifice all I have in this World, my Life and All, that all *Non-Conformiſts* were reduced to our Church. But it falls out moſt ſadly that your Laws have not the deſired Effect, our Church is more and more divided; ſuch is the perverſe Nature of Man, *Niti in Vetitum*, obſtinately to oppoſe Authority, eſpecially when they can pretend the Colour of Religion and Conſcience; this carries ſo great an Applauſe among the Vulgar (ſtill envious at Superiors) that it is, as it were, Nuts to an Ape, ſweeter to them than any other thing this World affords: for the Enjoyment of this they will endure any thing, Impriſonment, Loſs of Goods, yea ſometime of Life alſo. And this is it which mainly nouriſhes our Diviſions, gives great Advantage to the Growth of Popery, and threatens the total Ruin of our Church. Many who were formerly very zealous for our Church, ſeeing theſe our ſad Diviſions, and not ſeeing thoſe of the Roman Church, nor their groſs Superſtitions (which their Prieſts conceal till they have got Men faſt) are eaſily ſeduc'd by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my Heart to bleed, and my Soul with Anguiſh ready to expire, rather than live to ſee that diſmal Day of Relapſe into their manifold Idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my Soul before God in faſting and Prayer, begging daily the Aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, to direct me to ſome healing Salve for theſe our bleeding Wounds: And therefore I have ſome Reaſon to believe, that what is contained in theſe following Papers, comes from the great Goodneſs of God, who never fails thoſe who ſeek him in Humility and Sincerity both, which I am confident I have done; and this I am ſure of that no worldly Deſigns have moved me to this, but have often tempted me to give it

over; I am also sure, that there is nothing contained therein, which is contrary to the known Laws of the Land: in this only I confess I have transgressed, in putting it forth without Licence; and for this I beg of God and you as *Naaman* did of *Elisha*; *In this thing the Lord and you pardon your Servant*; and I hope you will say unto me as *Elisha* did unto *Naaman*, *Go in Peace*; and I farther hope this shall not cast such a Prejudice upon it, as to make you cast it by, or read it with Disgust. I do not expect you should approve any thing upon the Account of my seeking God in this, but upon my Reasons alledged; nor do I expect that upon my Reasons you should approve all: yet I beseech you seriously consider all, and God of his infinite Goodness direct you to that which may make for the Unity of our Church, by yielding to weak Ones (if not wilful Ones also) as far as your Reason and Conscience will permit: sure you cannot so loath all Condescention, as not to loath more, and detest Papal Confusion, which certainly comes on apace by our Division; and of two Evils, both Reason and Religion require us to chuse the less; now doubtless you cannot think Condescention (if evil at all, sure not) so evil as Papal Idolatry, and that Papistry is Idolatry, is so clearly proved by our learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, as it were lost Labour to say more of it. Condescention may seem in some respects imprudent, but whether in this Conjuncture of Affairs imprudent, I beseech you again consider well. The wisest Men have changed their Counsels and Resolves upon second Thoughts, much more upon Experience, and approaching Evils not at first discovered. It is a common thing with Princes when they find their main Enemies Power encrease much, to make Peace with lesser Enemies, on Conditions never before to be endured; Self-preservation being the prime Principle in all Creatures rational and irrational, springing from Nature itself, it should in Nature and Reason over-ballance any other Consideration; and whatever is done to this End, if not sinfully done, must needs be wisely done. I most humbly beseech the All-wise God, and sole Giver of Wisdom, to pour down his holy and wise Spirit upon you. *Amen.*

To the READER.

CHristian Reader, *so I term you, hoping you have in some Measure the Spirit of Christ, and desire it more, the Spirit of Meekness, Humility, Charity, not to censure my Errors, and inveigh against them, but to pity and endeavour to rectify them, if you find any; and I assure you in the Word of a Christian, I shall be far more ready to recant, than to vent an Error: If you be not thus christianly disposed, I earnestly beseech you read no further, for I am sure you will be displeas'd with it: and can you think it Wisdom to run your self into Displeasure? enjoy your present Quiet, and let me rest. But if you be so Christianly disposed as I mentioned, then I as earnestly beg of you to proceed, to discover my Errors and amend them. But perchance you will ask who I am, why did I not tell you, by putting my Name to this Pamphlet? I will ingenuously confess the Cause. I am a weak Man, of great Passions, not able to bear Commendations or Reproach; my small Ability puts me out of Danger of the First, but in great fear of the Latter. Why then was I so forward to publish my Weakness? to have it cured; yet truly I have not been very forward,*

ward, for it is now above two Years since I had these Thoughts, in which Time I have read and conferred all I could to discover if I were in an Error, but for all I yet could meet with, do not find it so, but hope all I say is Truth, and that it may be useful to the Publick, in this present Conjuncture of Affairs. Therefore I proceed, and in the next place most humbly beseech all that read this to lay aside all Bias of Interest or Education, both are very great, I am sure I found it so very long before I could master them, and that of Education most difficult; were it not so, there could not be that Difference of Opinion in Christian Religion, all allowing the Bible for the Rule of Faith, the Papists themselves do not reject it, but add to it the Authority of the Church. I verily believe there are thousands of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, *both Learned and Religious, who would lay down their Lives for the Truth they profess, and yet are divided in Opinion merely by Education, having in their Youth so imprinted their own Opinions in their Mind, as you may sooner seperate their Body than their Opinion from their Soul. Nay, I have heard that among the* Turks *there are many wise and moderate Persons that are as zealous to maintain their ridiculous* Alcoran *as we our* Bible; *which cannot proceed from any thing but the strong Bias of Education, which so wheels about and intoxicates their Brain. And to say somewhat more particular of our own Nation here. Those that have been educated in that way as to sit at the Communiom, and baptize their Children without the Cross, had rather omit those Sacraments than use kneeling, or the Cross; and those that have been educated in kneeling and crossing, though they acknowledge they are meer Ceremonies indifferent, yet had rather omit the Sacraments, than omit the Ceremonies, just as if a Man had rather starve than eat Bread baked in a Pan, because he hath used Bread baked in an Oven. So that Religion in many is really but their Humour, Fancy passeth for Reason, and Custom is more prevalent than any Argument. This is the thing which makes me fear I shall meet with very few that will calmly and indifferently consider what I write, but will presently startle at it as new and cross to their Genius, or to their Interest, or their Reputation, which they value above all, I mean the Esteem and Kindness of their best Friends and Acquaintance, whose Taunts and Reproach they cannot bear; but I humbly beseech them to pause a while, and lay it by till the Passion be over, 'till they have mastered all these Difficulties. I beseech them to set before their Eyes the Beauty, the Honour, the Stedfastness of Truth, the Comfort, the Delight, the everlasting Felicity of a clear and rectified Conscience; then resume it and consider again. But they cry Pish, 'tis not worth it, 'tis a riduculous Toy, and savours something of the Sectarian: I grant there are some things among the Sectarians I approve of, I will not reject and condemn any Truth uttered, or any good Action performed though said and done by the Devil. I consider the things, and if good, embrace them, whoever utters them, though I detest his Errors in other things; You will say the same; then I beseech you do the same; consider what I say simply in itself, whether the Papists or Anabaptists say the same, it matters not; I hope you will not reject Christ because they both profess him. But if after all your serious, patient, unbiass'd Consideration, you find it an erroneous contemptible Pamphlet, yet contemn not the Person that wrote it in the Sincerity of his Heart, lest you receive the same Measure again from Christ, who hath assured us, that shall be his Rule, to mete unto us the like Christ died for the Salvation of my poor Soul as well as yours, contemn it not therefore, but endeavour to rectify it; if God hath given you more Knowledge and Wisdom than me,* be not high-minded, but fear; and let him that stands take heed lest

he fall. *Thus I pray for you, do you the like for me, and however we differ in Opinion, let us accord in Charity, and in Christ Jesus the Redeemer of us all.* Amen.

Concerning ARTICLES *of* FAITH.

THAT which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, if it were not compoſed by them, yet certainly by Primitive and Apoſtolick Men, and propoſed as the Sum of Chriſtian Faith, the Sum Total neceſſary to Salvation; it can't be ſuppoſed they left out any Thing which they thought neceſſary to Salvation, they might as well have omitted Half, or all: As one Commandment broken is the ſame in Effect with all, ſo one neceſſary Principle of Faith denied, cancels all, and ſhuts out from Heaven. When I ſpeak of believing the Apoſtles Creed, I do not mean, that we believe all there contained with a divine Faith becauſe it is there contained, for we have no Aſſurance that the Apoſtles compoſed that Creed; but we are ſure all that is in that Creed is evident in Scripture to any common Underſtanding; therefore we believe all with a divine Faith. But I mention this Creed only, to ſhew that the Primitive Church received this as the Sum Total of Faith neceſſary to Salvation; why not now? Is the State of Salvation alterred? If it be compleat, what needs any other Article? You would have Men improve in Faith, ſo would I, but rather *intenſive* than *extenſive*, to confirm it rather than enlarge it: One ſound Grain of Muſtard-Seed is better than a Buſhel of unſound chaffy Stuff. 'Tis good to know all Goſpel-Truths, and to believe them, no doubt of that; but the Queſtion is not what is good, but what is neceſſary. I pray remember the Treaſurer to *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, whom *Philip* inſtructed in the Faith; his Time of catechiſing was very ſhort, and ſoon proceeded to Baptiſm. But *Philip* firſt required a Confeſſion of his Faith, and the Eunuch made it, and I beſeech you obſerve it; *I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God:* And ſtraitway he was baptized. How? No more than this? No more; this little Grain of Faith being found, believed with all his Heart, purchaſed the Kingdom of Heaven: Had he believed the whole Goſpel with Half his Heart, it had been of leſs Value in the Sight of God; 'tis not the Quantity, but the Quality of our Faith God requireth. But ſure the Eunuch was more fully inſtructed; it may be you are ſure of it, but I could never yet meet with any Aſſurance of it, nor any great Probability of it; I am ſure he ſaw *Philip* no more, and I am ſure *Philip* required no more, but baptized him on this, and had the Eunuch departed this Life in the ſame Inſtant that *Philip* parted from him, I believe I have better Aſſurance that this Faith would have ſaved the Eunuch, than any Man hath that he ever was taught more: See 1 *John* iv. 2. *Every Spirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the Fleſh, is of God:* But the more the better ſtill I grant, though no more neceſſary. Haſt thou more Faith, have it to thy ſelf before God. *Happy is he who condemneth not himſelf in the Thing which he alloweth*; happy is he who is thankful to God for having received much, and deſpiſeth not him that hath received little: God diſpenſeth his Gifts and Graces

according

according to his free Will and Pleasure, nor doth he require more of any Man than according to the Proportion he hath given, no more should we.

Nothing hath caused more Mischief in the Church than the establishing new and many Articles of Faith, and requiring all to assent unto them. I am willing to believe that zealous Men endeavoured this with pious Intentions to promote that which they conceived Truth, but by imposing it on the Dissenters, caused furious Wars, and lamentable Bloodshed among Christians, Brother fighting against Brother, and murthering each other. Can there be any Thing more irrational than to endeavour to promote the Truth of the Gospel contrary to the Laws of the Gospel? To break an evident Commandment to establish a doubtful Truth? I say, doubtful to him on whom it is imposed, though seeming clear to him that imposes it. If it were fully express'd in Scripture-words, there would need no new Expression, no new Article; if it be not fully express'd in Scripture, but deduc'd from Scripture-Expressions, then what one Man thinks clearly deduc'd, another may think not so; I mean, not another ignorant and weak, but as learned, and as able. What more common than in Divinity and Philosophy Schools? One cries, this is a clear Demonstration; another cries, no such Matter, but flatly denies it. Mens Understandings are as various as their Speech or their Countenance, otherwise it were impossible there should be so many understanding and moderate, yea, and conscientious Men also, *Papists*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, all in such Opposition one against another, all believing Scripture, yet so differing in the Deductions from Scripture. Truly I think him very defective in Charity, however he abound in Faith, who thinks all *Papists*, or *Lutherans*, or *Calvinists* maliciously or wilfully blind.

As for my Part, I think nothing can be more clearly deduc'd from Scripture, nothing more fully express'd in Scripture, nothing more suitable to natural Reason, than that no Man should be forc'd to believe, for no Man can be forc'd to believe; you may force a Man to say this or that, but not to believe it. First, as to Reason: If you bring a Man an evident Demonstration, and he hath a Brain to understand your Demonstration, he can't but assent to it. If you hold a clear printed Book with a clear Candle to a Man of clear Eyes and able to read, he will certainly read; but if the Print be not clear, or the Candle, or his Sight not clear, or he not learned to read, can your Force make him read? And just so it is with our Understanding, which is the Eye of our Soul, and a Demonstration being as a Candle to give Light; if then your Demonstration or Deduction, or his Unnderstanding be not clear, or he not learned, you may with a Club dash out his Brains, but never clear them. He then that believes the Scripture, can't but believe what you clearly demonstrate from Scripture, if he hath clear Brains; if he hath not, your Force may puzzle and puddle his Brains more by the Passion of Anger and Hatred, make him abhor you and your Arguments, but never lovingly embrace you or them: And thus you may hazard his Soul by Hatred, and your own Soul also by provoking him to it, but never save his Soul by a true Belief. But perchance you will conclude, he doth not believe the Scripture, because he doth not believe your Arguments from Scripture; (a strange Conclusion) but what then? Would you, can you force him to believe the Scripture? Can you drive Faith like a Nail into his Head or Heart

with a Hammer? Nay, 'tis not in a Man's own Power to make himself believe any Thing farther than his Reason shews him, much less divine Things; this is the peculiar Work of Grace; and if Faith be the Gift of God, your Argument cannot give it, nor your Hammer force it; Arguments may be good Inducements, and if right, will prevail with those to believe whom God hath ordained to eternal Life, but no other; Preaching the Word is the Means God himself hath appointed, but as for Force, I can't find in the Gospel either Commandment or Countenance given for it. If the Scripture command to speak the Truth in love, to instruct our Brother in the Spirit of Meekness, if we are to pray and beseech him to receive the Grace of God, can any Thing be more contrary to Scripture Rule, than Force and Violence? To what Purpose then is Force, since it cannot make him believe the Gospel? And if he doth believe the Gospel, he will, I am sure, he cannot chuse but believe what you clearly shew him is contained there (supposing his Brain to be clear); and I am also sure, if he believe what is clearly contained, he need not believe any Thing else. The Scripture is our Rule of Faith compleat and full, the Scripture itself tells us so, *John* xx. 31. *These Things are written that you might believe, and believing ye might have Life*; and our Saviour tells us, *That in them we have eternal Life*, John v. 39. and the 2d. Tim. iii. 15. St. *Paul* tells us, *The Scriptures are able to make us wise unto Salvation through Faith which is in Christ Jesus*; *all Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness, that the Man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good Works.* And I beseech all Men further to consider what is said, *Deut.* xii. 32. *Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it*; and likewise how they will avoid the Curse in the last of the *Revelations*, if they add to the Words there written; and surely 'tis the same Crime to any other Book of Scripture. If it be answered, They do not require us to believe it to be Scripture. I reply, They require Men to believe it as Scripture, with divine Faith, which is as bad, they make their own Words equal with God's Word; or if they say, they require not divine Faith, then I am sure it is no Matter of Salvation whether I believe it or no, human Faith cannot save. Thus you see how impertinent, how irrational, how impious it is, to require a Man to believe any Thing more than is clearly contained in Scripture; and if it be clearly contained there, he that believes Scripture and sees it clearly contained there, can't but believe it; if he do not see it clearly contained there, you can't force either his Sight or his Faith. Your Force may make him blinder, but never see clearer, may make him an Hypocrite, no true Convert.

Again, I desire all Men soberly to consider. Are not the prime and most necessary Principles of Faith, the Trinity, three Persons and one God, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the same Person to be God and Man, the Resurrection of the Dead, that we shall rise with the same Body, when one Body may be eaten and converted into several Bodies, and such like? Are they not Things far above the highest Reason and sharpest Understanding that ever had Man? Yet we believe them, because God (who cannot lye) hath declared them: Is it not then a strange Thing for any Man to take upon him to declare one Tittle more of them than God hath declared, seeing we understand not what is declared? I mean we have no comprehensive Knowledge of the Matter declared,

but

but only a believing Knowlege, our Faith not our Reaſon reaches it: The Apoſtles by the Scriptures teach us this, not the Schools by Syllogiſms. If then our Reaſon underſtands not what is declared, how can we by Reaſon make any Deduction by Way of Argument from that which we underſtand not? As for Example. Some hold, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son; ſome, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son. I pray, Doth any Man underſtand how the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, from the Son, or by the Son? no certainly, how then can he affirm or believe a Tittle more of the Holy Ghoſt than the Holy Ghoſt hath declared? Seeing, as I ſaid, He underſtands not all what is declared. Diſcourſe muſt be of Things intelligible, though Faith believes Things not intelligible. Can any Man prove, that Rotation and Circulation are all one, who underſtands not what Rotation or Circulation is? The like may be ſaid of Proceſſion or Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The Scripture plainly tells, That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, and that he is ſent by the Father, that he is alſo ſent by the Son, but whether he proceeds from the Son, or by the Son, the Scripture is ſilent, and I am therefore ignorant, having no Knowledge at all of any divine Myſteries, but from the Scriptures. I grant, that by rational Deductions and human Way of argumenting, 'tis probable, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son as from the Father; but if in divine Matters we once give Way to human Deductions, a cunning Sophiſter may ſoon lead a weak Diſputant into many Errors. By human Deductions you may infer, that the Son is inferior to the Father as begotten by him, the Holy Ghoſt inferior to both, being ſent by both; with us the Leſs is ſent by the Greater; by human Deduction from three diſtinct Perſons you may prove three diſtinct Subſtances; I hope you will make no ſuch Inferences in the divine Perſons. Again, What a Buſineſs have the School-Men made about theſe Words of our Saviour; *This is my Body:* With their *prædicatum*, and *ſubjectum*, and *copula*, and *inviduum vagum*, in the pronoun *This*. Innumerable are their intricate Impertinencies in this Matter, and in their Concluſion; the Papiſts hold Chriſt to be preſent in the Sacrament *Tranſubſtantialiter*; the *Lutherans*, *Conſubſtantialiter*; the *Calviniſts*, *Sacramentaliter*; and yet all confeſs they underſtand none of theſe Ways; as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Deſiring to be Teachers they underſtand not what they ſay, neither whereof they affirm*, 1 Tim. i. 17. Had the Scripture affirmed any of theſe Ways, we ought to have ſubmitted our Reaſon in Things above Reaſon though we underſtand them not, and 'tis reaſonable ſo to do; but to go about to prove by Reaſon what is above Reaſon, is wonderful; and to diſcourſe of what we underſtand not, is doubtleſs a Spice of Madneſs, and the Concluſions we draw from ſuch Diſcourſes, muſt needs be very dangerous, we following the *ignem fatuum*, the uncertain Light of human Reaſon in divine Matters, ſo totally beyond our Reach: Wherefore we have no other ſafe Way to ſpeak of divine Matters but in Scripture Language, *ipſiſſimis verbis*, with the very ſame Words, according to that, 2 Tim. i. 13. *Hold faſt the Form of ſound Words which thou haſt heard of me in Faith:* Mark, *Hold faſt* not only the Matter of Faith, but *the Form of ſound Words*, theſe are ſafe; human Words in divine and high Myſteries are dangerous; Man can no more ſet them forth in human Words, than expreſs the divine Subſtance by human Painting, 'tis the ſole Work of the Holy Ghoſt, whois alſo divine.

There

There hath not been a greater Plague to Christian Religion than School-Divinity, where Men take upon them the Liberty to propose new Questions, make nice Distinctions and rash Conclusions of divine Matters, tossing them up and down with their Tongues like Tennis Balls; and from hence proceed all the dangerous Heresies, and cruel Bickerings about them, falling from Words to Blows. The first Divinity-School we read of, was set up at *Alexandria* by *Pantænus*, and from thence soon after sprung forth a damnable Heresy of the *Arrians*, which over-run all Christendom, and was the Cause of Destruction to many Millions of Christians both Body and Soul. The Heresies before this were so gross and sensual, that none took them up but dissolute or frantick People, and soon vanish'd; but after this School subtile way of arguing was brought into Christianity, Heresy grew more refined, and so subtile, that the plain and pious Fathers of the Church knew not how to lay hold of it and repress it, the School Distinctions and Evâsions quite baffled them: and these Sophisters, proud of their Conquest, triumphed and carried away a specious Appearance of Truth as well as Learning, (or rather Cunning) insomuch that many godly Persons were also deluded and fell in unto them, and many of their Heresies continue unto this Day. This great Bane of the Church took it's Rise from hence; many of the Primitive Doctors and Fathers being converted from Heathenism, and having by long and great Industry acquired much Knowledge in natural Philosophy, Antiquity, History, and subtile Logick or Sophistry, were very unwilling to abandon quite these their long studied and dearly beloved Sciences, (falsly so called) and therefore translated them into Christianity, applying their School Terms, Distinctions, Syllogisms, *&c.* to Divine Matters; intending perchance, through indiscreet Zeal, to illustrate and imbellish Christian Knowledge with such artificial Forms and Figures, but rather defaced and spoiled it; *Col.* ii. 8. *Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and vain Deceit, after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Christ.* I humbly conceive it had been far better for them, and all Christendom, had they determined with St. *Paul*, *To know nothing but Christ and him crucified*, and not to intermingle Mans Wisdom and Excellency of Speech with Divine Knowledge and Scripture Doctrine, which is to be taught *by the Demonstration of the Spirit and Power*, as is set forth 1 *Cor.* ii. not with Logical Syllogisms and Sophistical Enthymems; for as the Wisdom of God was Foolishness to the *Greeks* and *Gentiles*, so the Wisdom of the *Greeks* and *Gentiles* was Foolishness to God, and Destruction to his Church; who by the Foolishness of Preaching had overcome all their Wisdom, and captivated their Understandings in Obedience to the Faith. But when the Christian Doctors left this plain and simple Way of Preaching, and fell to cunning Disputing, introducing new Forms of Speech and nice Expressions of their own coining, some approving, some opposing them, great Discords, Wars and Confusions soon followed. Had that most Prudent and most Pious *Constantine* the first and best of Christian Emperors, had he pursued his own Intentions to suppress all Disputes and all new Questions of God the Son, both *Homoousian* and *Homoiousion*, and commanded all to acquiesce in the very Scripture Expressions without any Addition, I am confident the *Arrian* Heresy had soon expired; but by continual Disputation the Heat of Passion was raised, and the Matter pursued with far more

more Violence, which at length grew into Rancour and Malice irreconcileable: for ſome godly Biſhops (I humbly conceive more zealous than diſcreet) would not reſt ſatisfied unleſs the *Arrians* were forced either to ſubſcribe to the new Word *Homoouſian*, or to quit their Livings; and this cauſed that great Perſecution againſt the Orthodox, where the *Arrians* prevailed; whereas by Silence impoſed on all Parties, the Malice, Rancour, Perſecution, War, all had been prevented, and *the Truth ſpoken in Love*, would at length moſt probably have prevailed: For, was not the Goſpel at firſt planted this Way? Preaching, and Praying Men to receive it? by this Way of Weakneſs it prevailed; for *the weak things of God are ſtronger than Men.* But when Men will be wiſer than God's Weakneſs, as a ſpeedier and ſurer Way to eſtabliſh the Truth, God to convince them of their Folly, ſuffers that ſtrong Man, the Enemy of the Goſpel (whom none but his Almighty Arm can bind and maſter) to come and ſow his Tares of Diviſion, which ſoon over-run the good Seed of the Church, and bring all to Confuſion.

But what then? would I have all heretical Opinions broached and ſpread abroad without any Controul? Are not Princes and Magiſtrates to be nurſing Fathers unto the Church? muſt they not add the Power of the Sword to that of the Word? *Not hold the Sword in vain, but for the Puniſhment of evil Doers*, &c? All this I grant, and deſire as much as any Man, that both Prince and Paſtor would hold faſt *the Faith once delivered to the Saints*, fully declared and contained in Scripture; let them ſuffer no new Doctrine to be ſet on Foot, certainly ſuperfluous, (the Scripture being all-ſufficient) and probably dangerous, as being of Man, and not of God, who having given us a compleat Rule of Faith and Life, by his Prophets, Apoſtles, and his only Son, we have no reaſon to believe any new Doctrine proceeds from him; therefore St. *Paul* is very bold, and crieth out, *If an Angel from Heaven preach unto you any other Goſpel than is already preached, let him be accurſed.* The Magiſtrate then is to countenance and protect the Paſtor preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt, to ſilence, oppoſe, puniſh all that preach any thing contrary, or not clearly contained in the Goſpel. Hereſies never at firſt appear in their own natural Shape, but diſguiſed with ſpecious Pretences drawn from ſome obſcure Places of Scripture, capable of various Interpretations, and thus having gotten footing, by degrees they lay aſide their Diſguiſes, and march on bare-faced. Therefore both Paſtor and Magiſtrate ought to be very watchful, and oppoſe all Beginnings ever ſo ſpecious, as dangerous, or at leaſt ſuperfluous, as I ſaid. Let the Paſtors at firſt endeavour by plain and ſound Doctrine to ſtop the Mouths of Gainſayers; but if theſe turbulent Spirits will not be ſtopt, neither by Admonitions nor Entreaties, then let the Paſtors proceed to the Power of the Keys; which, were it uſed with that Gravity and Severity as it was in the Primitive Times, would have great Effect; that is, were it uſed in a ſolemn Aſſembly, by the Reverend Biſhop and his Clergy, (not by Lay-Chancellors and their Surrogates) and the Perſon excommunicated and ſhut out of the Church, was likewiſe excluded from all Converſation and Commerce, every one ſhunning his Company as a Perſon infected with the Plague, (ſo it was of old, and ſo it ought to be now, and ſo it would be now, if Men made any Conſcience of their Ways) this I am confident would reduce many a One: But if after this any perſevere in their Perverſeneſs, then

the Magiſtrate may doubtleſs by his Power, uſed with Chriſtian Moderation, endeavour to ſtop the ſpreading of the Contagion, and do what in Wiſdom he thinks meet to preſerve the Purity and Peace of Church and State, urging againſt them that Scripture, *Haſt thou Faith, have it to thy ſelf before God*, Rom. xiv. 22. Or that, *Give none Offence neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile, nor to the Church of God*, 1 *Cor.* x. 32. Or that, *Gal.* v. 12. *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* St. *Paul* was not here in jeſt, but in great earneſt, as appears by his continued Fervency all along this Epiſtle; and doubtleſs he means not here a cutting off from the Church by way of Excommunication, for that was in his Power to do; why then ſhould he wiſh it? Nay, they had cut themſelves off from the Church before; certainly then he means a cutting off by the Civil Power, which then was Heathen, and therefore St. *Paul* would not have it made uſe of by Chriſtians; for he would not allow them to appeal to unbelieving Magiſtrates, no not in Civil things, 1 *Cor.* vi. much leſs in Spiritual Things. Wherefore when St. *Paul* wiſhes they were cut off, he wiſhes there were a fitting Power, that is, a Chriſtian Magiſtrate to puniſh or baniſh thoſe that trouble the Church of Chriſt with Doctrines apparently contrary to the clear Text, and ſuch as are deſtructive to Chriſtianity; I dare go no farther. But as for thoſe who keep their erroneous Opinions to themſelves, who neither publiſh nor practiſe any thing to the Diſturbance of the Church and State, but only refuſe to conform to the Churches eſtabliſhed Doctrine or Diſcipline, pardon me if I ſay, that really I cannot find any Warrant, or ſo much as any Hint from the Goſpel, to uſe any Force to compell them; and from Reaſon ſure there is no Motive to uſe Force; becauſe, (as I ſhewed before) Force can't make a Man believe your Doctrine, but only as an Hypocrite, profeſs what he believes not.

I know full well there is a common Objection againſt this, taken from St. *Auſtin*, who was long of my Opinion, but ſeems to be altered on this Occaſion. Some Hereticks, *Donatiſts*, came to him in his latter Days, and gave thanks, that the Civil Power was made uſe of to reſtrain them; confeſſing, that was the Means which brought them to conſider more calmly their own former extravagant Opinions, and ſo brought them home to the true Church. This Objection is eaſily anſwered. Firſt, the *Donatiſts* are well known to have been a Sect, not only erroneous in Judgment, but very turbulent in Behaviour, always in ſeditious Practiſes; and in that caſe I ſhewed before how the Civil Magiſtrate may proceed to Puniſhment: but our Caſe is not in repreſſing ſeditious Practiſes but enforcing a Confeſſion of Faith, quite of another Nature. Then ſecondly, to anſwer more particularly this Story, I ſuppoſe there is no Man ſuch a Stranger to the World, as to be ignorant that there are Hypocrites in it; and ſuch (for ought we know) theſe ſeeming converted *Donatiſts* might be, who for Love of this World more than for Love of the Truth, forſook their heretical Profeſſion, though not their Opinion; who, conſcious to themſelves of their own Diſſimulation, and deſirous to get Favour with St. *Auſtin*, a Perſon of great Veneration and Authority withal, related unto him this ſpecious Story, which St. *Auſtin*'s great Charity was apt to believe, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *believeth all Things*; and from hence concludeth, that it might be lawful to uſe the Power of the Civil Sword to reduce Hereticks to the Church. But unleſs it can be evinced that theſe *Donatiſts* Hearts were changed as well as their Profeſſion, (a thing

impoſſible to prove) all this proves nothing. Thirdly, Put the Caſe their Hearts were really changed as to Matter of Belief, 'tis evident their Hearts were very wordly ſtill, grovelling on the Earth, not one Step nearer Heaven; our Saviour ſaith, *An evil Tree can't bring forth good Fruit*, and ſure their Heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet Enjoyment of this World's Good, than for the bleſſed Enjoyment of Chriſt. Fourthly, Though we farther grant, that the pruning of the Magiſtrates Sword did really correct the Viciouſneſs of the Tree, and made it bring forth ſome good Fruit, yet ſhall *we do evil, that good may come of it? God forbid*, ſaith St. *Paul*. Put the Caſe *Malchus* had been converted by St. *Peter*'s cutting off his Ear, this would not have excuſed St. *Peter*'s Act, which our Saviour ſo ſharply reproved and threatned with periſhing by the Sword, and gave him the Reaſon why he ought not to uſe the Sword in his Cauſe; *Thinkeſt thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he will preſently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels?* Canſt thou do any thing more prejudicial to the Honour of my God head, than to think I want the Help of Man to defend me? And according to this may our Saviour ſay; Thinkeſt thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he ſhall give me more than twelve Millions of Souls to worſhip my Name? Or canſt thou do any thing to eclipſe more the Power and Glory of the Goſpel, which I have ordained to be ſet up by Weakneſs and Fooliſhneſs of preaching, and thereby to ſubdue both the Wiſdom of the *Greeks*, and the Power of the *Gentiles*: As I my ſelf have conquered all Enemies by preaching and ſuffering, ſo muſt my Diſciples tread in my Steps. And juſt ſo we find that the Goſpel was moſt miraculouſly advanced over all the World by preaching and ſuffering for it, not by compelling others to it. 'Tis evident that upon preaching of the Goſpel, as many as were ordained to God by Eternal Life believed, and ſurely thoſe who are not ordained by God to Eternal Life, can never be brought thither by the Ordinance or Power of Man: wherefore when the Miniſters have preached and prayed, they have performed all they can do, the reſt muſt be left to the Juſtice or Mercy of God, *who hath Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*; ſo, that the ſharpeſt Sword in this World ſhall enter their hard Heart more than an *Adamant*.

All this I ſay in Reference to compelling Men to believe or conform, ſtill reſerving to the Magiſtrate Power, according to Scripture, *To puniſh evil Doers*, not evil Believers, not who think, but do publiſh or do practice ſomething to ſubvert the Fundamentals of Religion, or diſturb the Peace of the State, or injure their Neighbour. God, the only Searcher of Hearts, reſerves unto himſelf the Puniſhment of evil Thoughts, of evil Belief, which Man can never have a right Cognizance of, for the greateſt Profeſſor may be the greateſt *Atheiſt*. But the Magiſtrate ſhall conceive he hath ſufficient Warrant to puniſh alſo evil Believers, and ſhall proceed to Execution, or on that Pretence ſhall puniſh true Believers; the Scripture is moſt clear, that the Subject is bound to ſubmit and bear it with all Chriſtian Patience, to the Loſs of Goods, Liberty, or Life, not only patiently to bear it, but rejoice in it; and I am ſure if he hath any true Religion, and right Underſtanding in him, he will rejoice on his own Behalf, becauſe his *Reward is exceeding great*: Therefore whoever under Pretence of Religion raiſes any Tumult, or takes up Arms againſt the Magiſtrate to preſerve

himself from Persecution, absolutely declares himself, either a stark Fool, or a stark *Atheist*; either he believes there is no such Reward, or is mad to reject the Opportunity of gaining it; and so at the best is fit for *Bedlam*, at the worst for the *Gallows*, now let him choose.

An Appendix to the former Subjects.

BEfore I leave this Matter of imposing new Articles of Faith, I desire to speak a Word or two concerning the Authority of Councils and Fathers in Relation to it.

When the Superstitions and Abuses of the *Popish* Church, especially in the Matter of *Indulgences* grew very gross, as not longer to be endured, *Luther*, *Melanthon*, *Oecolompadius*, *Bucer*, and divers others opposed them, and coming to dispute with their Adversaries about these Things, the *Popish* Doctors having no Scripture for their Errors, quoted several Fathers and Councils, to give Countenance unto them. The *Evangelical Doctors* (so called, because they chiefly urged *Evangelium* the *Gospel*, for the Defence of their Doctrine) were most of them bred up from their Infancy in the *Popish* Church, and therein taught even to adore all Councils and Fathers, and (Education being of great Force to command and awe both the Wills and Judgments of Men) made them very shy and timorous to reject that Authority, which they had long reverenced, in Modesty therefore some of the *Evangelical Doctors* were content to admit the Authority of Fathers and Councils for three or four of the first Centuries, some admitted five or six, whereby they were reduced sometimes to great Streights in their Disputations: for though neither all nor half the *Popish* Errors can be found in the Councils and Fathers of these Centuries, yet some of them were crept very early into the Church. This Superstition of the *Cross* and *Chrysm* were in use in the second Century: The *Milenary* Error got footing about that Time; the Necessity of Infants receiving the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper came in soon after: About the fourth Century there were some Touches in Oratory Sermons by way of Rhetorical Ejaculations like praying to Saints, but long after came to be formally used, as now in Churches; and so Superstitions came in some at one Time, and some at another. The *Papists* themselves do not receive all these Errors, but reject some, as that of the *Milenaries*, and the Necessity of Infants receiving the Lord's Supper. Now I ask first the *Papists*, by what Rule they retain some of these Things, and reject others? Secondly, I ask the *Evangelical*, by what Rule they submit to the Authority of some Centuries, and refuse others? Both will answer me, because they believe some to be Erroneous, some to be Orthodox. Whereby 'tis evident, that neither submit to the Fathers Authority, as commanding their Judgments, but receive their Opinions as agreeing with their Judgments, this is evidently true clearly and rational, and fully agrees with the Rules given by some of the Fathers, as St. *Cyprian* and St. *Austin*, two as generally and as deservedly reverenced as any in the Christian Church. St. *Cyprian* tells us, that the very *Præpositus* (which we call *Bishop*) is to be guided by his own Reason and Conscience, and is responsible only to God for his Doctrine. St. *Austin* tells us, that he submits to no Doctor of the Church ever so learned, ever

ever ſo holy, any further than he proves his Doctrine by Scripture or Reaſon, and deſires none ſhould do otherwiſe by him; this is plain and rational Dealing; had the Evangelical Doctors taken this Courſe in the Beginning, they had ſaved themſelves from many intricate Troubles which their in-bred Over-reverence to Antiquity entangled them in: But ſure they needed not have been ſo ſcrupulous in this Matter, ſeeing there is ſcarce any one Father whoſe Authority the Papiſts themſelves do not in ſome Particular or other reject, though other Whiles when he ſpeaks for them, they cry it up to that Height, as if it were a Matter of Damnation not to ſubmit unto it. I ſay not this, as if I would have Antiquity wholly rejected, by no Means, but to conſult the Fathers with great Regard as Expoſitors of Scriptures, and attentively obſerve what they ſhew us from thence. I am not of thoſe who admire the great Knowledge in divine Matters revealed in this latter Age of the World, I do not think there are any now ſo likely to diſcover the Truth of Goſpel Myſteries as thoſe of antient Days. As for that Saying, a Pigmy ſet on a Giant's Shoulder, may ſee more than the Giant: Pardon me if I call it a ſhallow and ſilly Fancy, nothing to our Purpoſe; for our Queſtion is not of ſeeing more, but of the clear diſcerning and judging thoſe things we all ſee, but are in Doubt what they mean: If a Pigmy and a Giant ſee a Beaſt at a Mile's Diſtance, and are in Diſpute whether it be a Horſe or an Ox, the Pigmy ſet on the Giant's Shoulder, is never the nearer diſcerning what it is, which depends on the Sharpneſs of Sight, not the Height of his Shoulders: Now that the antient and holy Fathers of the Church were more ſpiritual, and conſequently ſharper ſighted in ſpiritual Things than we carnal Creatures of this latter Age, is evident by their ſpiritual holy Lives: *The natural Man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned*, 1 *Cor.* ii. 14. And how natural, how carnal, how purblind we are, is too too viſible. Beſides, a purblind Man near the Object, will diſcern it better than a much ſharper Sight at greater Diſtance as we are: For if you ask thoſe lofty conceited Pigmies, why they give more Credit to the Fathers of the Second and Third Century, than to thoſe of the Sixth or Seventh; they anſwer, Becauſe thoſe that lived nearer the Days of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, are likelier to know their Minds better than thoſe of remoter and corrupted Ages; the Reaſon is good, but mightily confounds thoſe who live at the very Foot of the Hill in the Valley of Darkneſs and all Iniquity, and therefore not ſo likely to diſcern the Truth of the Doctrine of Chriſt, preach'd on the Top of Mount *Sion*, as thoſe who lived in higher Aſcents. Wherefore I ſhall always hearken with due Reverence unto what thoſe primitive holy Fathers deliver, and the more holy and more ancient, doubtleſs more to be regarded. And yet ſeeing that *Irenæus*, and before him *Papias*, held to be a Diſciple of St. *John* the Apoſtle, taught the Error of the *Millenaries*, rejected now by all the Church, why might not others do ſo as well as they? And therefore there can be no Certainty of their Doctrine farther than they ſhew us clearly from Scripture, which ought to be our Rule of Faith, as I ſhewed before. But in any Point of Religion, either of Faith or Diſcipline, if after diligent and humble Search of Scripture, the Matter be doubtful, then certainly I would ſo much reverence Antiquity as to embrace what I found approved of by the greater Number of antient Fathers; and what I found generally approved by them, though my own Judgment did much incline

cline to the contrary, yet I would receive it, unleſs it appeared to me flatly oppoſite to Scripture, which we believe to be the Word of God; then it were Damnation in me to forſake that, and hearken to the Words of Fathers on Earth, or Angels coming from Heaven, till they could make me underſtand their Word agreed with God's Word. I muſt be ſaved by Faith in God and Chriſt, and not by Faith in Men or Angels. And now I ſhall be bold to make this Aſſertion; That the Man who reads Scripture humbly and attentively, faſts and prays to God earneſtly, conſults his Paſtors and Teachers carefully and modeſtly, and yet after all continues in ſome Error by blind Ignorance and Miſtake of Scripture (if ſuch a thing was, or ever will be ſuffered by the infinite Goodneſs of God) that Man ſhall ſooner be ſaved, than he who receives a true Opinion from the Authority of Men, which he ſoberly conceives to be contrary to Scripture; for 'tis all one to him, as if it were really ſo; all things are unclean to him that believes them unclean, ſo all things are damnable to him that believes them damnable, as he muſt who believes them flatly contrary to Scripture. Let no Man count me a Libertine in Faith, becauſe I would neither compel, nor be compelled to ſubmit to the Doctrines of Men. I truſt in God, no Man ſhall out-go me in zealous *contending for the Faith once delivered to the Saints*, once for all, never to receive any new Doctrine, any other Goſpel than that preached by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, herein I am no Libertine; by God's gracious Aſſiſtance, neither Men nor Angels ſhall make me recede from one Tittle of this, nor to embrace with divine Faith one Tittle more than this; for, doubtleſs, it is far greater Idolatry to believe in Man, than to ſacrifice to Man, more to give him my Heart, than my Hand. And yet notwithſtanding all this, no Man is forwarder than myſelf to receive from others human Doctrine as human; that is, I believe it is not only poſſible but probable alſo, that another may have more natural Underſtanding, more acquired Learning than myſelf, and ſo may find out that in Scripture, or from Scripture, or by Reaſon, which I cannot do myſelf, but yet I can have no poſſible Aſſurance that the Doctrine he delivers to me is abſolutely true, becauſe I have Aſſurance that 'tis poſſible for him to err, and then I can have no Aſſurance but that he may err in that very Doctrine he now delivers me. There is no Man I ever heard or read of, to whom I could more readily ſubmit to than St. *Auſtin*, a Perſon of wonderful Sharpneſs in Underſtanding, and yet of great Modeſty; no way affecting to take new Opinions, much leſs to impoſe them on others. Now I pray conſider, how can we have Aſſurance of any Doctrine he delivers more than another. I mean Aſſurance from his own Authority or Reaſon (what he delivers from Scripture Authority is another Matter;) we believe St. *Auſtin* erred in ſome Things whereof he was moſt confident; he believed it abſolutely neceſſary for Children to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as I ſaid; he believed it a direct Hereſy to hold there were any *Antipodes*: *Lactantius*, another great Wit and great Scholar, believed the like, with divers others. Who then can doubt but that they might be miſtaken in other things alſo? Wherefore let God be true, and all Men Liars, in this Senſe, to deliver Lies materially; that is, Falſities for Truths.

What I have ſaid of Fathers, muſt certainly hold good of Councils alſo, though ever ſo general, ever ſo primitive? for this and that Father may, and have erred;

ed; ſurely then that and that may alſo err: I can have no Aſſurance in Men, nor can I be ſaved by Faith in Men. The general Objection made againſt this, is, The Promiſe which Chriſt made unto his Church, *That the Gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt it, and that he would be with the Apoſtles unto the World's End.* As for that other Saying of our Saviour, *He that will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publican*, I can't but wonder that Men of any Brains or Modeſty ſhould ſo groſly abuſe this Saying; ſpoken of ſeveral Differences between Man and Man, to be referred to the Termination of the Church; that is, the Congregation of the Faithful, which they uſually and by order ſhould aſſemble in; and refer this to the Church in general Matters of Faith, not in the leaſt pointed at there. Wherefore I paſs this over as very impertinent, and proceed to anſwer the former Objection of more Weight, yet no way concluding as they would have it: No Man in the Chriſtian World can more firmly believe than I do, That the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, and that Chriſt will be with his Church unto the End of the World; but I do not believe, nor am I bound by Scripture to believe ſuch Expoſitions as the *Popiſh* Church makes of this Place. By what Authority doth the *Romiſh* Church challenge to themſelves to be Expoſitors of Scriptures more than other Churches? I find nothing for it in Scripture, which is my Rule of Faith. I proceed then to the Buſineſs of General Councils. Whether they may err in ſome Points of Faith; and why not? All the evangelical Doctors grant the later General Councils have erred; if ſo, why not the former? What Promiſe had the former from Chriſt more than the latter? What Period is there ſet in Scripture for their not erring, or what Promiſe is there at all for any not to err? *The Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church*, I grant, what's this to a General Council? Not the Thouſandth Part of the Clergy, not the Thouſand Thouſandth Part of the Church, which in Scripture is always put for the whole Body of the Faithful, though of late it be tranſlated into quite another Notion, and taken for the Clergy only. But you will ſay a General Council is the Repreſentative of the whole Church: What then? What Promiſe is made in Scripture that the Repreſentative ſhall not err? You further urge, If the Repreſentative err, 'tis probable the whole Church will receive their Error. I anſwer, We are now treating of Matter of Faith, which muſt not depend on human Probabilities, but divine Certainties; beſides, 'tis not ſo probable the Church will receive the Error of the Repreſentative. We know the whole Church hath not received a Truth determined by them, much leſs an Error. And I pray, have not Councils been againſt Councils? Put then the Caſe, a General Council ſhould err in ſome Matters, you can't therefore ſay the whole Church hath erred, the Gates of Hell have prevailed againſt the Church. I pray conſider, Can you truly ſay, the *Great Turk* hath prevailed againſt the Chriſtian Army, becauſe he hath killed the Thouſandth Part of it? And yet the greateſt General Council holds a leſs Proportion to the whole Church. But I will grant yet more: Put the Caſe the whole Church ſhould deviate into ſome erroneous Superſtitions, had the Devil therefore prevailed againſt it? Can I ſay, I have prevailed againſt another Man becauſe I gave him ſome ſlight Hurt in his Leg or Thigh? As long as his Head, his Heart, his Arm are whole, he ſtill is able to fight and wound me as bad or worſe; till the Devil can ſo wound the whole Body of the Church as to deſtroy the Vitals, the Fundamentals, and make it

no

no Church, the Gates of Hell can't be ſaid to have prevail'd againſt it. Now God be bleſſed there have continued all along ſeveral Churches as great or greater than the *Romiſh* Church, which have ſtill maintained, in Defiance of Satan, *One God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things*, and ſeveral other ſound Doctrines of Chriſtianity; how then hath Satan prevailed, when ſo many Millions have waged War againſt him, and upheld the Kingdom of God and his Chriſt? The Scripture plainly tells us, that in the Days of *Anti-Chriſt*'s great Power, the Church ſhould be driven into the Wilderneſs, ſcarce viſible in the World; neither *Pope* nor Devil hath yet ſo prevailed, but as then Chriſt ſhall have, ſo Chriſt hath ſtill had a Church warring againſt Satan. Sure no learned *Papiſt* will deny, but that about the ſecond Century, the *Millenaries* were far the greater Part of the Church, ſcarce any writing Doctor in thoſe Days but had this Error. Did Satan then prevail? And in St. *Auſtin*'s Days the Neceſſity of Infants receiving the Lord's Supper was ſo general, and held ſo neceſſary a Principle, that it was made uſe of to prove the Neceſſity of Infant Baptiſm, this Sacrament being to precede the other: In thoſe Days a Lanthorn would have been neceſſary to find out a Church without this Error. Did Satan then prevail? But ſay you, No General Council determined thoſe Errors; why? Becauſe none was called about them; had any been called, who can doubt but that they would have avowed that in the Council, which they all taught in their Churches: No, the Spirit of God would have preſerved them from it: Shew me that Promiſe in Scripture; if God's Spirit did not preſerve them from teaching the whole Church ſo, I fear the Spirit would not have preſerved them more in Council than in Congregation, where all ſucking in this Error from their Infancy, would hardly have quitted it by a Determination in Council. I humbly crave Pardon for this bold Preſumption, being led into it by the bold Aſſertion of the *Papiſts*, telling us without Warrant how God will preſerve their Councils from Error, as if they had been of his Privy Council. We are not to ſearch into God's ſecret Counſels for what he will permit, or why he permits this or that. I ſearch only into his declared Promiſes, and with all the Search I can poſſibly make, I can't find any ſuch Promiſe to General Councils as not to err; no, only that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt his Church to deſtroy it, which he hath hitherto made good, and I am ſure will to the End of the World? but beyond his Promiſe I am not ſure of any thing, though it ſeems ever ſo rational. God will not endure to be fettered with ſophiſtical Sophiſms, and human Conſequences; and therefore I am afraid to wander from his wiſe and holy Word, and truſt to the Doctrine of Men ſeeming ever ſo wiſe, ever ſo holy; I reverence their Perſons, but can't believe in their Doctrine. I am taught to believe only in God, not in the Church, much leſs in any Member, or Congregation, or Council; but to believe the Holy Catholick Church, that is, that God hath had, now hath, and will have to the World's End, a ſelect Company of faithful ones, confeſſing and ſerving him; to whom be Honour and Glory for ever. *Amen.*

Concerning

Concerning CEREMONIES *and* CHURCH-SERVICE.

FIRST, as to Ceremonies. I wonder Men of any tolerable Discretion should be so eager either for or against them, our Salvation no way depending on them, but much hazarded by our Contention about them, breaking *Peace*, the principal Thing recommended to us by the Gospel of Peace; sure both are very sinful. For my Part, I think all Subjects are bound in Conscience to conform to the established Ceremonies of that Church whereof they are Members, unless there be any thing flatly against the Word of God: For to disobey our Superiors is directly against the Word of God: 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake.* And therefore he that doth not submit, had need have as clear an Evidence out of Scripture, that the thing he rejects is directly contrary to the Word of God, otherwise he breaks an evident Commandment to satisfy himself in a doubtful thing, which without Doubt is damnable. St. *Paul* requires one Brother to yield unto another in Things indifferent, much more Children to Parents, Subjects to Governors. But no Man that knows this World can expect all Children, all Subjects, will be dutiful and obedient; and therefore as Children are to obey their Parents, so Parents ought not to provoke their Children to Disobedience, by imposing unnecessary Things and very offensive: Yet if they do impose such Things, the Children are bound to obey, unless the Things imposed be offensive to God also, then they are acquitted, not otherwise. But still Parents must remember they are to give Account to God for their Commands, as Children are for their Obedience: And setting this aside, Nature alone should prompt Parents to seek the Love of their Children, especially spiritual Parents, styled the *Ministers of God, who is Love:* Should not they desire rather to lead the People into the House of God by Love, than to whip them in by Fear, to have their Churches full rather than empty; to put on such a Habit as would invite them in, and not such as will fright them out. What wise and loving Father would put on a Winding-Sheet on his Head, to fright his weak and simple Child: I say this to the chief Rulers of the Church, not to inferior Ministers, who must observe the Constitutions of the Chief, and the Chief ought to consider the Disposition of Inferiors, what will be most edifying for them. As the Apostles in the Beginning of *Christianity* continued the observing not eating of Blood, and Things strangled, to comply with the *Jews:* so the Surplice, with other Things, was wisely and piously retained by the Reformers from *Popery*, when, probably, many long nourished up in those Ceremonies, would not have come into the Church, had all these been cast out; but now to be zealous for them, when the People are so passionate against them, savours more of Passion likewise in Governours than Religion; as if they had rather shew their Authority than their Charity. If they answer, That many of their Flock are as zealous for these Things, as others against them, and they had rather gratify the obedient Conformers, than the most disobedient Gainsayers: I reply, First, This is no Obedience to conform to such Ordinances of their Superiors as they have a Passion for; the Superiors in this conform rather to them, than they to their Superiors:

Try their Obedience, if they will ſubmit to the taking of theſe Things away, and then you may have more Reaſon to gratify them; yet you know you are rather to bear with the Infirmities of the Weak, than pleaſe the Strong. Love your Friends moſt, value the Obedient moſt; but love your Enemies alſo, endeavour to gain the Diſobedient alſo: The firſt are your dutiful Sons, abide always with you, all that you have is theirs; but yet when the *Prodigal*, the Stray returns, rejoyce and kill the fatted Calf; yea, if he will not return, leave the Ninety and Nine, and go ſeek that One that is loſt. But you have no Hopes of gaining him, you believe 'tis not Conſcience but Faction, and wilful Perverſeneſs keeps him off; oh do not deſpair, believe better of him; *Charity hopeth all Things, believeth all Things.* But you know it is ſo with him; then pity him the more going headlong into Hell, yield the more to ſave his Soul from Hell, *overcome Evil with Good*, fetter him, bind him faſt with Chains of Love, what is ſtronger than Love? It will overcome Schiſm, Faction, Sedition, any thing; it will overcome God himſelf, and even force God to with-hold him by his merciful and powerful Hand; and thus converting this perverſe *Sinner from the Error of his Way, you will ſave his Soul alive, and cover the Multitude of your Sins*; a bleſſed and joyful Work, whereat the Angels of Heaven will rejoice and ſing *Alleluja, Amen.* Oh my Fathers! my Fathers! that ſhould preach and practice the Goſpel of Peace and Love to your Children, vouchſafe at my humble Requeſt to read *Rom.* xiv. See what great Liberty that Great-Grandfather of the Church allows his Children, and obſerve in the general how he became all things to all Men to ſave ſome; and will not you in ſome things comply to gain all? Will you reſtrain the Liberty of the Goſpel to the Rigidity of your Diſcipline to loſe ſome, to loſe many, and perchance in the end to loſe all, yourſelves and all. Be pious, be charitable, be prudent, build your Church on a Rock that will endure Storms, and not on the Sand of Ceremonies that will both raiſe Storms and probably overturn your Church e're long. But you will ſay, If you yield to ſome Diſſenters in this, you may as well yield to others in that, and ſo by degrees aboliſh all your Ceremonies: I beſeech you, is not the Body more than Rayment, Subſtance more than Ceremony, will not you quit the Latter to preſerve the Former? But you will preſerve both, God grant you looſe not both. But you will ſay; this is the Way to looſe both; firſt take away Ceremonies, thereby you looſe your Friends, and then lie expoſed to your Enemies to ſpoil your Goods. If your Goods be the Subſtance of your Religion, and you preſerve your Ceremonies to preſerve theſe, then really my Fear of your looſing all is encreaſed; this is a very ſandy and dirty Foundation, can't hold out againſt Storms; but if Faith, Hope and Charity be the Subſtance of your Religion, (as I hope it is) theſe ſtood firm and encreaſed in the Primitive Times, in the greateſt Storms, when the whole World of *Jews* and *Gentiles* were Enemies to the Church, and not one of your Ceremonies in the Church to preſerve it: The ſimple naked Truth without any Surplice to cover it, without any Eccleſiaſtical Policy to maintain it, overcame all, and ſo would do now, did we truſt to hat and the Defender of it. Perchance I appear a great Enemy to the Surplice ſo often naming that, I confeſs I am, would you know why? Not that I diſlike, but in my own Judgment much approve a pure white Robe on the Miniſter's Shoulders, to put him in Mind that Purity becomes a Miniſter

of

of the Gospel. But such dirty nasty Surplices as most of them wear, and especially the Singers in Cathedrals (where they should be most decent) is rather an Imitation of their dirty Lives, and have given my Stomach such a Surfeit of them, as I have almost an Averseness to all: And I am confident had not this decent Habit been so undecently abused, it had never been so generally loathed.

I will name another Ceremony which gives great Offence, with greater Reason, The Bowing towards the Altar, which in my Judgment I allow and practice in some Measure, when I come into such Congregations as generally use it, avoiding still to give Offence to any as far as I may with a safe Conscience. I affirm, 'tis a very fitting Thing to shew Reverence in the House of God, and to shew it by bowing as well as any other Means, and to bow that Way as well as any other Way, and in bowing, if the Congregation did it to the South or the West, I should as readily conform to that. But you will say the Primitive Christians, as we read, did generally bow towards the East (the Primitive Christians did so, I grant, but not the prime Primitive) what then? Is this any Obligation on us now? The Primitive did also use Chrysm or consecrated Oyl, yet we retain it not; it grew into an Abuse, therefore left off, so hath this bowing towards the Altar by the Papists, supposing Christ corporally present there: and truly many of our Church-Men, give great Suspicion to the People that they also believe some such Thing, otherwise pray answer me; when a Minister at his entring into the Church hath bowed to shew his Reverence in the House of God and when he ascends up to the Altar bows again, to shew some particular Reverence in that Place where that Blessed Sacrament is consecrated, (let this pass for Good also, though something may be said against it) yet I pray tell me, why the Reader passing from one Side of the Church to the other, and the Minister passing from one End of the Altar to the other bows again? Surely, in Reverence to the King of Kings he supposes there sitting, who can imagine any other Cause of his Homage? And yet I verily believe this is not the Cause, but merely for a causeless Custom taken up one from another (the common Beginning of all Superstitions) having no Reason for it, but much against it, giving thereby great Scandal to weak Ones, and Ground of Slander to malicious Ones, who lay hold on any Occasions to accuse them of Papistry; for certainly 'tis done with little or no Reason, or with a great deal of Superstition.

Now as to that grand debated Ceremony of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, I think there is no Reason to condemn those that use it, nor much Reason to press it on those that disuse it. Why? Are we not to perform this great Act of Devotion with all possible Reverence? I grant it, but is this to be express'd altogether in the outward Posture of the Body? If so, then your Opposers thus retort it upon you: If outward Humility be the Thing you contend for, you ought to shew it to your God in the humblest Way, and that is by prostrating rather than kneeling; but if inward Humility, sure that consists chiefly in Obedience to what Christ commanded, and to do it as he practised it, who can doubt but this is the most perfect Obedience? And you know when our Saviour instituted this blessed Sacrament, he gave this Command in the Close, *Do this in Remembrance of me*; and sure he remembers our Saviour best who doth every Thing as he did, both in Substance and Ceremony, and so we find the Primitive

Christians did, observing also to receive it at Supper, as our Saviour did; but when this grew into a sinful Abuse, the Ceremony was altered, to preserve the Substance in more Purity: So was kneeling abused by the Papists and turned into Superstition, why not therefore changed in like Manner. But you kneel without any Superstition, you do not adore the Elements on the Table, as the Papists do, but Christ in Heaven. And so this Man receives sitting and at Supper without any Irreverence, he doth it so merely in Obedience to Christ's Command, both in Ceremony and Substance, *Do this in Remembrance of me.* But you do not conceive Christ's Command extended to the Ceremonies, but only to the Substance, and the Church hath expresly commanded kneeling as the more reverend Posture, therefore you ought to obey, I think so too: But this Man conceives Christ commands both Substance and Ceremonies to be observed, and consequently conceives the Church's Command contrary to Christ's, therefore he ought not to obey till you can rectify his Judgment; if you can, then he ought to obey also; if you cannot, have Patience with your weak Brother, require no more of him in this Matter then Christ required of his Disciples; sure Christ would not have allowed any unfitting Posture; be not over wise, nor over holy, condemn not that which Christ allowed. God is so infinitely gracious as to accept our poor Devotions in any Form, if but sincere in Substance, nay though weak and frail in the substantial Part, *he will not break the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoaking Flax*, his tender Fatherly Bowels yern upon his dear Children coming to him afar off. Oh then let us learn to be like minded, tender and compassionate to our weak Brethren, admit them into God's Worship in any Posture, if they come in Sincerity of Heart, reject not those whom God accepts.

I might go on thus to handle other Ceremonies, as, the Cross in Baptism, the Ring in Marriage, *&c.* But I conceive it needless, the same Reasons being applicable to all, and he that is once brought to be indifferent and unconcerned in one, will soon be so disposed to all. Wherefore I conclude this Point of Ceremonies with St. *Paul, He that regardeth a Day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the Day, to the Lord he doth not regard it, he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God Thanks, and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God Thanks:* So he that kneeleth, kneeleth to the Lord, and he that kneeleth not to the Lord, he kneeleth not. And I desire you farther to observe this Circumstance in St. *Paul's* Words, how he calls the zealous Observer of ceremonial Matters, the weak Brother, and commands the Strong not to despise him, it being really a despicable Weakness and a childish or effeminate Kind of Devotion to be zealous in any ceremonial Observance, which masculine Spirits are apt to despise, but in Christian Charity ought rather to pity and bear the Infirmities of others. Wherefore let us be the Men of Understanding, Men in Devotion, be zealous, and hold fast the substantial Parts of Religion, Piety, Justice, Temperance, Chastity, Truth, Sincerity, stand fast for these, not recede one Hair's Breadth from these, keep but our Ground and fight it out like Men to Death against all Powers and Principalities on Earth, or under the Earth, and let us leave it to Women and Children to contend about Ceremonies, let it be indifferent to us, whether this, or that, or no Ceremony, whether Kneel, or not Kneel, Bow, or not Bow, Surplice, or not Surplice,

Croſs, or no Croſs, Ring, or no Ring, let us give Glory to God in all, and no Offence to our Brethren in any Thing.

Now if any Man would be ſo curious as to aſk, why St. *Paul* did not determine this Point, whether they ſhould eat Herbs only; or other Meats alſo, whether regard a Day or not; and ſo eſtabliſh Uniformity among them? I cannot imagine any other Reaſon, but meerly to teach us this charitable Compliance with one another, as neceſſary a Practice as any other. Man is a very tickliſh Animal to govern, he will not always be guided by Reaſon and Authority, Man hath a Will as well as Reaſon, and will have his own Will in many Things, even the Godly: Very few are found ſo entirely pious as wholly to deny themſelves, 'tis ſo high and ſharp a Point of Religion, as you may break the Heart Strings of many in winding them up ſo high, and thus crack all their Religion; perchance you would find it ſo yourſelves, had the Nonconformiſts the Screwing you up, as you them. Wherefore conſider yourſelves, leſt ye alſo be tempted, be charitable to the Weak, proceed not ſo ſeverely againſt them in your Courts of Judicature; but remember what St. *Paul* ſaith, *Coloſ.* ii. *Let no Man judge you in Meat, or Drink, or in Reſpect of an holy Day, or of the new Moon, or of the Sabbath Days, which are a Shadow of Things to come, but the Body is of Chriſt*; will you then in reſpect of an Holy-day, Croſs in Baptiſm, ſtanding at the Creed, kneeling at the Sacrament, and the like, will you in Reſpect of ſuch Shadows, judge, excommunicate, ſentence to everlaſting Flames, a Soul that holds of the Body of Chriſt, believes all his holy Goſpel, accords with you in one Faith, one Baptiſm, who acknowledges the only true God Creator of Heaven and Earth, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent to be the Redeemer of Mankind, which our Saviour affirms, *To be eternal Life*; will you condemn ſuch a one to eternal Death? God forbid. My reverend Fathers and Judges of the Church, I with St. *Paul Col.* iii. beſeech you, *Put on fatherly Bowels of Mercies, Kindneſs, Humbleneſs of Mind, Meekneſs, long Suffering*, towards your poor weak Children, and ſo long as they hold faſt the Body of Chriſt, be not ſo rigorous with them for Shadows; if they ſubmit to you in Subſtance, have Patience, though they do not ſubmit in Ceremonies, and give me leave to tell you my poor Opinion; this violent Preſſings of Ceremonies hath, (I humbly conceive) been a great Hindrance from embracing them, Men fearing your Intentions therein to be far worſe than really they are, and therefore abhor them. Have you never obſerved a Flock of Sheep forcibly driven over a narrow Bridge, the poor Sheep fearing they are going into ſome Penn or Slaughter, chuſe rather to leap into the River than go forwards: But drive them on gently and patiently, they will of themſelves take the Way you deſire. Uniformity in Ceremony is a good and deſirable Thing, therefore endeavour it; but Unity in Faith and Charity is better, and therefore if you cannot obtain that, be ſure to preſerve this; this is the one Thing neceſſary, chuſe this better Part if you cannot have both; for this Force urging Uniformity in Worſhip hath cauſed great Diviſion in Faith as well as Charity; for had you by aboliſhing ſome Ceremonies taken the weak Brethren into your Church, they had not wandred about after ſeducing Teachers, nor fallen into ſo many groſs Opinions of their own, but being daily catechiſed and inſtructed by your orthodox, and ſound Preaching, they would have followed you like good Sheep;

whereas

whereas now they wander about into a hundred By-paths of Error, many whereof lead headlong to Hell. Now I beſeech you in the Fear of God ſet before your Eyes the dreadful Day of Judgment; when Chriſt on his Tribunal of Juſtice ſhall require an Account of every Word and Deed, and ſhall thus queſtion you; Here are ſeveral Souls who taking Offence at your Ceremonies have forſaken my Church, have forſaken the Faith, have run into Hell, the Souls for which I ſhed my precious Blood, why have you ſuffered this? Nay, why have you occaſioned this? Will you anſwer, it was to preſerve your Ceremonies? Will not Chriſt return unto you, Are your Ceremonies more dear unto you than the Souls for which I died? Who hath required theſe Things at your Hands? Will you for Ceremonies, which you yourſelves confeſs to be indifferent, no way neceſſary unto Salvation, ſuffer your weak Brethren to periſh, for whom I died? Have not I ſhewed you, how *David and his Soldiers were guiltleſs in eating the Shew-bread, which was not lawful but only for the Prieſts to eat?* If *David* diſpenced with a Ceremony commanded by God to ſatisfy the Hunger of his People, will not you diſpence with your own Ceremonies to ſatisfy the Souls of my People, who are called by my Name, and profeſs my Name, tho' in Weakneſs? Or, will you tell Chriſt they ought to ſuffer for their own Wilfulneſs and Perverſeneſs, who will not ſubmit to the Laws of the Church as they ought; will not Chriſt return? Shall they periſh for tranſgreſſing your humane Laws, which they ignorantly conclude erroneous, and ſhall not you periſh for tranſgreſſing my divine Laws, which you know to be good and holy? Had I Mercy on you, and ſhould not you have had Mercy on your fellow Servants? With the ſame Meaſure you meeted it ſhall be meaſured to you again: I tremble to go farther, but moſt bumbly beſeech you for Chriſt's Sake, endeavour to regain theſe ſtray Sheep, for whom he ſhed his precious Blood, and think it as great an Advantage, as great an Honour to you, as it was to St. *Paul*, to become all Things to all Men, that you may gain ſome, as doubtleſs you will many, though not all; and the few Standers off will become the more convinced, and at long running wearied out and gained alſo. Thus having reduced all into one Fold in true Faith and Chriſtian Charity, the preſent Generation will much forget, the ſucceeding Generation will be wholly ignorant of, theſe ceremonious Fancies, and all Animoſities being quite extinguiſhed, wholſome edifying Ceremonies may be eaſily introduc'd again with Comfort to all, which are now irkſome and grievous to many. And ſo I paſs on to the ſecond Matter; the Church Service contained in the Books of Common Prayer, whereof briefly, becauſe what I ſaid before may be reply'd to this alſo.

Concerning Church Service.

I Will not here enter into the Diſpute, whether it be lawful for a Church to have a ſet Form of Prayer, ſuppoſing that there are none but either highly fanatick, or highly factious, that affirm it unlawful; and with ſuch I have no Reaſon to expect, that reaſonable Arguments ſhould prevail; for enough hath been already printed to this Purpoſe. I may alſo ſuppoſe, that there is nothing

thing contained in our Book of Common Prayer, that is directly contrary to the Word of God; for had there been any such Thing, we should have heard of it long since, which I never yet did from any sober Man. And truly I might in the third Place suppose that (a Book of Common Prayer being no way contrary to the Word of God) the Use of it is far more conducing to Piety, than to suffer extemporary Prayer to be used generally in Churches; Experience hath fully declared it in our late confused Times, when a Man should have heard in many Churches such extravagant, such wild, such rash, such blasphemous Expressions, as would drive any sober conscientious Person out of their Churches. Can you with Reason expect it otherwise? when half the Churches in this Nation have not a tolerable Maintenance to support Men of Parts and Discretion fit to perform so solemn and holy an Office. Had we the Holiness, the Zeal, the Charity, the Humility of the primitive Times, when Men forsook all the World and daily sacrificed their Lives for the Service of God, we might hope that God would graciously pour down upon us, as he did on them, the special Gifts of praying and propheſying, but now when most serve God for Gain, and would neither open *nor shut the Church Doors for nought, as Malachi* saith, we must not expect those Gifts and Graces. And therefore I conceive it absolutely necessary to have some Form prescribed to be used by all; for were there Liberty left to the more able and discreet, most would suppose themselves to be such (few discovering their own Weakness;) and were it left to the Bishop to licence as he saw fit, it would prove a very great Cause of Heart-burning among his Clergy, and Hatred towards himself, yea and Rebellion against him and the Laws. But now in Christ I humbly beseech the Governors of the Church calmly to consider, were it not better to have such a Form of Service as would satisfy most. The Fathers of our Church (as I said before) when they reformed this Nation from Popery, were desirous to fetch off as many as they could, retaining for this Cause all the Ceremonies and Forms of Prayer they could with a good rectified Conscience, and therefore they prescribed that Form of second Service to be at the Altar, as carrying some Resemblance to the Mass, then the People's Delight, which being now become the People's Hate, should for the same Resemblance, according to the same Rule of Reason, be now taken away. We commend our Forefathers for doing Piously and Wisely, and yet we will not imitate them; they endeavoured to please and gain the People, we will needs displease and lose them; Certainly we cannot do our Forefathers a greater Honour than to observe their Rule of Reason, to conform to the Times; and therefore they are grossly mistaken who think it a Dishonour to them for us to take away what they have established; when we keep close to the Reason wherefore they did establish it: Wise Physicians by the same Rule of Reason prescribe things clear contrary according to the Temper of their Patients, hot or cold, some other things I could mention in the Book of Common Prayer (though no way ill in themselves) yet fit to be altered, and would obviously appear so to every wise Man once resolved to compose such a Form, as would take in most of this Nation, which I humbly conceive Governors should in Conscience endeavour, becoming all things to all Men to gain some, though not all; yet happily gain all in Process of Time, for the Reason before specified.

Bu-

But though I desire such a Form of Service, such Ceremonies also to be established, as may give most general Satisfaction, yet I desire what is established may be generally observed, and not a Liberty left (as some do propose) to add or detract Ceremonies or Prayers according to the various Opinions and Humours of Men: for certainly this would cause great Faction and Division; those that are for Ceremonies would run from their own Church to others were they were used; others to some fine fancied Prayers of such as they approve of; and thus some Churches would be thronged, others deserted, and no Account could be taken by the Pastor of this Congregation: *Atheists* also and *Papists* under pretence of frequenting other Churches would abandon all. This course (say you) would bring but few into the Church, and perchance drive some out, who having been long bred up to such and such Ceremonies, would have small Devotion to frequent the Church, if all or many were abolished. To this I answer, That certainly his Religion is vain, that would abandon the Substance for want of the Ceremonies, which he acknowledgeth to be no way necessary, but only more Satisfaction to his Mind: Surely a very ignorant Mind, who hath not learnt, *That Obedience is better than Sacrifice and whole Burnt-offerings:* And surely a very uncharitable Mind, who would not leave ninety and nine unnecessary Ceremonies, to bring one sinful strayed Sheep into the Congregation, and convert him from the Error of his non-conforming Way. I profess I am amazed to see how many Men of a very good Sence in most Things, so zealously erroneous in this Business of Religion, seeing the Scripture so plainly declares, that nothing so covers the Multitude of our Sins as an Act of Charity; nothing so acceptable unto God, so joyful to his Holy Angels as Conversion of a Sinner. Yet these Men will most passionately (and pardon me if I say most uncharitably and irreligiously) cry, away with these idiot Sectaries and mad *Phanaticks*, let them wander and perish in their own wild Imaginations, we will not leave one Ceremony, nor any one Line of our Common-Prayer Book to gain Thousands of them. No, if you alter that, we will rather leave the Church, and go to the *Papists* Mass. If these be not as simple Sectaries and mad *Phanaticks* as any whatsoever, let God and his Holy Angels judge. But as for you my reverend Fathers of the Church, I hope you will consult with Scripture in this weighty Affair, and model all according to the Rules of Meekness, Charity, and compassionate Tenderness to weak ones, there set down: and endeavour with prudent Admonitions to rectify the Errors of these too zealous Ceremonists, and with fatherly Bowels of Condescention to win the Hearts of blind and wilful Seperatists. Certainly the more understanding and powerful Leaders of them will not, cannot have the Face to stand off after your charitable Condescention, their populous Pretences will be so confuted, their Mouths so stopped, their Faces so confounded, as for mere Shame, if not for Reason and Religion, they must come into our Church: and their Pastors coming in, the Sheep will follow, though some stand a while and gaze: but at length having no Men of Ability to lead them on in their perverse Ways, the shop-prating Weavers and Coblers will soon be deserted, and made heartless, seeing their own naked Folly. And then shall we all join and joyfully sing *Te Deum* in our Churches, and the Holy Angels in the Heavens. And then

then I shall most gladly sing with good old *Simeon*, *Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace, for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation.*

Concerning Preaching.

IT remains that I now handle this great Business of Preaching, wherein I fear I shall displease many, there being but a few who use it according to the original Institution; and yet I had rather they should preach as they do, then quite omit it; for certainly 'tis a necessary Work for a Minister of the Gospel to preach the Gospel. Saint *Paul* tells us, *That some preach the Gospel, out of Envy*; yet he was pleased that Christ should be so preached, rather than not preached; and so I say of preaching Christ out of Vanity, as 'tis evident many do, preaching themselves and their own Abilities, at least as they think Abilities, though often great Weaknesses and conceited Impertinences. I beseech you tell me, did not Christ and the Apostles preach the best Way? and are not we to follow their Example? Who dare say otherwise? yet many do otherwise; they take here or there a Sentence of Scripture, the shorter and more abstruse the better, to shew their Skill and Invention, this they divide and subdivide into Generals and Particulars, the *Quid*, the *Quale*, the *Quantum*, and such like quack-salving Forms; then they study how to hook in this or that quaint Sentence of Philosopher or Father, this or that nice Speculation, endeavouring to couch all this in most elegant Language; in short, their main End is to shew their Wit, their Reading, and whatever they think is excellent in them: No doubt rarely agreeing with that of St. *Paul*, *I determined not to know any Thing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified*; *and my Speech and Preaching was not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power*: 1 *Cor.* ii. And I verily believe this is the Reason why Preaching hath so little Effect in these Days, because they labour to speak the Wisdom of this World, which is Foolishness with God, nor do they preach in Demonstration of the Spirit, but in Demonstration of their Learning. I know full well this unapostolick Way of Preaching was used by some of the ancient Fathers, especially the *Greeks*, always fond of Niceties and Curiosities, and being now become Christians (as I said before) transplanted their beloved rhetorical Flowers of human Learning into Christian Gardens, which proved rather Weeds to over-run the Seed of sound and plain apostolick Doctrine, human Nature being a Soil apter to give Nourishment and Vigour to human Principles than divine. But when did ever any learned, witty rhetorical Harangue, or cunning syllogistical Discourse convert the Tythe of St. *Peter*'s or St. *Paul*'s *foolish Preaching*, as he terms it, *but the Wisdom of God to those that are perfect*, and sound in the Faith. Who is ignorant of that famous Passage at the Council of *Nice?* whither resorted with divers others, one eminent Heathen Philosopher, offering himself (as the Manner of those vain-glorious Sophisters was) to dispute with the Christian Doctors; some Bishops of great Repute for Learning, under him, as they thought, clearly confuted; but no Way converted him; at last rises up a grave ancient Bishop of small Learning, but of great Faith and Piety, and (with great Dissatisfaction of his Brethren

fearing ſome groſs Baffle ſhould befal this good Man) comes up to the Philoſopher, and with great majeſtical Authority recites unto him the apoſtolick Creed, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*——and in the Cloſe calls to him, *O Philoſopher believeſt thou this?* The Philoſopher anſwered, *I believe*, not being able to reſiſt the Demonſtration of Spirit and Power wherewith he uttered thoſe divine Myſteries, as he confeſs'd before them all. You will ſay this was a Miracle of great Rarity; I grant it, but many ſuch Miracles ſhould we ſee, had we the Faith and powerful Spirit of this Holy Biſhop, and would endeavour to imitate apoſtolical Preaching, not philoſophical Arguing, nor rhetorical Declaiming.

We ſee plainly the apoſtolical Preaching was either catechiſtical Inſtructions, or pious Admonitions; not tying themſelves to any Form, but paſt from one Matter to another as the Auditor's Condition required, not as the Preacher's Fancy and Reading prompted; juſt as the *Roman* Emperor *Caligula*, who when Delinquents came before him to be judged, condemned or acquitted them as agreed beſt with the Current of his Oration: So theſe Men ſhape their Diſcourſe more to the Applauſe than Edification of the Hearers. And ſo much Time is ſpent in compoſing theſe Oratory Sermons, as the Miniſter hath not Leiſure to perform a Quarter of his parochial Duty, of viſiting the Sick, of admoniſhing the Scandalous, of reconciling the Janglers, of private examining and inſtructing the poor ignorant Souls, Thouſands in every Country as ignorant as Heathens, who underſtand no more of moſt Sermons than if in *Greek*; ſo that the Sermon is rather a Banquet for the Wantons that are full, than Inſtruction to thoſe who are even ſtarved for want of ſpiritual Food, the plain and ſaving Word of Chriſt, not the nice conceited Word of Man, which may nouriſh Camelions, never make ſolid ſound Chriſtians. There are others of a different Strain, who wanting both Wit and Learning alſo, think to ſupply all by Strength of Lungs, by loud and long Babbling, riding Hackney from one good Town to another, and with Fervency of Spirit like a boiling Pot running over where-ever they come. Were it a laughing Matter, who could contain to hear ſome ſeeming Zealot Paſtors talk ſo much of their Obligation to preach the Goſpel, and muſt (forſooth) do it in the Pulpit twice a Sunday, counting thoſe almoſt accurſed that do not ſo, and yet have many poor Sheep in their Flock as ignorant as any Sheep, whom they never regard, never inſtruct in the firſt Principles of the Goſpel; as if Preaching were tyed to the Pulpit, and the Sabbath-Day. Pardon me, if I tell you a Story which now comes into my Head. I chanced to be in a Lord's Houſe on a *Saturday*, when a zealous Miniſter came in; after ſome Complements and ceremonious Diſcourſe, he told the Lord, that where-ever he was, he never failed to preach the Goſpel on the Lord's Day as his Duty, and therefore entreated that the Paſtor of the Pariſh might be deſired to give Place to him next Morning. I ſuſpecting both his Zeal and Deſign (which afterwards appeared) aſked him, if he had received any particular Command from Chriſt to preach at this Place, and that Hour? The Miniſter ſtartling at my Queſtion, anſwered, No. I replied, Sure then other Miniſters had the ſame Obligation to preach the Goſpel as he had, and moreover it was the Paſtor's particular Duty to preach to his own Congregation on the Lord's Day, how then could he in Conſcience deſire the Paſtor to omit

his Duty, and give Place to a Stranger who had there no Duty incumbent upon him? But the Lord pulled me by the Elbow, and took me off from farther preſſing him, and told him, he would ſend to the Paſtor to give him Place. But to return to our Buſineſs. Very few are to be found, here and there one of Piety and Diſcretion, that demeans himſelf prudently in his Office; and the Reaſon is this. It is grown up into a general Opinion, That none are to be admitted into Holy Orders but ſuch as have ſtudied in the Univerſity; and if he hath learnt a little to chop Logick, he is preſently deemed fit to divide the Word of Truth, and is eaſily inſtituted into a Living; and if he can bring ſome nice metaphyſical Speculations from *Ariſtotle*, or ſome theological Diſtinctions from *Aquinas*, then he is worthy of two or three Livings or Prebends: And thus Univerſity Youths, and even Boys of no Experience or Diſcretion, are made Spiritual Paſtors, the graveſt and moſt weighty Office in the World. I beſeech you, what have theſe Sciences (falſly ſo called) to do with the Goſpel, where we find not one Tittle of them; but rather decryed as Enemies to the Goſpel, as tending to vain Jangling, Strife and Contention, nothing of Edification. We had lately a brave Story of the Jeſuites in *China*, who finding the King and his Courtiers much delighted with the Mathematicks, but not very knowing in them, wrote to the General of their Order at *Rome* to ſend them ſome Prieſts, very ſkilful in that Science, to preach the Goſpel there. Why did they not ſend for ſome alſo well ſkilled in Puppit Plays? ridiculous Creatures ſhall I ſay, or rather impious, who think to ſupport the Dignity, the Majeſty, the Divinity of the Goſpel with ſuch human Toys? Juſt as if a King, having ſome potent Enemy invading his Country, ſhould inſtead of leading on a ſtout and gallant Army againſt him, lead on a Morrice-dance capering and friſking moſt featly, thinking thereby to appeaſe and gain the Heart of his Adverſary. *Yea Fools and blind; we wreſtle not againſt Fleſh and Blood, but againſt Principalities, againſt Powers, againſt the Rulers of the Darkneſs of this World, againſt ſpiritual Wickedneſs in high Places*, Eph. vi. 12. *And therefore the Weapons of our Warfare muſt not be carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong Holds*, 2 Cor. x. 4. *We muſt then take the whole Armour of God, the Helmet of Salvation, the Breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſs, the Shield of Faith, the Sword of the Spirit.* Read alſo St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, ſetting down the required Qualifications of Biſhops and Deacons, ſee if you can find any ſuch Mathematick, Logick, Phyſick? No, but Gravity, Sobriety, Meekneſs, Diligence, and the like. Were ſuch Men taken into holy Orders and conſtituted Paſtors, the Church of Chriſt had been far better edified, and the Paſtors far more reverenced than now they are: though *Plato*, *Arioſttle*, *Euclid*, *Scotus*, *Aquinas*, were never known to them, ſo much as by Name, yet they would want no paſtoral Knowledge which is compleatly contained in Scripture; as St. *Paul* told *Timothy*, *That it was ſufficient to make him wiſe unto Salvation, profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction, that the Man of God might be throughly furniſhed*; Mark, throughly furniſhed without Logick, Phyſick, Mathematick, Metaphyſick, or School Divinity. Scripture Divinity throughly furniſhes the Man of God for all. I ſpeak not this in Diſparagement of Univerſity Learning, which I highly value, if rightly made uſe of, 'tis as uſeful as honourable to a Nation; but much of Univerſity Learning,

as uſeleſs to a ſpiritual Paſtor, as the Art of Navigation to a Phyſician; the Paſtors only requiſite and compleatly qualifying Science, being according to St. *Paul*, *to know nothing but Chriſt and him crucified, and to preach Chriſt, not with enticing Words of Man's Wiſdom, but in Demonſtration of the Spirit and of Power*; to preach Chriſt as well out of Pulpit as in the Pulpit; in Seaſon and out of Seaſon; to the Poor and to the Rich; to the Simple and Ignorant, far rather than the Knowing; to Rebuke, to Correct, to Edify both by Word and Deed.

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech the Church Governors to remember the original Inſtitution of the Miniſtry, what Kind of Men the Apoſtles choſe into it, grave elderly Men, therefore ſtyl'd Elders, and known as well by that Name as Biſhops, who having by long Converſation gotten Experience and Knowledge to govern themſelves, were made Governors of others. I grant we have *Timothy* for an Example of younger Years, that is, young by way of Compariſon to the other Seniors; as a Man of Forty may be called young, compared to thoſe of Sixty; yet no Youth ſimply, nor ſimple Youth: and 'tis plain he was a Perſon no Way ſhort of the Elders in Gravity, though ſomewhat in Years: St. *Paul*'s general Rule was, not to admit of *Novices*; but all general Rules have ſome Exceptions. *Timothy* was one and a rare one, we find not another. Next I pray conſider what Kind of Preaching they uſed? You may eaſily gueſs at their Sermons by their Epiſtles, full of ſhort Catechiſtical Inſtructions, grave Exhortations, ſober Reproofs, diſcreet Corrections, and then tell me whether a raw *Novice* from the Univerſity with all his Sciences and Languages be fit for this, or rather a grave ſober Perſon of Age and Experience, having a good natural Capacity, illuminated by Scripture Inſtruction and Prayer, uſing alſo the Help of grave and ſound Interpreters. Really 'tis moſt evident that the Church is run into great Contempt by the Slightneſs and Giddineſs of many Miniſters, who intend nothing but to make a handſome School-Boy's Exerciſe in the Pulpit on *Sunday*, but never attend the other parochial Duties, no nor their own Advance in ſpiritual Knowledge, but give them wholly either to idle Studies, or idle Recreations, and are very Children in divine Knowledge and Behaviour: I do affirm this in the Preſence of God as a Truth, and I have known ſome paſs for very good Preachers, that could not give a good Account of the *Athanaſian* Creed, nor ſcarce of the Childrens Catechiſm; Maſters of Art, but School-Boys in true Divinity, and ſo their Pariſhioners continue very Babes all their Life long.

It would make any true Chriſtian's Heart bleed to think, how many thouſand poor Souls there are in this Land, that have no more Knowledge of God, than Heathens; Thouſands of the mendicant Condition never come to Church, and are never look'd after by any; likewiſe Thouſands of mean huſbandry Men that do come to Church, underſtand no more of the Sermon than Brutes: Perchance in their Infancy ſome of them learnt a little of their Catechiſm, that is, they could, like Parrots, ſay ſome broken Pieces, but never underſtand the Meaning of one Line; (this is the common Way of Catechiſing) but afterwards as they grow up to be Men, grow more Babes in Religion, ſo ignorant as ſcarce to know their heavenly Father, and are admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper before they are able to give Account of the Sacrament of

Baptiſm.

Baptiſm. Thus it is generally in the Country, and in the City as bad, partly for the Reaſon before ſpecified, and partly by Reaſon the Number in many Pariſhes is far greater than any one Paſtor can have a due Care of; he cannot know half the Names or Faces of them, much leſs their Faith and Behaviour, which is requiſite that he may both inſtruct and reprove where there is need. Wherefore I humbly conceive 'tis neceſſary to divide theſe numerous Pariſhes into ſeveral Parts; but withal to provide Means out of them for ſeveral Miniſters, for there is no Hope to gain it from their Charity or Piety, which is plain Hypocriſy, ſeeming ſo zealous to hear the Word, but to contribute nothing towards it; the Miniſter may preach his Heart out, and yet not get out of their Purſes any tolerable Maintenance; a poor Huſbandman in the Country, of Twenty Pounds a Year, that gets his Bread by the Sweat of his Brows, pays more to a Miniſter than a Citizen that gets Hundreds a Year, ſitting at Eaſe in his Shop, and ſpends more in Ribbons, Laces and Perriwigs in one Year, than he pays to a Miniſter in Ten or Twenty: I beſeech them to conſider what Account they will give to their Lord and Maſter at that Day.

But I return to the requiſite Qualities of a Miniſter, who according to St. *Paul* is to be a Governor as well as a Preacher; to admoniſh and rebuke as well as inſtruct, and therefore of two Evils chuſe the leſſer, rather Men defective in Parts to preach, which may be ſupplied by Homilies, than defective in Wiſdom and Diſcretion to govern, which cannot be ſupplied by other Means. But would Men be content with the true Goſpel and apoſtolick Preaching, doubtleſs there might Perſons be found out fit for both, to govern and to preach; to preach one God the Creator of all, to preach the Baptiſm of Repentance, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to preach Godlineſs, Juſtice, Mercy, Chaſtity, *&c.* all which will be far better performed by a grave and godly conſcientious Man, well catechized, though he never ſaw Univerſity, though he knew no other Language but his Mother Tongue, than by any *Ariſtoteliſt*, *Scotiſt*, *Aquinatiſt*, with all their Knacks of Quiddities and Qualities, Syllogiſms and Enthymems, Diſtinctions and Subſumptions, *&c.* Not one *Greek*, or *Italian*, or *French* of a Thouſand knew any Language but his Mother Tongue when the Goſpel firſt flouriſhed there; not one *Indian* of a hundred Thouſand, where St. *Thomas* planted the Goſpel, ever heard of *Plato* or *Ariſtotle*; and ſo I may ſay of many other Nations where the Goſpel was planted and Prieſts ordained. When God inſtituted *Aaron* and that Prieſthood, not a Tittle mentioned of School Sciences or foreign Languages. 'Tis true, the Apoſtles by the Holy Ghoſt received the Gift of Tongues, becauſe they were to preach to all Nations, but we find not any Infuſion of School-learning by the Holy Ghoſt, nor any more Gift of Tongues after the Goſpel once ſpread over the World; God thought it then needleſs, I pray let's be no wiſer than God and his Chriſt, who converted the World by the Fooliſhneſs of Preaching, but I never yet heard of any one Nation converted by the Wiſdom of philoſophical rhetorical Preaching. Miſtake me not, I ſay that Sciences and Languages are no way neceſſary for common parochial Preachers, yet I grant that Sciences, eſpecially hiſtorical, and Languages, eſpecially the Oriental, are very uſeful to the perfect Underſtanding of Scripture, and very fit for ſome Miniſters to ſtudy, to whom God hath given Parts and Means to acquire them; who may be

be helpful to others; and the Universities are very good Places to train up Youths to this Purpose; but still these Faculties are no way necessary to a parochial Cure, a small Proportion of Learning with a great deal of Piety and Discretion is much better. Besides there is another Thing much to be considered. Were there such grave conscientious Persons admitted into the Ministry as the *Apostles* ordained, such Preaching set up as they practised, and all other decryed, such double Honour paid unto the Ministry as St. *Paul* commanded and primitively was rendred, (such grave Persons would scarce ever fail of it) then we might find Thousands in the Nation that having Means of their own, would preach the Gospel to the Poor for Conscience Sake. The Maintenance for Ministers in most Parts is so wretchedly small (and so like to be, the Tythes being in the Hands of Lay-men without Hopes of Recovery) that there is no convenient Support for Men of Worth and Gravity, and therefore Youths and Striplings as wretched are put into them of meer Necessity, that they lie not wholly void; whereas if Men that had some Estate to help to maintain themselves, being Persons of Conscience and convenient Knowledge, were put into the Ministry, and such preaching the Gospel accepted of, as the Apostles and primitive Disciples used, the Cures would be served with far more Edification of the People, and Honour to the Church, than now they are.

I most humbly beseech all in the Spirit of Meekness humbly to consider these Things, laying aside the Veil of Pomp and Vanity, which blinds their Eyes, and hinders them from discovering the naked Truth and Simpilcity of the Gospel; I call the Searcher of all Hearts to witness, I wish unto all Clergy-men both double Honour and double Maintenance also, I can't think any thing too much for those who conscientiously labour in the Ministry. But seeing (as I said) there is no Hopes of regaining the Church Maintenance, we in Prudence should seek out such Helps as may be had. And truly I have great Reason to hope, that were this Rule observed of putting only grave discreet and conscientious Persons into the Ministry (whether University Men or not, it matters not, so as fully instructed in the Doctrine of the Gospel by sound Commentators) many Persons of good Rank and Estate would think it no Dishonour, but rather a higher Honour to enter into it, as they did in the Primitive Time; *Julian* nearly related to the *Roman* Emperor, and afterwards Emperor himself, thought it an Honour to be admitted a Reader, one of the lowest Offices in the Church. And for the better advancing this Business, and fitting all Sorts of Men with convenient Knowledge for the Ministry, I humbly conceive it very fit there should be one good and brief *English* Comment of Scripture selected and compiled out of those many voluminnous Authors, laying aside all impertinent Criticisms, abstruse Questions, nice Speculations, and the like, setting down only the plain and most obvious Sense in Matters of Faith and good Life, necessary to Salvation; such a Book to be set forth by Authority, with a Command that no Man in Sermons, Exhortations or Catechisings teach any thing contrary to it, and whatever Learning beyond that is brought into the Pulpit, let it rather be exploded than applauded; for if any Countenance be given to Excursions, there will be no End, the Itch Men have to shew their Learning will soon bring us again into the vain unedifying Practice

Practice we now are in. I humbly conceive it fit alſo that the Book of Homilies be reviewed, not to correct any Thing in them, for they are moſt excellent ſound Exhortations, containing the true primitive Spirit; but to add to them whatever is wanting to the neceſſary Doctrine of Faith and good Manners, to teach every Perſon how to behave himſelf in his ſeveral Vocations, and theſe commanded to be read once over every Year; for I have obſerved ſeveral, even good and conſcientious Preachers to take quite another Method, and preach on this or that Chapter, and ſo in the whole Year, yea perchance in two or three Years, never preach on the Duty between Man and Wife, Parents and Children, Maſters and Servants, Magiſtrates and Subjects; or omit to treat of Pride, or Malice, or cheating, or the like, by Reaſon of which Omiſſioms, ſeveral in the Congregation are ignorant in neceſſary Duties, though rightly inſtructed in Things unneceſſary.

I expect that many will cry out of this as a Means to introduce Lazineſs into the Miniſtry, and a Hindrance from exerciſing thoſe Talents God hath indowed them with. To this I anſwer, Firſt, That I had rather the Miniſters ſhould be lazy, than the People ignorant in their Duty. But ſecondly, I anſwer, That beſides Pulpit Preaching, the Miniſter may find enough to do to keep him from Lazineſs, and exerciſe the beſt, that is, the moſt uſeful Talents of a Miniſter, to viſit and comfort the Sick and Afflicted, to compoſe Differences and reconcile Janglers, examine and inſtruct the meaner and duller Part of his Flock, who are not capable of Pulpit Preaching, to whom they muſt inculcate both Doctrines and Admonitions ten Times over, and ſcarcely ſo, make them apprehend any ſpiritual Matters. Experience only can raiſe a Belief how extreamly dull the common People are in the Myſteries of Faith, and but little quicker in the Principles of a good Life: Chriſt died to ſave theſe poor vulgar Souls as well as thoſe of the Gentry and more learn'd, yet the Labour of moſt Miniſters is to entertain thoſe that know enough, and are very lazy in catechiſing thoſe poor Souls that know nothing; let theſe be fully inſtructed, and then for me, let them ſhew their Talents that thoſe may have it who moſt want it, either by injoining ſuch Homilies, and mentioned to be yearly read, or ſuch Sermons to be yearly preached: I am no Enemy to true Apoſtolical Preaching, God forbid I ſhould; but to vain ſcholaſtical uſeleſs Preaching, to have the Paſtor, who ſhould daily watch over his Flock, ſit in his Study all the Week long, picking from that or this quaint Author a few beautiful Flowers, and then to come on *Sunday* with his Noſegay in his hand to entertain Ladies and Courtiers; for my part I count this far more ſinful Lazineſs, than to read a pious Homily on *Sunday*, and all the Week after, go up and down from Houſe to Houſe taking Pains to inſtruct and exhort ſuch as I mentioned: But theſe ſhall be called dumb Dogs, yet ſurely by none but barking Curs, who are wholly ignorant in true apoſtolick Preaching; Pardon me if I return them their Due, who ſpeak Evil of that they underſtand not.

They will object, The Apoſtles and primitive Diſciples did not read Homilies, but preach'd themſelves; Neither do I deſire that any one Homily ſhould ever be read, ſo as we had the true apoſtolick Preaching both on *Sundays* in publick, and Week-days alſo in private, where there is Need: But

I

I am ſure ſuch pious Homilies as I mentioned are no ways contrary to the Apoſtolick and primitive Practice, and are far more uſeful than ſuch preaching as we have now-a-days. And I am alſo ſure, that in the pureſt and moſt primitive Time, Homilies under another Name were read in the Churches, that is, Epiſtles of Apoſtolick godly Biſhops written to other Churches, were read in the Congregation with great Veneration. Shall the Name of *Epiſtle* make the one applauded, the Name of *Homily* make the other reproached, the Contents and the Intent being the ſame, to ſtir up the People to Godlineſs? If this will ſatisfy, let the *Homilies* be ſtiled *Epiſtles* to ſuch or ſuch a Church, and then I hope they will paſs for current. But you will ſay, The Compilers of our Homilies are not of equal Authority to thoſe primitive Epiſtles; let that paſs, but I am ſure they are of far more Authority, than moſt of our Preachers. I pray conſider, how many giddy Youths are of our Miniſtry, how many of greater Age but of as little Gravity or Diſcretion; how many that vainly preach themſelves and their own Abilities, not Chriſt and his Goſpel; how many that preach piouſly and yet not uſefully, but, as I ſaid before, many Things unneceſſary, omitting many neceſſary: Sum up all theſe Particulars, and you will find a ſmall Remainder that preach piouſly and edifying alſo, very few to equal the Compilers of our Homilies; and then calmly conſider the great Uſe, yea, the great Neceſſity of ſuch Homilies. But if you can furniſh all our Churches with pious, diſcreet, edifying, preaching Paſtors, I am abundantly ſatisfied, and do you ſeal up the Book of Homilies till a new Dearth of ſpiritual Food, which God in his great Mercy prevent. *Amen.*

Concerning Biſhops and Prieſts.

WHOEVER unbiaſs'd reads the Scripture, thence proceeds to the firſt Chriſtian Writers, and ſo goes on from Age to Age, can not doubt but that the Church was always governed by *Biſhops*, that is, by one *Elder*, or *Preſbyter*, or *Preſident*, or what elſe you pleaſe to call him, ſet over the reſt of the Clergy with Authority to ordain, to exhort, to rebuke, to judge and cenſure as he found Cauſe: No other Form of Government is mentioned by any Authority for fifteen hundred Years from the Apoſtles downwards. Now who can in Reaſon and Modeſty ſuſpect thoſe primitive Biſhops who lived in the Days of the Apoſtles, choſen by them into the Church, ſucceeded them in Church Government, yea and in Martyrdom alſo for the Faith, as *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarpus* and others, who, I ſay, can ſuſpect them to be Prevaricators in Church Diſcipline, and take upon them another Form of epiſcopal Government contrary to apoſtolical Inſtitution. Theſe great Maſters of Self-denial, who gave their Lives for the Truth, would they tranſmit unto Poſterity a Church Government contrary to the Truth; let who will believe it, I can neither believe it, nor ſuſpect it: And there is yet another Thing very obſervable, that all the orthodox Church diſperſed all the World over, ſome Parts having no Correſpondence at all with the other by Reaſon of Diſtance, ſome by Wars divided and made cruel Enemies, yet all agreed in this Form of Govern-

Government; and not only the Orthodox, but alſo the Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, who ſeparated from, hated and perſecuted the orthodox Church, they likewiſe retained ſtill this Form of Government, as if all were of Neceſſity compelled to acknowledge this, having never known, heard, nor dreamed of any other. And therefore nothing but Neceſſity, if that, can excuſe thoſe who firſt ſet up another Form of Government to their own Maſters, let them ſtand or fall, I will not preſume to cenſure them: I will only ſay, That from *the Beginning it was not ſo*, and I thank God 'tis not ſo with us, and ever ſhall be I truſt in God. *Amen.*

But notwithſtanding all this, yet 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they were of any diſtinct ſuperior Order from and above the Preſbyters, or one of the ſame Order ſet over the reſt with Power to ordain Elders, to exhort, rebuke, chaſtiſe, as *Timothy* and *Titus* were conſtituted by St. *Paul*. For though they were of the ſame Order with the other Elders and Paſtors, yet there was great Reaſon for ſome to be placed with greater Authority to rule over the reſt. The Scripture tells us, That even in the Days of the Apoſtles there were ſeveral ſeducing Teachers, leading the People into Errors and Hereſies, and more were to follow after the Apoſtles Times, grievous Wolves in Sheep's Clothing; and therefore it was very neceſſary to pick out ſome of eminent Soundneſs in Faith and Godlineſs of Life, and ſet them up on high with great Authority, as fixed Stars in the Heavens (ſo ſtiled *Revel.* i.) to whom all might have Regard in dangerous Times, as Mariners obſerve in their ſea-faring Journies. But the Scripture no where expreſſes any Diſtinction of Order among the Elders, we find there but two Orders mentioned, Biſhops and Deacons. Of Deacons we ſhall treat afterwards. Let us now proceed to the Order of Biſhops and Prieſts, which the Scripture diſtinguiſhes not, for there we find but one Kind of Ordination, then certainly but one Order, for two diſtinct Orders cannot be confered in the ſame Inſtant, by the ſame Words, by the ſame Actions. They who think Deaconſhip and Prieſthood diſtinct, the one ſubſervient to the other, though they intend the ſame Hour to conſecrate the Man Deacon and Prieſt, Do they not firſt compleat him Deacon, then Prieſt? I pray let any Man ſhew me from Scripture (as I ſaid) *Timothy* or *Titus* or any one ordained twice, made firſt Prieſt then Biſhop, which is abſolutely neceſſary if they be diſtinct Characters, and 'tis generally affirmed, though I humbly conceive they ſcarce underſtand what they affirm, I mean they underſtand not what theſe Characters are, whether *Greek*, *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*, or what elſe. But let that paſs, I deſire them only to ſhew me how a Man can make two Characters with one Stroke or Motion, A. and B. at the ſame Inſtant. If then neither *Timothy* nor *Titus*, nor any other were but once ordained, whence can we gather theſe two diſtinct Characters, theſe two diſtinct Orders? We find the Apoſtles themſelves but once ordained, thoſe by the Apoſtles but once ordained, and ſo on. When St. *Paul* left *Titus* in *Crete* to ordain, he mentions only one Ordination, that of Preſbyters, (ſo the Word in *Greek*) no other; there's no Commiſſion given him to ordain Biſhops there? Not *Titus*, he had no ſuch Command, we do not find that St. *Paul* himſelf did; and ſure you will not grant that the Preſbyters which *Titus* ordained, that they could ordain Biſhops there, for you will not allow them to ordain ſo much as Preſbyters? Yet Biſhops you will

needs have in every City, and in *Crete* were very many, who ordained Biſhops for them all? Truly I can't find, nor you neither I believe. But you will ſay, the ſuperior Order contains in it virtually the inferior Order, (let this paſs at preſent) doth *Presbyter* then virtually contain Biſhop? If ſo; then all *Presbyters* are Biſhops. No, ſay you, Biſhop is the ſuperior Order, and that contains in it *Presbyter*. You ſay ſo, but by your leave you are to prove ſo, or give me leave to ſay otherwiſe, eſpecially ſeeing I have Scripture for my Saying, and you have none for yours. But ſhould I grant Biſhop the Superior, what then? we find *Titus* ordained not any but *Presbyters*, as he was commanded by St. *Paul*, ſo we are ſtill at a Loſs for our Biſhops, we find not their Ordination. Or did St. *Paul* miſtake in his Expreſſion, and meaning *Biſhops in every City*, ſaid *Presbyters in every City*, let this paſs alſo, and I pray let us ſee what you mean by this, the ſuperior Order virtually contains the Inferior. Do not you ſay they are two diſtinct Orders, two real diſtinct indelible Characters imprinted in the Soul, as the School-men affirm (give me leave to talk their Language though I underſtand it not) If I take a fair Paper and make an A. upon it for the Character of *Presbyter*, and then make a B. upon it for the Character of a Biſhop, the ſame Paper contains both Characters, but ſure one Character doth not contain the other, A. doth not contain B. nor doth B. contain A. So the ſame Soul may receive two Characters, two Orders, but if the two Orders be diſtinct how can they contain each other, I underſtand no more than I do theſe Holy Characters. If they can paint them out unto me in their proper Figures, perchance I may underſtand them better, but as yet I ingeniouſly confeſs my Ignorance. I grant in a metaphyſical Way of Abſtraction, the ſuperior Species contains the inferior Genius. A Man, a rational Creature, contains the Animality of a Horſe, the inferior Creature, but doth not contain a real Horſe in his Belly, nor can a Man beget Horſes or Men when he pleaſes. Nor can you truly ſay a Man is a Horſe; I believe my School-men would take it in Snuff ſhould I affirm any of them to be Horſes, *&c.* But they affirm, that a Biſhop doth not only virtually contain the Prieſthood, but is really a Prieſt, and can make Prieſts or Biſhops as he pleaſe, whereby you may ſee this Anſwer, that the ſuperior Order virtually contains the Inferior, is a meer Evaſion; it ſounds as if it were ſomething, but really is nothing to our Purpoſe at all; for we are not now upon metaphyſical Abſtractions, but real individual Subſtances, two actual diſtinct Orders, as they would have it, two diſtinct indelible Characters imprinted on Mens Souls by Ordination, as A. and B. which can never be truly affirmed one of the other. A. is not B. and B. is not A. a Man is not a Horſe, and a Horſe is not a Man; ſo a Biſhop ordained only Biſhop is not a Prieſt, nor a Prieſt a Biſhop, if they be diſtinct. Wherefore I muſt believe them one and the ſame Order, eſpecially ſeeing the Scripture applies the ſame Name promiſcuouſly to both; which is the ſecond Argument of their Identity, to be one and the ſame.

Acts xx. St. *Paul* ſends to *Epheſus* to call the *Presbyters* of that Church unto him at *Miletum*, and ſpeaking to them he calls them all Biſhops (in our Tranſlation 'tis *Overſeers*) Verſe 28. So in his Epiſtle to the *Phillippians*, he directs to *all the Saints with the Biſhops and Deacons*, both in the plural Number; ſo that by the Word *Biſhops*, we muſt needs underſtand *Presbyters*; for Biſhops

ſhops as we now take the Word, were never many in one City. I pray obſerve alſo St. *Paul*, Epiſt. to *Titus* i. 5. *For this Cauſe left I thee in Crete——that thou ſhould'ſt ordain Elders in every City——if any be blameleſs—for a* Biſhop *muſt be blameleſs*. Is it not here evident, that an Elder and a Biſhop in St. *Paul*'s Language is one and the ſame; otherwiſe there were no Coherency at all in St. *Paul*'s Speech. If this be not convincing, beyond all poſſible Evaſion, I underſtand nothing of Diſcourſe. Other ſuch Places are obvious in Scripture to every one, I need mention no more; only I deſire to inform the Reader of a Paſſage to this Purpoſe, in an Epiſtle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, This *Clemens* is mentioned in Scripture, and is he whom St. *Peter* appointed his Succeſſor at *Rome*, and who was of ſo great Authority, that as St. *Hierome* tells us, this his Epiſtle was read in Churches: Now in this Epiſtle *Clemens* particularly ſets forth the Conſtitution of the Church by the Apoſtles, and what Miniſters they ordained in the Church; to wit, *Biſhops* and *Deacons*, he names no other, which ſeems to me as full an Evidence as can be, that there were no other Orders in the Church in thoſe Days but thoſe two; And yet we are ſure there were then *Presbyters* in the Church; for *Peter* and *John* call themſelves *Preſbyters*, and St. *Peter* calls them *Presbyters* to whom he wrote his Epiſtle; ſo that if there were but two Orders, to wit, *Biſhops* and *Deacons*, *Presbyters* muſt be one and the ſame with *Biſhops* or with *Deacons*; not with *Deacons* therefore one and the ſame with *Biſhops*; one Order called by two Names promiſcuouſly in Scripture, as hath been ſhewed before: And I deſire you to obſerve that of thoſe two Names *Presbyter* and *Biſhop*, if there be any Dignity and Eminency expreſs'd in one more than the other, ſure it is in the Name of *Presbyter*, not *Biſhop*, becauſe the Apoſtles themſelves, and the Chief of the Apoſtles (as ſome would have it who ſtand higheſt on their Pantables) are in Scripture ſtyled *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as the Word in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation ſignifies, but never *Biſhops*, as I remember. And therefore I can't but wonder why that haughty Head of the *Papiſts* ſhould not aſſume to himſelf the Title of his pretended Predeceſſor St. *Peter*, *Presbyter* rather than *Biſhop*, unleſs it be by God's providential Diſpoſure to ſhew his Blindneſs in this as well as in other Things, and make him confute himſelf by this Name of Biſhop, which was never given to St. *Peter*, no more than St. *Peter* gave unto him the Headſhip of the Church. As to the Interpretations and Anſwers given to theſe and ſuch like Scripture Expreſſions, ſure I need not take any Pains to confute them; for they are ſo weak as that *Petavius*, a late Writer, and great Stickler for the Superiority of *Epiſcopacy*, durſt not truſt to them, nor would venture his Credit to make uſe of them, but found out a new and rare Conceit, as he conceives, that theſe *Presbyters* mentioned in Scripture and called by both Names, were all really *Biſhops*, and that the Apoſtles ordained them ſo, as moſt convenient for that Time; for the Congregations of the Faithful being ſmall, there needed no Prieſts under the Biſhops to officiate, and yet there was need of a Biſhop in thoſe ſmall Congregations, becauſe there were ſeveral things to be done, which were not within the Power and Capacity of *Presbyters* to act, (as he ſuppoſes) *viz.* the laying on of Hands, and Confirming the Faithful after Baptiſm, the Veiling of devoted Women, the reconciling of Penitents, the ordaining *Deacons* where there was Need; and adds moreover ſeveral Impertinences, as the making of

Chryſm, conſecrating Church-Veſſels, *&c.* And *Petavius* mightily applauds himſelf in this Conceit, as the only Means to clear all Difficulties: Our Doctor *Hammond* alſo finding the uſual Interpretations of thoſe Places of Scripture above-mentioned too weak to ſuſtain the Arguments builded on them for the Unity of Order, goes along after *Petavius* a great Way in the fore-cited Diſcourſe (though not in the later Impertinences) and affirms, that the *Presbyters* then were all *Biſhops*; and ſo far I go with them, that all were *Presbyters*, all *Biſhops*, becauſe all was one, and one was all, ſeveral Names not ſeveral Orders, as they would have it, and this I humbly conceive firmly proved by my former Argument of one Ordination, wherein two diſtinct Orders could not be referred, ſo that ſtill I require them to ſhew me from Scripture where theſe *Presbyter-Biſhops* were twice ordained, elſe it cannot be truly affirmed they were really and actually *Prieſts* and *Biſhops*. As for that Anſwer, that though but one Order was conferred, *viz.* Epiſcopal, yet that being ſuperior to the Prieſthood contains this virtually in it: Firſt, you are to prove *Biſhop* to be Superior to *Presbyter*, which I deny, the Apoſtles being peculiarly called *Presbyters*. Secondly, that one contains the other, I ſuppoſe is already confuted, and fully declared that it cannot be; And as I mentioned before, you do in effect confeſs it your ſelves by your Practice; for if the Superior Order ſo contains the Inferior as to enable a Man thereby to act all Things belonging to the Inferior, it is a very impertinent Thing to ordain a Man, as you do, firſt a *Deacon*, then a *Prieſt*, then a *Biſhop*, when you deſign to confer all upon him in the ſame Day and Hour.

And now I pray give me Leave to examine a little *Petavius*'s rare Conceits, which he conceives will ſatisfy all former Objections, and will meet with no new ones. He confeſſes the *Presbyters* of the Apoſtles Times were all of one Order, *viz. Biſhops*, becauſe the Paſtors of each Congregation might perform thoſe ſeveral Acts he mentions, which a bare *Presbyter* is not capable of. And why not capable of them, how doth he prove this? He brings not one Tittle of Proof for this out of Scripture, where there are good Proofs to the contrary. St. *Peter* and St. *John*, *Presbyters*, could do all theſe and more; *Ergo*, *Presbyters* are capable of all. But ſaith he, *The Apoſtles were Biſhops alſo*; *alſo* is impertinent, as ſignifying ſomewhat elſe; whereas I ſay and prove 'tis one and the ſame Order, only another Name, it lies upon him to prove this Difference of Orders; and how doth he prove it, becauſe *Presbyters* can't do the Acts of a *Biſhop*; why, this is the Thing in Queſtion; and thus he runs round to prove this by that, and that by this, and not one Tittle out of Scripture for either. I know full well by ſeveral *Canons* of Councils made ſome at one Time, ſome at another, the *Biſhops* reſerved many Things to themſelves, whereof moſt of them had been practiſed formerly by *Presbyters*, and the Canons were made to prevent the like for the future; for had there not been ſuch a Practice, there had been no need of ſuch Canons, whereby they reſerved theſe Things unto themſelves, and for their own Greatneſs would needs perſwade the World, that *Presbyters* were not capable of them. I grant, that for Decency and Order in that Senſe, ſome things may be reſerved to ſome, other Things to other to perform, but that the Order of Prieſthood was not capable, is even ridiculous that the Prieſthood being capable

ble to do the greateſt Things, ſhould not be capable to do the leaſt; he can conſecrate the Souls of Men by Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, (yet forſooth) can't conſecrate their Oyl, and their Cups, and their Candleſticks, which we never heard the Apoſtles did or dream'd of, but are the fond Dreams of doting Men, juſt like the *Phariſees* waſhing Cups and Platters after the Doctrines of Men. Really there needs no better Confutation of their Diſtinction and Superiority of Epiſcopal Order, than the mean ridiculous Things which they aſcribe unto their Biſhops, and debar *Presbyters* of, which methinks a *Preſbyter* ſhould contemn where they offered him; and therefore ſuch Arguments as theſe are not worth the ſmall Pains I have taken about them.

I proceed to ſomewhat that ſeems a little better; *Petavius* tells us, That the Number of Chriſtians encreaſing, and Factions ariſing in the Church, the Apoſtles at length towards the End of their Times, choſe out of theſe *Presbyter-Biſhops*, ſome chief Men and placed them as Governors over the Reſt, and reſerved unto theſe principal Men the Power of Ordaining; thus far I freely conſent, the Scriptures declare it, and it ſeems moſt rational. And I humbly conceive theſe Governors and Ordainers were Men of great Prudence and Moderation, and probably had alſo that Gift of the Holy Ghoſt; *The diſcerning of Spirits*, and judging of Men (a Gift mentioned in Scripture among others) that none might be admitted into the Prieſthood but Men of meek and peaceable Spirits. But now I would aſk *Petavius* when theſe governing ordaining Biſhops were ſet over the Reſt of the *Presbyter-Biſhops*, when *Titus* was firſt ſettled with this Authority in *Crete*, and when *Timothy* was thus placed at *Epheſus*, where we find before were ſeveral *Presbyter-Biſhops*, what became of them? were they un-biſhop'd and made ſimple *Presbyters?* They muſt no more ordain nor govern, but be ſubject to *Timothy* and *Titus*. I am ſure it was thought no ſmall Puniſhment in future Ages, when Biſhops were thus by Decrees of Council abaſed and caſt down unto *Presbyter Form*, and it was for ſome notorious Crimes. I pray what Crime were all theſe *Presbyter-Biſhops* guilty of, to be thus handled, and tumbled down into a lower Form? Truly *Petavius* deals hardly with them, unleſs he can ſhew us their Crime. Or will he inſtead of accuſing them excuſe himſelf, and ſay they were not un-biſhop'd or abaſed, but only reſtrained from exerciſing that Power their Order was capable of, had they been commiſſioned thereto. Truly I muſt commend *Petavius* if he will thus ingeniouſly confeſs the Truth, for I ſhall by and by fully declare that 'tis the Diverſity of Commiſſion; and not of Order, that enables Men to act diverſly, and that a Biſhop without Commiſſion can do no more than a *Presbyter* without Commiſſion; and therefore I farther beg of *Petavius*, that, till he can prove the contrary, he would confeſs them alſo to be all of one ſingle Order, called only by divers Names, Prieſt or Biſhop, and one choſen out of the Number, not the Reſt abaſed, but he exalted with Authority to govern. This is the rational and common Practice of all Societies, Corporations, Colleges, Monaſteries, Conclave of Cardinals, what not; there is no new Order ſuppoſed in any of theſe, but only a new Election, and a new Authority given, according to the fundamental Conſtitution of each Society. The Pope himſelf with his triple Crown and triple Dominion over all Patriarchs, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, pretends to have no new Order of Popeſhip, but only the new Authority conferred by his Election.

Why

Why then may not *Presbyters* chosen to preside over the Rest without any new Order, do the like. And for this very Reason I conceive *Justin Martyr* uses the Name of President always for Bishop; and St. *Cyprian* also, a Bishop himself, and most glorious Martyr, he calls himself and other Bishops generally by the Name of *Præpositus*, as if this were the main Distinction betwixt himself and his *Presbyters*, that he was *Præpositus* only, one of them placed with Authority over them: No more: Nor doth the Name of Bishop in the original *Greek* signify any more than the Overseer of the Rest. And as for the avoiding of Heresies and Factions, they thought it meet to settle some Bishop, of great Soundness in Faith, and Godliness of Life, with Authority to restrain and chastise disorderly Pastors. Just so, when whole Nations were converted, and not only the Pastors but the Bishops also (who had Oversight of the Pastors) encreased in Number, then for the same Reason it was thought fit there should be an Overseer of the Bishops, and be called an Arch-Bishop; when the Arch-Bishops were multiplied, then another set over them, and he called a Patriarch; and at last one over the Patriarchs, and he called *Papa*, Pope *Catexochen*, though *Papa* before was a Name attributed to other Bishops. Now as Pope, Patriarch, Arch-Bishop, Bishop, are all one and the same Order; (Papists themselves grant this) so Bishop, Elder, Presbyter, Priest, all one and the same, only one of these set over the Rest, and he now particularly called *Episcopus*, that is, Bishop *Catexochen*, because he oversees the Overseers: But this last Constitution only is Apostolical, the other of Arch-Bishop, Patriarch, Pope, are merely human, not at all mentioned in Scripture.

But now another Objection arises. *Petavius* grants that all the Elders which the Apostles ordained were Bishops, and towards the End of the Apostles Days they set some eminent amongst them over the Rest to govern and ordain Elders in every City, as *Timothy* and *Titus*, and these Elders in every City were Bishops, and thus the Apostles left the Church with Bishops only and Deacons. And this is evident by what I brought before out of *Clemens*, who lived after the Apostles Days, and mentions only Bishops and Deacons left by the Apostles. This being so, I desire to know who after the Apostles Days began this new Kind of Ordination of Presbyters or Elders, not Bishops, the Apostles ordained none such; who then? And by what Authority was this new Order set up? The Scripture mentions it not; when and by whom came it in? A very bold Undertaking without Scripture or Apostolical Practice.

I will not boast my Conceit as *Petavius* doth his; only I wish the Reader to consider which is most practical, most rational, or rather most scriptural, thereon I frame this whole Fabrick as the Rock and only sure Foundation; human Brain is too weak to erect and to support the Fabrick of the Church of God, which the *Romanists* have made a very *Babel* with their human Inventions and multiplied Characters and Orders; some of them would have nine several Holy Orders in God's Church militant here on Earth, because there are nine several Orders of Cœlestial Spirits in the Church triumphant in Heaven. This is a Castle of their own building in the Air, a rare Foundation for God's Church. Others will have seven several Orders and Characters as seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Hath the Holy Ghost then but seven several Gifts to confer on Men? St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xii. counts unto us nine; not as if these were all, but only

only for Example Sake, to ſhew us that many and divers Gifts are conferred on us by one and the ſame Spirit; and in the Concluſion of the ſame Chapter he mentions eight. Theſe Things were uttered accidentally according to the Occaſion, not as limitting the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt to any ſet Number. But if you will farther look into their Application of theſe Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſee to what Kind of ſeveral Orders they appropriate them, it would make a Man amazed to ſee ſober learned Men, even that great Wit and Scholar *Aquinas*, diſcourſe in ſuch wild Manner; as did you but ſtand behind a Curtain to hear and not ſee them, you doubtleſs would conclude you heard ſome old Woman in the Nurſery telling her Dreams to Children, rather than divine Doctors in School. I will name but one or two of their Orders. The Porter of the Church Door is one, and (he forſooth) hath a ſacred Character imprinted on his Soul, and his Gift is *the diſcerning of Spirits*, that he may judge who are fit to enter into God's Church, who to be ſhut out. Another of their Orders is that of *Acolothi*, who are now (anciently they were quite another Thing) certain Boys carrying Torches, and attending on the Biſhop ſaying Maſs; theſe have their Character alſo, and their Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, is the *Interpretation of Tongues*; ſignified (no Doubt on't) by the Light in their Hands, but underſtand no more of Tongues than the Stick of their Torch. I will not weary you with more of their Abſurdities.

Our epiſcopal Divines rejecting theſe chimerical Fancies of Orders and Characters, ſuppoſe it to be a certain Faculty and Power confered by the laying on of Hands for the Exerciſe of miniſterial Duties; and according to this Purpoſe the ſuperior Order contains the inferior, as the greater Power contains in it the leſs: Thus *Epiſcopacy* being the ſuperior Order, contains in it Prieſthood and Deaconſhip, theſe three are their ſuppoſed diſtinct Orders. They may ſuppoſe this if they pleaſe, and I may ſuppoſe the contrary: But I would gladly know on what Scripture they ground this Diſcourſe, that's the Thing I ſtill require; and there we find no larger Faculty or Power given to *Biſhops*, but rather to *Preſbyters*, as I have ſhewed, the Apoſtles who had the greateſt Power being ſtiled *Preſbyters*, not *Biſhops*. And when our *Biſhops* do ordain *Preſbyters*, do not they uſe the very ſame Form of Words which our Saviour uſed when he ordained the Apoſtles? *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt: Whoſe Sins ye forgive, they are forgiven*, &c. Do they not then by the ſame Words confer the ſame Power? (for I hope they uſe no Equivocation, nor mental Reſervation) if the Power be the ſame, the Order is the ſame by their own Rule. Again, let us examine their own Practice; Do they not require a Man ſhould be ordained firſt Deacon, before he be ordained Prieſt, and Prieſt before Biſhop? What needs this, if the Superior contains the Inferior. But in Scripture we find it otherwiſe, *Timothy* who long officiated under St. *Paul* as a *Preſbyter*, when he was left at *Epheſus*, and ſo when *Titus* was left at *Crete*, both to be Biſhops, we find no new Ordination; were this requiſite, ſure the Scripture would have given us at leaſt ſome Hint of it, but not one Tittle there. But if the Scripture be defective in Expreſſions, you will ſupply it by the Expreſſions and Practice of the Church in the firſt ſucceeding Ages.

Before you go on and take much Pains to ſhew me this, give me leave to tell you, that I ſhall not eaſily recede from Scripture in Fundamentals, either of Faith

Faith or Church-discipline, in Things indifferent of themselves, or in more weighty Matters very doubtfully expres'd in Scripture, I shall always most readily submit to the Interpretation of the primitive and universal Church, I require both primitive and universal; for I shewed before, that in Matters of Faith there were some Errors very primitive, yet not continued by the universal Church, but rejected in succeeding Ages. And at the Time of the evangelical Reformation by *Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Calvin*, &c. I can shew some Errors generally received in most, if not in all the Churches of Christendom, but neither approved nor known by the primitive Church: Wherefore I require what you produce, should be both primitive and universal, and this to interpret some Place of Scripture doubtful in itself, not plain. Now as to the Business in Hand, I cannot yield, that the Scripture is very doubtful in it, or scarce doubtful at all; for though in Scripture it is not *in terminis* said, *Presbytery* and *Episcopacy* are both one and the same Order, yet the same circumstantial Expressions are (as I have shewed) so strong and many, that they are equivalent to a clear Expression *in terminis*. Secondly, This is not a Matter of any Indifferency, but of vast and dangerous Consequence, if mistaken, That a Church without such Bishops as you require cannot be truly called a Church, and so we shall exclude many godly reformed Churches: For if Bishops be of such a superior distinct Order as you pretend, if the Power of Ordination be inherent in them only, then where no Bishop, no true Priests ordained, where no Priests no Sacraments, where no Sacraments no Church. Wherefore I humbly beseech you be not too positive in this Point, lest thereby you do not only condemn all the reformed Churches, but the Scripture and St. *Paul* also; who tells us, That the Scripture is sufficient to make us wise unto Salvation, both in Matters of Faith and Works also, to instruct and thoroughly furnish us to every good Work: And will any deny this of Ordination to be both a good and necessary Work, seeing that the powerful preaching the Word and Administration of the Sacraments depend upon it. Wherefore I dare not by any Means suspect the Scripture defective in this weighty Affair. Yet to shew you our Willingness to hear all Things; let us hear what you can tell us from Antiquity.

The first you bring is *Epiphanius*, three hundred Years after the Apostles, from whom the main Objection is drawn against the Identity of Order, and shot as a Cannon Ball against us beyond all possible Resistance, but you will find it to be a meer Tennis-ball. *Epiphanius* making a Catalogue of Hereticks puts in *Ærius* for one, who was an *Arian*, and moreover held that *Bishops* and *Priests* were all of one Order, and of equal Dignity and Authority, and that a *Presbyter* had Power to ordain, confirm, and in short, to act any Thing equal with a Bishop. That he was an Heretick is apparent, being an *Arian*; nay, I shall not scruple to yield unto you that he was an Heretick in this his Assertion concerning *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, (as we now understand them;) I say, the Assertion contains Heresy in one Part but not in every Part, *viz.* That the Bishop and other Presbyters are of equal Authority and Power to act: This may, in some Sense, be called Heresy, for it is against apostolical Constitution declared in Scripture, therefore an Heresy; and if you can shew me from Scripture as much against Identity of Order, I shall brand him for an Heretick in that also;

but being ſure there is no ſuch Thing in Scripture, there can be no Hereſy in affirming the Identity. I fully agree with *Tertullian*, we can make no Judgment, *de rebus fidei, niſi ex literis fidei*, of Matters of Faith, but from the Writings of Faith, that is, the Scripture, and therefore I ſhall never be pulled from this Pillar of Truth. The Scripture is our compleat Rule of Faith, no Opinion is heretical and damnable which is not againſt that. Now, *Good Reader*, I pray take Notice that *Epiphanius* was a very godly Biſhop in the main, but yet a very cholerick Man, as appears in that his fierce Conteſt with *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and his bitter Expreſſions therein, which I do not mention in Diſparagement of this holy Man, but only give the *Reader* a Caution to remember, that paſſionate Men do ſometimes cenſure more ſeverely than there is Cauſe: *Epiphanius* being a Biſhop, and finding the Authority and Dignity of *Epiſcopacy* much diſparaged by *Ærius* being an *Arian* Heretick, falls upon him ſharply for this his Opinion alſo, wherein he was in Part much to be condemned, as I freely confeſs'd before, but not in the very Point now in Queſtion; nor doth *Epiphanius* himſelf condemn him in this Particular as an Heretick, but only in the groſs, to which I freely give my Vote. But you will tell me, that a Man of a far milder Temper, St. *Auſtin*, doth alſo enrol *Ærius* among Hereticks. I know it well, but I deſire you to know that St. *Auſtin* doth not lay this to his Charge as an Hereſy, for he ſaith only thus: *Ærius alſo was an Heretick, for he fell into the Arian Hereſy, and he added ſome Opinions of his own*; then St. *Auſtin* recounts ſeveral of his Opinions, whereof this was one, That he affirmed there was no Difference between a *Biſhop* and a *Presbyter*; where I pray you obſerve, St. *Auſtin* gives us the Reaſon why he ranks him with Hereticks, *viz.* becauſe he fell into the *Arian* Hereſy; then follows; And he added ſome Opinions of his own: St. *Auſtin* calls theſe Opinions not Hereſies, for he doth not ſay he added more Hereſies of his own. Secondly, I pray you obſerve, St. *Auſtin* makes no mention of his affirming the Identity of Order, but only this, That there was no Difference at all between *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, wherein I will condemn *Ærius* as well as you. But as for the Identity of Order, 'tis well known that St. *Auſtin* is noted by *Medina*, a Papiſt Writer, and others, to incline to this Opinion; but for my Part, I think the Words quoted from St. *Auſtin* do not expreſs any Opinion one Way or other to this Purpoſe, but are only a Compliment to St. *Hierom*, who was but a Preſbyter; yet in Humility St. *Auſtin* being a Biſhop, acknowledges him to be his Superior in many Things. But I deſire you to take Notice of another very remarkable and moſt worthy Paſſage of St. *Auſtin*; who tells us plainly that we are not to read him, or any other Author, ever ſo holy, or ever ſo learned, with any Obligation to ſubmit to his or their Opinions, unleſs they prove their Opinions by Scripture, or convincing Reaſons. So then, had *Ærius* been declared both by *Epiphanius* and St. *Auſtin* alſo, to have been a Heretick in this very Particular of Identity of Order, yet they bringing neither Scripture nor any Reaſon at all, but merely a bare Narrative of *Ærius* and his Opinions, not ſo much as calling his Opinion in this Particular, Hereſy, much leſs offering Proofs for it; by St. *Auſtin*'s Rule we may, with great Civility to them and great Confidence in the Truth, ſtill affirm the Identity of Order.

But how will I answer that Objection taken out of St. *Hierom*, who, say you, was as great a Leveller of Bishops with Priests as any (and therefore whatever comes from him, you may be sure is extracted from him by the Powerfulness of undeniable Truth) yet he confesses that Bishops have the Authority of Ordination more than Presbyters. A Man may smile to see this used as an Argument for the Pre-eminency of Bishops, which is directly against it: For St. *Hierom* having discours'd of the Quality and Identity of Presbyters and Bishops, and having brought many Arguments from Scripture to prove that Bishop and Presbyter was only two Names for one and the same Office; for a further Confirmation hereof asks this Question, I pray what doth a Bishop do more than a Presbyter except Ordination? Plainly intimating thereby, that this could make no such Distinction of Eminency in them above Presbyters: I beseech you consider, Do not Presbyters perform Offices of a higher Nature than Ordination? Presbyters are ordained Embassadors for Christ, to preach his holy Gospel for the Salvation of Souls; they are under Christ, Mediators between God and the People to make Intercession for them; they administer the Sacrament of Baptism, wherein the Children of Wrath are regenerated and made the Children of God, and Heirs of eternal Life; yea, they administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper also, the most transcendent Act of Religion and Christian Dignity, whereby we are made Partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ: And what doth a Bishop more than these except Ordination? Which being no Sacrament, sure is inferior in Dignity to the other mentioned Acts, and therefore cannot elevate them to a higher Degree. Judge now, I beseech you, whether this Question makes *pro* or *con:* Are not such Questions always tending to Disparagement? When any Man is boasting his Power and Authority, should I come and ask, What can you do more than others, unless it be in this or that poor Business not worth speaking of? Would he not take this as an Affront? Wherefore it cannot enter into my Head, that St. *Hierom* intended by this Question to express any superior Order above the *Priesthood*, but plainly the contrary, *viz.* That Bishops having no other Power distinct from Priests but Ordination, this could be no Argument for a distinct and superior Order. And now I desire my *Reader*, if he understand Latin, to view the Epistle of St. *Hierom* to *Evagrius*, and doubtless he will wonder to see Men have the Confidence to quote any Thing out of it for the Distinction between *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, for the whole Epistle is to shew the Identity of them. Before I chanced to read this Epistle, I was of the erroneous Opinion, that Bishops were a distinct Order, but so convinc'd by this Epistle, as I was forced to submit to a Change: And I farther desire my *Reader* to observe the various Fate of St. *Hierom* and *Ærius: Ærius* is reviled as an Heretick for affirming this Identity of Order; *Hierom* passes for a Saint, and a great Doctor of the Church, though he affirms the very same as fully as *Ærius*, or any Man can do; and therefore it may be my Fate to be reviled as *Ærius* was; but our Saviour bids us rejoice and be exceeding glad when we are reviled for his *Name's Sake*, (or for his Word's Sake, sure all is one) for great is our Reward; and so I proceed.

But there lies yet a great Objection made by our good Bishop *Hall*; he tells how that *Calluthus* a *Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, took upon him to ordain others; and

and that afterwards, in a Council of a Hundred Biſhops in *Egypt*, their Ordination was declared null, becauſe ordained by a *Presbyter*: From this and ſome other ſuch Inſtances, the Biſhop would prove that the Order of *Presbyters* is not capable to ordain, therefore Biſhops are a diſtinct Order. I am ſorry ſo good a Man had no better a Proof for his intended Purpoſe. It ſeems he quite forgot how that the famous Council of *Nice*, conſiſting of above three Hundred, made a Canon, wherein they declare, that if any Biſhop ſhould ordain any of the Clergy belonging to another Biſhop's Dioceſe, without Conſent and Leave had of that Biſhop to whoſe Dioceſe they did belong, their Ordination ſhould be null. You ſee then the irregular Ordination of a *Biſhop* is as null, as the irregular Ordination of a *Presbyter*; therefore the irregular Biſhop, and the irregular *Presbyter* are of the ſame Order, of the ſame Authority, neither able to ordain. Is it not moſt evident by this, that 'tis not their Order but Commiſſion that makes them capable to ordain; ſure an irregular Biſhop is of the ſame Order with the regular: Is the Line of his Dioceſe like a Conjurer's Circle, within it he is a Biſhop, without it he is none. No, but within it he hath Commiſſion given him to ordain, without it no Commiſſion, no nor to act in his own Dioceſe beyond his Commiſſion, which is to ordain only the Clergy of his own Dioceſe, and within his own Dioceſe. Can any thing be plainer? *Calluthus* then being but a *Presbyter*, and under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Alexandria*; his taking upon him to ordain *Presbyters*, was highly irregular and inſolent, and therefore moſt juſtly declared null. I deſire the Papiſtical School-Divines, with their manifold indelible Characters to obſerve here, how eaſily the Councils daſh'd out the indelible Character of *Presbyter* imprinted on the Souls of theſe Men irregularly ordained, they made a clear Raſure, not one Tittle of it left. And could they ſo eaſily cancel the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt? I leave my School-men to find out how this rare Feat was done. And I proceed to add a Canon taken from a Council at *Antioch* concerning *Chorepiſcopi*, much to our Purpoſe.

When the Apoſtles had ſettled Biſhops in every City, with Authority of ordaining and governing the ſeveral Churches or Congregations within the Circuits of thoſe Cities; ſome were very large, and therefore in Proceſs of Time, when more were converted to the Faith, and the Congregations encreaſed more in Number, and at greater Diſtance than the Biſhop himſelf could well have the Overſight of; the Biſhop choſe ſome principal Men for his Aſſiſtance; and dividing a great Circuit into ſeveral leſſer Circuits, placed theſe Men as Overſeers under him; and theſe were called *Chorepiſcopi*, that is, Country Biſhops, and were much after the Manner of our Rural Deans. Thoſe *Chorepiſcopi*, Country Biſhops, being thus ſettled in Authority to govern the Paſtoral Prieſts in their Circuits, took upon them to ordain more Prieſts than Occaſion required, which the Chief Biſhops took very ill at their Hands, as a great Leſſening to their ſupreme Authority. And to prevent it for the future, a Canon was made in the Council of *Antioch*, about the Year 340, to forbid theſe Country Biſhops to ordain any Prieſts. Now I pray you obſerve, theſe *Chorepiſcopi* were either really ordained in the Order of the chief Biſhop, or not; if they were as full Biſhops as he, (as really they were) why might they not ordain Prieſts as well as he? The chief Biſhop anſwers, Becauſe he gave them no Commiſſion. Whereby you ſee that the Power of ordaining Prieſts was annexed no more

to Bishops than to Priests, unless the Bishops received a new Commission to ordain, as well as a new Ordination. If it be answered, that these *Chorepiscopi* were mere Priests sent forth to have Inspection only over other Priests; then I pray observe, that these *Chorepiscopi* being mere Priests, took upon them to ordain other Priests; which certainly had been Madness for them to do, had they then such a Belief of Bishops as is now required. They might as well have undertaken to create Stars in the Heavens: For if Bishops only have received a divine Power from Christ and his Apostles to ordain Priests, he that hath not this divine Power of Ordination, can no more ordain a Priest, than a Man without the divine Power of Creation can create a Star, both are impossible in Nature: from whence it must follow, that these Country Bishops were directly mad in undertaking to ordain Priests, having received no such divine Power from Christ, his Apostles, or their Successors: But if we take these Country Bishops for sober godly Persons in their right Wits (as doubtless they were, being selected for that Office) they must needs believe that being Priests alone, they had Power to ordain other Priests; and also believed, that the Bishops having made them Overseers and Governors in their little Circuits, they had also received thereby Commission to ordain as well as to govern, and were as little Bishops under an Arch-bishop, for such really they were; so that I can't in Charity censure them so much as of Contumacy in taking upon them more than (they ought at least) they had Commission to act: I doubt not the chief Bishop would be wary enough not to employ any contumacious Persons. I conclude then, first, that it was only a mere Mistake, an easy and pardonable Mistake of their Commission. Secondly, that in those Times it was not thought an impossible Thing for bare Priests, no Bishops, to ordain other Priests, for then certainly they would never have undertaken it. And I confess myself of their Opinion; and can't but so continue till I see more Reason to the contrary.

And I hope my Reader will see what weak Proofs are brought for this Distinction and Superiority of Order, no Scripture, no primitive General Council, no general Consent of primitive Doctors and Fathers, no not one primitive Father of Note speaking particularly and home to our Purpose. Only a Touch of *Epiphanius* and St. *Austin* upon *Ærius* the *Arian* Heretick, but not declared, no not by them, an Heretick in this Particular of *Episcopacy*; so that I myself declare more particularly against him than these Fathers do, accusing him of Heresy in Part of his Affirmation concerning Bishops, though not in every Part.

I shall conclude this Business by giving my poor Judgment drawn from the preceding Arguments. I find in Scripture that the Priesthood is a holy Order, into which no Man is to thrust himself unless he be called; I do not find that Deaconship hath an inferior Part in it, or *Episcopacy* above it, but that it is compleat and entire in it self, and that it may involve many Administrations in one and the same Order, and sometimes many in one and the same Person. St. *John* was an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, a Pastor, a Teacher, an Ordainer, (which we call Bishop) all these Gifts he had by one and the same Spirit, and in one and the same Priesthood. Christ himself was of this Order, *a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchizedeck*, that is, both King and Priest,

2 these

theſe were his Offices; he is called alſo the *Biſhop of our Souls:* Was this in Chriſt a diſtinct and ſuperior Office or Order of his Prieſthood, who will preſume to affirm this? And Chriſt told his Apoſtles, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*; Chriſt therefore made them alſo Kings and Prieſts, as St. *John* tells us, *Rev.* i. Our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this World, no more was that of the Apoſtles; Our Saviour's Office of Prieſt and Biſhop was one and the ſame, ſo was that of the Apoſtles; and they ordained and ſent others, as Chriſt ordained and ſent them; there was no Diſtinction or Diverſity of Order in Chriſt and his Apoſtles, no more was there in thoſe, who were ordained and ſent by the Apoſtles, though there might be Diverſity of Gifts or Adminiſtrations; all were not Evangeliſts nor Prophets, ſome had the Gift of Tongues, ſome of Propheſy, ſome of Miracles, ſome of diſcerning Spirits; and ſome ſuch Gift I conceive they might have whom the Apoſtles conſtituted ſuperintendent Overſeers, Biſhops over the reſt, endued eſpecially with the Gift of Diſcerning and Judging of Men, and therefore fit to be entruſted with the ordaining of Others, for which there needed no new Order, but the Enlargement only of their Commiſſion to ordain, to overſee and govern thoſe that were ordained. And theſe, as I ſaid before, being ſettled in this eminent Manner over the reſt, were called by that Name in *Greek* which ſignifies as much, and which we in Engliſh call Biſhop; and by Degrees this Name was wholly appropriate to them. In this Order the Apoſtles left the Church at their Death, and in this Order their Succeſſors continued it (as in Duty ſure they ought) from time to time near one thouſand five Hundred Years, without any Interruption. Wherefore for any to alter this Way of Government, or to take upon them to ordain, not being choſen this Way to it, they would be guilty of great Raſhneſs and high Preſumption; and I thank God, I am as zealous for the preſerving this primitive Way, as any Man; yet I cannot by any Means conſent to them, who would have *Epiſcopacy* to be a diſtinct Order, for the Reaſons before given; nor can I think the Ordination of a Prieſt made by Prieſts invalid, for though it ought not to be done, (but only of Neceſſity) yet being done 'tis valid, and certainly may without any Crime be done by any Prieſt, by Shipwreck or any ſuch Chance caſt into a Country where there were none commiſſionated to ordain; in ſuch a Caſe he might and ought to ordain other fit Perſons for the Service of God, and preaching of the Goſpel. For who can doubt but that the Subſtance is to be preferr'd before Ceremony? And as St. *Paul* approved of the preaching of Chriſt out of Envy rather than no preaching; ſo doubtleſs to ordain out of Order is better than no Ordination, and the Church of Chriſt be deprived of Preaching, Praying, and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, and all other Paſtoral Duties; ſo great Neceſſity may well excuſe any Irregularity: Yet where Order can poſſibly be obſerved, it ought to be, for God is *the God of Order:* Wherefore he that wilfully tranſgreſſes againſt Order, tranſgreſſes againſt God, and ſhall *receive to himſelf Damnation:* for if to reſiſt the Ordinance of Man only in human and temporal Things be Damnation, much more is it, to reſiſt an apoſtolick Ordinance in Things Spiritual and Divine.

Concerning

Concerning DEACONS.

HAving thus ſtated and united the two pretended diſtinct Orders of Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery, I now proceed to the third pretended ſpiritual Order, that of Deaconſhip. Whether this of Deaconſhip be properly to be called an Order or an Office, I will not diſpute; but certainly no ſpiritual Order, for their Office was to ſerve Tables, as the Scripture phraſes it, which in plain *Engliſh* is nothing elſe but Overſeers of the Poor, to diſtribute juſtly and diſcreetly the Alms of the Faithful; which the Apoſtles would not trouble themſelves withal, leſt it ſhould hinder them in the Miniſtration of the Word and Prayer. But as moſt Matters of this World in Proceſs of Time deflect much from the original Conſtitution, ſo it fell out in this Buſineſs; for the Biſhops, who pretended to be Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, by little and little took to themſelves the Diſpenſation of Alms, firſt by Way of Inſpection over the Deacons, but at length the total Management, and the Deacons, who were mere Lay-Officers, by Degrees crept into the Church-Miniſtration, and became a reputed ſpiritual Order, and a neceſſary Degree and Step to the Prieſthood, of which I can find nothing in Scripture and the original Inſtitution, not a Word relating to any Thing but the ordering of Alms for the Poor. And the firſt I find of their officiating in ſpiritual Matters, is in *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived in the ſecond Century, he relates, that when the Biſhop had conſecrated the Bread and Wine for the Lord's Supper, the Deacons took it from him, and delivered it to the Lay-Communicants there preſent, and carried it alſo to the Faithful that were abſent, hindered, I gueſs, from coming by Sickneſs, or ſome other good excuſing Cauſe. In the Beginning when the Congregations of the Faithful were ſmall, the Biſhop himſelf delivered the Communion to them, but at length encreaſing to great Numbers, it would have taken too much of their Time for the Biſhop to have delivered it to the whole Congregation; ſo the Deacons were made uſe of as fit Perſons for this Matter; for in thoſe Days there was always a Communion in the Aſſemblies on the Lord's-Day, and the Laity that Day brought their Alms and Preſents with them, which were delivered unto the Deacons to diſpoſe of to the Poor by the Biſhop's Direction, and therefore the Deacons receiving from their Hands their charitable Benevolence, were thought the fitteſt to return again to their Hands the conſecrated Myſteries being Part of their Offerings. But 'tis evident this was not yet come to be the general Practice of all Churches, but only in *Greece* where *Juſtin Martyr* lived; for *Tertullian* who lived in *Africk* ſome Years after *Juſtin* declares, that the Cuſtom there was, to receive the bleſſed Sacrament from the Hands of the Biſhop only, whom he calls the Preſident, that is, whoſoever was Chief in the Aſſembly whether Biſhop or Preſbyter: But yet I confeſs that this Cuſtom of the Deacons delivering the bleſſed Sacrament, or at leaſt one Part of it, *viz.* The Chalice, by Degrees became the Cuſtom in moſt Churches in after Ages; and ſo paſſing from one Thing to another in Time they came to adminiſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and at laſt to the Miniſtration of the Word, the Buſineſs which the Apoſtles peculiarly reſerved to themſelves, and which the Biſhops

alſo

alſo for a long Time reſerved ſo entirely to themſelves, as it was thought a great Inſolence for any, even for the Preſbyters, to take upon them to preach in Preſence of the Biſhop. *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo* (as *Poſſidius* relates) was ſharply rebuked by his Fellow Biſhops for ſuffering St. *Auſtin*, then but a Preſbyter, to preach before him. I know ſometimes it was ſuffered alſo in other Churches, but very rarely, where the Biſhop himſelf was of weak Abilities for the Work, and had ſome *Presbyters*, under him very eminent. And ſo it was with Biſhop *Valerius* and St. *Auſtin*, a Perſon of great Note in thoſe Days. And thus you ſee in Proceſs of Time how ſtrangely Things alter from their original Inſtitution, the *Biſhops* omit Preaching, and become Servants of Tables, and the Deacons from ſerving of Tables ſtep up into the Pulpit and became Preachers. But *Petavius* takes upon him to prove Deaconſhip a ſpiritual Order, and brings us a more early Author for it than *Juſtin*, that noble *Martyr* mentioned before *Ignatius*; who in his Epiſtle *ad Tralli*, calls Deacons (as *Petavius* conceives) Miniſters of the Myſteries of Chriſt. Here I find that, which I often lament, learned Men to go on in a Track one after another, and ſome through Inadvertency, ſome through Partiality, take many Paſſages of antient Authors quite different from their Meaning, as here, all following the firſt erroneous Interpreter of *Ignatius*. Whoever firſt tranſlated this Epiſtle of *Ignatius*, ſure this Fancy of Deacons ran much in his Head, otherwiſe he could never have found them here, for 'tis evident the Word *Diaconus* in this Place relates to the Preſbytery newly before mentioned, telling the People they ought to be obedient to the Preſbyters as to the Apoſtles of Chriſt; (then follows) *You muſt therefore pleaſe them in all Things, being Miniſters in the Myſteries of Chriſt.* Mark I beſeech you, *You muſt therefore*; is not *Therefore* a Particle relating to what went before, *viz.* to the Preſbyters, otherwiſe the Speech is very abſurd. Should I ſay, Preſbyters are as the Apoſtles of Chriſt, therefore you muſt in all Things pleaſe the Deacons, were it Senſe? No, but juſt, *Deus in cælo, ergo baculus in angulo*; but to ſay the Preſbyters are as the Apoſtles, therefore you muſt pleaſe them in all Things, being the Miniſters of the Myſteries of Chriſt, as the Apoſtles were; this is very good coherent Senſe: And ſo run the Words of *Ignatius*; but the weak Interpreter miſtaking the Word *Diaconus*, ran into this Error, and many learned Men without any Conſideration have run after him. I grant the word *Diaconus* is often ſet for Deacons ſpecifically diſtinguiſh'd from Preſbyters; but 'tis very often ſet for all Miniſters in general, Apoſtles, Biſhops, Preſbyters, as you find frequently in Scripture. St. *Paul* in one Epiſtle, *viz.* the 2d. *Cor.* twice ſtiles himſelf and other Apoſtles *Diaconous*. And I do the more wonder at the Interpreter's Miſtake in this Place, becauſe by the following Words *Ignatius* here excludes the ſpecifical Deacons, ſaying, *Not the Miniſters of Meats and Drinks*. Now we know the ſpecifical Deacons were Miniſters of Meats and Drinks to the Poor, it was their proper Work, for this very End they were choſen, and for no other, as appears evidently in the *Acts*; and therefore *Ignatius* ſaying, *Not the Miniſters of Meats and Drinks*, directly excludes ſuch Deacons, and the Word *Diaconus* muſt neceſſarily be taken in the larger Senſe, and relate to the Preſbyters before mentioned, therefore pleaſe them in all Things being the Miniſters of the Myſteries of Chriſt, not of Meats and Drinks for the Poor. Whoever underſtands the *Greek* and will ſee, muſt needs ſee the Truth of what I affirm. But *Petavius* intoxicated with this

ſpiritual

ſpiritual Order of Deaconſhip, turns all this round quite another Way, according to the Working of his Fancy. And ſo he doth ſome Places of Scripture as little to his Purpoſe as this. He tells us out of the *Acts*, that *Philip* and *Stephen*, both Deacons, were Preachers of the Word, that is a ſpiritual Work, therefore belongs to a ſpiritual Order. I would gladly know who informed *Petavius*, that *Philip* who preach'd to the Eunuch, and afterwards went about preaching to others, was *Philip* the Deacon, and not rather *Philip* the Apoſtle, as ſeems to me far more probable; for *Philip* the Deacon was by his Office to reſide at *Jeruſalem* and take Care of the Poor; thither the Alms of the Faithful were ſent to relieve the Saints at *Jeruſalem*. But you farther urge, Surely *Stephen* was a Deacon; and let *Philip* alſo if you pleaſe, it ſignifies little to the Purpoſe. Sure, I can ſhew out of Scripture Preachers that were in no ſpiritual Order, neither Preſbyters, nor Deacons neither, as *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* his Wife too, and *Apollo* likewiſe, to whom they both preached and inſtructed him more fully; ſure they did not ordain *Apollo* a Deacon, nor can I believe any of the Apoſtles ordain'd him Deacon, and ſent him forth to preach before he was well catechiſed in the Word, he was not ſo much as baptized in Chriſt, but knew only the Baptiſm of *John*; if not baptized, ſurely not ordained Deacon, yet he prevailed and mightily convinced the *Jews*. It is in Reaſon ſtrange, though in Practice common, to ſee how Men wedded to an Opinion, think whatever they read ſpeaks to that, ſo Fathers, Doctors, all clink as they think. In the primitive Time all both Men and Women did preach the Goſpel, taken in a large Senſe, as St. *Peter* calls *Noah a Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, that is, they endeavoured to inſtruct all they converſed with, in the Faith of Chriſt and Godlineſs, for which many both Men and Women ſuffered Martyrdom. Wherefore though *Philip* the Deacon and *Stephen* preach the Goſpel, it ſignifies nothing to the Spirituality of the Deaconſhip, ſeeing that thouſands of Lay-men and Women alſo did the like. And ſo the Apoſtles laying their Hands on thoſe choſen to be Deacons, ſignifies as little to this Purpoſe. Do not we find that *Paul* laid his Hands on the converted Diſciples at *Epheſus*, and they received the Holy Ghoſt, and propheſied, yet none of them ordained either Preſbyter or Deacon. And ſometimes the Apoſtles laid their Hands on thoſe that were already ordained, both Preſbyters and Apoſtles alſo, as on *Barnabas* and *Paul*, when they were ſent forth to preach. This laying on Hands was a Ceremony uſed on ſeveral Occaſions, I need not mention more, they are obvious to any that read the Scripture. 'Tis evident then from Scripture, that the firſt Inſtitution of Deacons was a mere Lay-Office, I will not ſay a prophane Office (as ſome toogroſly and irreverently have termed it) but a pious and honourable Office in the Church of God, to ſerve Tables, to take Care of God's Poor; but (as I have ſhewed) in proceſs of Time it became quite another thing, and ſo different from the original Inſtitution, as it made *Chryſoſtom*, and divers other great and good Men, doubt whether the Apoſtles did not conſtitute two ſorts of Deacons, ſome for this Lay-Office, ſome for Spiritual-Offices: Had *Chryſoſtom* conſulted only Scripture, he would never have doubted, nor dream'd of two ſorts of Deacons, there being no mention at all but of one; but he ſeeing the Practice of the Church (which he was unwilling to condemn) ſo different from that one apoſtolical

poſtolical Inſtitution of Deacons; this ſo confounded the good Man that he knew not well what to make of it, and willing to piece Scripture and the preſent Practice together, to put a new Patch upon an old Garment, made the Rent the wider, rending the Deaconſhip in two Pieces, which of old was but one, only to ſerve Tables; which Office he that uſed well, purchaſed to himſelf a good Degree, a good Eſteem, and ſo it might be a Recommendation to the Degree of Prieſthood, though no neceſſary Step to it. And ſo we find that holy Deacon and moſt renowned Martyr St. *Lawrence*, was made a Prieſt, but continued afterwards in that ſame Office of Deacon unto Death, which he ſuffered in a moſt cruel Manner, laid on a Gridiron over Coals, rather than he would give up the Treaſury of the Church and Alms to the Poor, to the covetous cruel Tyrant. This holy Deacon *Petavius* brings to prove, that Deacons, by Virtue of that Order only, did miniſter in holy Things, telling us, that St. *Ambroſe* mentions how he did diſtribute in the Lord's Supper, the Blood of Chriſt to the Communicants under Biſhop *Xiſtus*. Whereas St. *Ambroſe* tells us how he conſecrated the Blood of Chriſt, which plainly ſhews how untruly *Petavius* deals with us, and that St. *Lawrence* was a Prieſt, not a bare Deacon, for neither *Petavius*, nor ever any other allowed Deacons the Conſecration of theſe ſacred Myſteries. Wherefore ſeeing the Scripture allows Deacons, as Deacons, no more than ſerving of Tables for the Poor, whatever elſe Miniſtration is allowed them is by human Authority, not Divine, and their Office or Order, which you pleaſe to call it, being about temporal Things muſt be Temporal, not Spiritual. And ſo I leave them to their proper Office of ſerving Tables, not finding in Scripture any thing more belonging to them.

Concerning CONFIRMATION.

CONFIRMATION, or ſome ſuch Thing, is ſo neceſſary, that for want of due Execution thereof, Perſons extremely unfit are admitted to the holy Table of the Lord's Supper. I fear a Quarter of the Communicants of this Nation do not ſufficiently underſtand the true Meaning of theſe holy Myſteries, the due Preparation for them, the Benefits, the Damages, in worthily or unworthily receiving them: This I affirm upon Experience, having, by way of Diſcourſe, queſtioned many both of low and high Degree, where one would little expect ſuch Ignorance. And by reaſon of this groſs Ignorance in due preparing, and conſcientious receiving this bleſſed Cordial and Medicine of the Soul (of Power in itſelf to cure all our Diſeaſes if rightly applied) is turned into our Deſtruction, and Damnation of the Soul. For this holy Sacrament rightly apprehended, would ſtrike a Terror into the Soul and a Dread of Sin, but Men receiving it without any Regard into their ſinful Souls, the Beams of Grace which this Sun of Righteouſneſs brings with it, harden their dirty Hearts, and make them afterwards unſenſible of any horrid Abomination whatſoever. And all this is occaſioned by the Want of ſome fit Perſon of Authority, to examine Youth of all Degrees, ever ſo high or ever ſo low, before they are admitted to the Lord's Table. For there being many poor ignorant Curates, many unconſcientious careleſs Miniſters, many over-awed by the ſuperior Quality of their Pariſhioners, ſome cannot, ſome will not, ſome

dare not search into the requisite Abilities of Persons to be admitted. All which was prevented in the primitive Times of Christianity, when able and holy Bishops were elected, and therefore reverenced and obeyed in all spiritual Matters by the greatest as well as by the least. These diligently and publickly before the Congregation at set Times in the Year, chiefly at *Easter*, examined all those who had been converted to the Faith from Infidelity that Year, and all those, who baptized in the Faith, desired Admittance to the Lord's Table; and upon Approbation and Confirmation of the Bishop, fit Persons only were publickly baptized by him, and at the Church Door, as soon as Churches were built, where the Baptistry was placed, and then brought into the Church, and admitted to the Lord's Table: And no inferior Minister did either baptize, or administer the holy Communion, unless it were by the Bishop's Order on urgent Occasions. These Things are very well known to the Learned, who are conversant in *Ignatius*'s Epistles, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and other succeeding Writers. And in short, nothing was done of any Moment, as is plain in *Ignatius*, but by the Bishop's Directions. But at length the Number of Christians growing great, and Multitudes of Children daily born, and an Opinion growing up also, that it was absolutely necessary for the Salvation of Children, not only to be baptized, but also to receive the holy Communion before Death; it was impossible for the Bishop to be at Hand to perform all, or to give particular Order for all: Necessity forced every Priest in his Cure, to perform these Offices. Yet in Process of Time, the Opinion of the Necessity for Children to receive the holy Communion before Death, declining, and few or none admitted till the Age of Discretion, and the Necessity of Baptism for Children still continuing, the Bishops suffered still all Ministers to baptize, but resumed to themselves again the Power of confirming and licensing Youth to the holy Communion. And Bishops only for a long Time executing this Office, it grew by Degrees into an Opinion, that Bishops only were capable to do it, and that Confirmation was a Sacrament, and such a Sacrament as inferior Priests, supposed then also to be of an inferior Order, were not to meddle with. What Errors will Men, yea learned Men, carried along with a Crowd, slide into, not willing to stand in Opposition with a Multitude, especially when countenanced by the Bishop their Superior. And then succeeding learned Men having in their Infancy sucked in the Error, continue it in their riper learned Years, and endeavour to defend it as a certain Truth; and at last it passeth for an Article of Faith, necessary to be believed. Thus have I laid out before you the true State and Progress of this Business of Confirmation.

Now I pray consider first; Suppose Confirmation to be a Sacrament, and to be administred by the Bishop only, and none to be admitted to the Lord's Table till confirmed: How is it possible for a Bishop of so large a Diocese, as some of ours are (some extended three or fourscore Miles, many forty or fifty) personally to confirm half the Youth in a Diocese, if he duly examine each one, as is most fit and necessary. We see how this is performed in their Triennial Visitations; not a Quarter of those, who are admitted, ever come to the Bishop, and yet the Crowd is great: What is then done to those that come? They are asked by the Bishop, whether they believe, and will perform those Things their Godfathers and Godmothers affirmed and promised for them at

their Baptiſm? they anſwer, Yes, and ſo are confirmed: But what thoſe Things are, whether they underſtand and can give a good Account of thoſe Things, not a Word of this. Oh but the Curate, who preſents thoſe Children to the Biſhop, aſſures him that they are fully inſtructed for it; this is the Thing we complain of and deſire to be redreſſed; that it may not be left to the Diſcretion and Care of every Curate, ſeeing what pitiful Creatures are by them admitted. And do we not ſee ſometimes (the Curate deſiring to pleaſe the fond Mother) Children confirmed ſo young as cannot without a Miracle be of a Capacity to underſtand thoſe divine Myſteries? Beſides, it may often happen that a pious Child well fitted for the Holy Sacrament, and perchance being weak, earneſtly deſires it before his Death, yet muſt ſtay ſome Years 'till next Viſitation, or take a long Journey to the Biſhop, for which he may want Strength or Means to ſupport him. But in the primitive Times the Biſhops confirmed every Year; their Dioceſs alſo was very narrow, ſo that Acceſs to him was quick and eaſy, and the Work was as eaſy to the Biſhop, yea and eaſy alſo to their inferior Curate to inſtruct and prepare them; for Parents and Maſters did then according to their bounden Duty (the great Neglect whereof in theſe Days will find ſore Puniſhment at the laſt Day) made it their chief Care to inſtruct their Servants and Children from their Infancy in the Principles of Religion.

You ſee how impoſſible it is for a Biſhop in a large Dioceſs and Triennial Viſitation to perform this neceſſary Work as it ought, and therefore in the ſecond Place conſider, how neceſſary it is for the Biſhop to appoint ſome diſcreet conſciencious Miniſters (as our Dean Rurals ſhould be) in ſeveral Circuits to examine and licenſe to the Lord's Table: For I paſs it as granted that Confirmation is no Sacrament, and if it were, why may not Prieſts not Biſhops perform it? Certainly there is not one Word in Scripture forbidding it, or any colourable Pretence againſt it, nor can I diſcover the leaſt Ground of Reaſon to forbid it; inferior Miniſters performing other Offices ſuperior to it, and certainly equal to it, though it were a Sacrament, which our Church denies. There is nothing in the World can be pretended, but that in the Beginning Biſhops did only perform it. To this I anſwer, That from the very Beginning there were no other Prieſts but Biſhops, as I have ſhewed you, and then Biſhops did all other Miniſterial Duties, Preach, Pray, Baptize, Catechiſe; and in ſucceeding Ages, when there were ſeveral inferior Prieſts not Biſhops, all but Confirming was ever tranſmitted to them; and to Deacons alſo Preaching, Praying and Baptizing, nay Baptizing tolerated, in Neceſſity, to Midwives (I would gladly ſee any ſuch Thing in Antiquity) and ſhall Confirming, the meaneſt of all theſe, be denied Prieſts? You will tell me there have been Decrees in in ſome Councils to forbid it: And will you be bound up to all the Decrees of Councils, without Scripture or any Reaſon for them? If once we leave Scripture and hearken to the Doctrine of Men, ever ſo holy, ever ſo learned, ever ſo primitive, we ſhall ſoon be wheedled into the Papiſts Religion, and many other Errors, which the Papiſts themſelves now reject, as I have declared at large before, and therefore I forbear ſaying more now to this Purpoſe; but proceed to a third Conſideration, What will be the beſt Means to prepare Youth for the receiving the Holy Communion in every Cure, and then preſent them to ſuch as are appointed to licenſe them?

In the first Place, I humbly conceive it will be necessary to add unto the Catechism, a short and plain Paraphrase upon every Sentence in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and particularly to explain every unusual hard Word therein. For those general Questions at the End of them do not so sufficiently open the Understandings of the weaker or duller Youth, as that they know how to apply those generals to each particular Sentence; but many Youths who can most readily say the Catechism to a Title, yet understand many Words no more than if they were *Greek*, and scarce are able to give you the Meaning of any Sentence in their own Words: And although they have all perfectly by Heart, as we say, yet have very little in their Heads and Understandings; and so a Parrot may be well nigh as capable of the Lord's Supper, as some of those.

In the next Place I must tell you, that I fear as much Ministers of the best Parts as those of the meanest for this necessary Work of Catechizing, lest both have the same Effect, though they act extreamly different, the one talking None-sense, the other above Common-sense, both of them confounding the Brains of the poor Youths, who understand neither of them. I have heard some Learned Ministers call the Youth together, ask a few Catechism-questions, which the Boys answering readily are commended and dismissed: And then begins this learned Man a profound Lecture, shaped according to his own large Dimensions, at which both Boys and Men also for the most part gaze, as at a prodigious Monster of Learning; and perchance some of them say to themselves the same, that *Festus* said to St. *Paul*, *The Man is besides himself, much Learning hath made him mad.* Sure he doth not know where he is, not in an University-School of Divinity; but in an Assembly of weak and silly Youth (who must *be fed with Milk, and are not capable of strong Meat*) where it were better for him with St. *Paul, to speak five Words with his Understanding, that by his Voice he may teach others also, than ten Thousand Words in an unknown Tongue*, or in such *English* as they understand no more than an unknown Tongue. I humbly beseech these Men to attend to the Form and Phrase of the Gospel, and mark what kind of Matter and Languge the divine Oracle used in Preaching it, even to the learned Scribes and Pharisees, and to learn of him who was *lowly in Heart, and came not to seek his own Glory, but the Glory of Him that sent him.* I desire them also to read the latter End of the first Chapter of 1 *Cor.* and the Beginning of the second, and learn from thence to speak the Wisdom of God in the weak and foolish way of Preaching, to instruct and gain the weak and foolish, yet wise unto God. Really no Man that hath not made some Experience can believe, how strangely weak and dull Thousands both of Boys and Men also, are in apprehending spiritual Matters: So that a Man had need to study much, how to fit their weak Heads with a suitable Discourse, and hath as much need of great Patience also to repeat every Thing again and again, and even beat it into their Heads. I have observed, that *Plato*'s Manner of many short and plain Questions and Answers to effect much; and likewise familiar Similitudes from Things within their own Occupation and Knowledge. And now to encourage them to this toilsome Work, I beseech them to consider, that the Souls

of

of these weak simple Ones, cost our Saviour as dear, as those of the Philosophers, and therefore are as dear to him, yea it seems dearer, seeing St. *Paul* tells us in the Place before cited, that he calls more of them to Salvation; and therefore they ought to be as dear to our Saviour's Ministers, and to be chiefly called and sought by them; and then they shall be sure to have their Reward from this our lowly Saviour.

In the last Place, I conceive it necessary to consider, what Course may be taken to bring all to Catechising: For I have heard some pious Ministers much complain, that they have used their utmost Endeavours, yet cannot effect it; and it can never be expected, that many of the Youth will come, unless compelled by Parents and Masters; of whom many are so careless, many so covetous, as they think every Hour lost, which is not spent on their Worldly Affairs; so that the Parents and Masters need Compulsion as well as their Children and Servants. And considering how this necessary Work of Catechising hath been neglected for many Years past, it is much to be feared that the Aged need it as much as the Youth. But would Parents and Masters well consider the great Advantages that would accrue to them, even in their worldly Concerns, they would be very zealous to come themselves, and both see and hear their Youth catechized, and bred up in Piety and Godliness; the Want whereof hath bred that great Undutifulness in Children, that Sloth and Falseness of Servants, which we sadly behold in this degenerated Age. And let me mention once again the strict Account Parents and Masters must give to God for so great Neglect to those committed to their Charge. Wherefore unless some fitter Expedient can be found, I humbly conceive it would have some Effect, if such careless Parents and Masters were not admitted themselves to the Holy Communion, who were faulty in this Kind: For though many of them are not very zealous of the Holy Communion, could easily pass it by, yet for Reputation sake they would not easily incur the being rejected; and doubtless many of them would be moved thereby, and the Example of some would be followed by others, and so by Degrees the Number would encrease: And when Catechizing by this means begins to grow in Fashion, it would quickly be taken up by all. God be merciful to us, that Religion in many is chiefly for fashion sake! yet I hope by God's assisting Grace, Religion beginning though but in Fashion, would end at last in true Devotion, at least in many, if not in all. However it is good that God should publickly be glorified, the Publick would speed the better for it, though the private Hypocrites suffer Punishment in the End. God in his Mercy turn their Hearts that they may escape.

Of Church Government.

MY last Particular which remains yet to be handled, is that of the Authority of Bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And in the first Place, who can but wonder to see Men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole Power of Ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the Power of the Keys, that of Excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great Abuse in latter Times is made very contemptible, yet

in

in the original Inſtitution and primitive Practice was very terrible: A Power to deliver Men over unto Satan, that Prince of Darkneſs, to take full Poſſeſſion of their Souls, and ſometimes of their Bodies alſo, both being ſentenced thereby to the everlaſting Flames of Hell; and likewiſe a Power to releaſe penitent Souls from the Chains of Darkneſs, and Slavery of the Devil, and reſtore them to the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, whereby they are made Heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven. If there be any Thing under Heaven fit to ſtir up the Ambition of mortal Men, yea an Ambition in Angels themſelves, ſure this is it. Who can forgive Sins but God alone? ſaid the *Jews* to our Saviour Chriſt, ſwelling with Indignation againſt him for this, though they had ſeen many divine Miracles wrought by him, yet this is ſo peculiar, ſo tranſcendent a divine Act, as not to be offered at by any but the great God *Jehovah* himſelf. But bleſſed for ever be this great and gracious God, who by his eternal Son Chriſt Jeſus hath given this Power unto Men. As his heavenly Father ſent him with this Power, ſo ſent he his Apoſtles with this Power, ſaying unto them, *Whoſoever Sins ye remit they are remited unto them, and whoſoever Sins ye retain they are retained:* Wherefore if there be any Thing in the Office of a Biſhop to be ſtood upon and challenged peculiar to themſelves, certainly it ſhould be this; yet this is in a Manner quite relinquiſhed unto their Chancellors, Laymen, who have no more Capacity to ſentence or abſolve a Sinner, than to diſſolve the Heavens and Earth, and make a new Heaven and a new Earth, and this pretended Power of Chancellors is ſometimes purchaſed with a Sum of Mony, their Mony periſh with them. Good God! What a horrid Abuſe is this of the divine Authority! But this notorious Tranſgreſſion is excuſed, as they think, by this, that a Miniſter called the Biſhops Surrogate, but is indeed the Chancellor's Servant, choſen, call'd, and placed there by him, to be his Crier in the Court, no better, that when he hath examined, heard and ſentenced the Cauſe, then the Miniſter (forſooth) pronounces the Sentence. Juſt as a Rector of a Pariſh Church ſhould exclude any of his Congregation and lock him out of the Church, then comes the Clerk, ſhews and gingles the Keys, that all may take Notice that he is excluded. And by this his Authority the Chancellor takes upon him to ſentence not only Laymen, but Clergymen alſo brought into his Court for any Delinquency, and in the Court of the Arches there they ſentence even Biſhops themſelves. This is a common Practice in later Ages, but in St. *Ambroſe*'s Time ſo great a Wonder, as with Amazement crieth out againſt the Emperor *Valentinian*, when he took upon him to judge in ſuch Caſes, ſaying, *When was it ever heard of ſince the Beginning of the World, that Laymen ſhould judge of Spirituals*, (he means in ſpiritual Things, not in temporal Things, which by the Laws of God and Man belongs to the Lay-magiſtrate) This was that *Ambroſe*, of whom the other great Emperor, as good as great *Theodoſius*; Father to this *Valentinian* affirmed, *Ambroſe* only knew how to act the Biſhop, and with all Chriſtian Humility this great Emperor ſubmitted to the Sentence of this godly Biſhop, denying him Entrance into the Church for the Cruelty acted by his Soldiers at *Theſſalonica* by his Command; and upon his great Repentance and Pennance performed ſix Months together, and after publick Confeſſion in the Church, was again abſolved and joyfully received into the Church. Oh my great and reverend Fathers of the

Church

Church the Biſhops, whom Chriſt hath cleaved to his high Dignity, whom he hath made Kings and Princes, whom he hath called to ſit with him on his Throne, there to give Sentence of eternal Life or eternal Death, can you ſo tamely part with this prime Flower of your Crown, yea the very Apex of it, and ſuffer the Lay-Members of the Church to uſurp this divine Authority? Or how can you anſwer it to the chief Biſhop of our Souls, if any one Soul by the ill Management of the Chancellors ſhould certainly periſh? Shall not his Blood be required at your Hands? But perchance ſome of you will anſwer, 'tis no Fault of yours, but of your Predeceſſors, who gave ſuch Patents unto them, as by Virtue thereof they exerciſe this Power, will ye nill ye. 'Tis too true, and I remember when the Biſhop of *Wells*, hearing of a Cauſe corruptly managed, and coming into the Court to rectify it, the Chancellor Dr. *Duke* fairly and mannerly bid him be gone, for he had no Power there to act any Thing, and therewithall pulls out his Patent ſealed by the Biſhop's Predeceſſor, which like *Perſeus*'s Shield with the *Gorgon*'s Headfrighted the poor Biſhop out of the Court. Where are you Parliament-Men, you great Sons of the Church ſo zealous for Epiſcopal Government, yet ſuffer this principal Part of it to be thus alienated and uſurped by Lay-men? If an unordained Perſon take upon him to pray or preach, with what Outcries and ſevere Laws, and with great Reaſon alſo, you fall upon him; but if an unordained Perſon take upon him to judge, ſentence, and excomunicate Biſhops themſelves, you calmly paſs it over, take no Notice of it. You will anſwer me, the Biſhops themſelves paſs it over, yea and paſs it away from themſelves and their Succeſſors for to gratify their Kinſmen, or their Friends, or perchance for worſe, why then ſhould you ſtir in it? Truly in this you have Reaſon, and the Blame muſt wholly light on them, who do not uſe all poſſible Endeavour, and implore your Aſſiſtance alſo to rectify this great Abuſe, which ſubverts the main Pillar of the Church Government, this is no ceremonial Matter, but the very Subſtance of it, they ſtrain at Gnats and ſwallow Camels. For Chancellors to intermeddle in Probats of Wills, Payment of Tythes, or any other temporal Matters, there is no Scripture nor Reaſon to condemn, but rather to condemn, Biſhops, ſhould they interpoſe in ſuch Matters for which they have no Commiſſion from Scripture, but rather a Prohibition from that Saying of our Saviour, *Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider over you?* But then it will be neceſſary that Chancellors have alſo Power of temporal Puniſhments, and not prophane that high and holy Power in forbid earthly Things; certainly a greater Prophanation than to convert a Church into a Chandler's Shop; the Church is a Bulk of earthly Materials and holy only by Dedication; the Power of its Keys is in its Nature and original Conſtitution Spiritual and Divine: If *Uzza* being no *Levite* ſuffered Death for laying hold on the ſacred Ark of God to ſupport and hold it up, what ſhall he ſuffer who being no conſecrated Perſon lays hold on the ſacred Authority of God to pull it down from Heaven to Earth? Let them conſider.

But let not the Civilians for this account me an Enemy to their Profeſſion, which no Man honours more, and I heartily wiſh much more of our Civil Matters were committed to their Management and Judicature. The Civil Law is that whereby moſt of the civilized World is govern'd, and if we will have Commerce with them, 'tis fit we ſhould be able Civilians to deal with them,

which

which will never be unleſs they have profitable and honourable Places to encourage them for it; all that I beg of them is, that they would contain themſelves within their own Sphere of Activity, and not intrude into ſpiritual and ſacred Matters committed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles to the Prieſthood. And ſo I beg of Prieſts, that they would not intermeddle in lay and temporal Offices. In the Time of Popery, when ſpiritual and temporal Affairs were all intermingled and horribly confounded, as the Pope took upon him ſecular and imperial Authority, directly contrary to the Word and Conſtitutions of Chriſt, ſo the Biſhops and Prieſts under him intermeddled in all ſecular Affairs and Offices, and in this Nation Biſhops were frequently Lord Keepers, Treaſurers, Chief Juſtices, Vice-Roys, what not? which is ſtrangely unapoſtolical and unlawful, their Vocation being wholly Spiritual, as Men choſen out of the World, ſhould have no more to do with it, than of mere Neceſſity for Food and Raiment. Wherefore to take upon them any Lay-Office, which muſt needs take them off much from the Miniſtry of the Word and Prayer, is doubtleſs very ſinful: For *Acts* 6. we find the Apoſtles gave themſelves continually to theſe, and would not endure to have theſe interrupted by that charitable Office of taking Care for the Poor; certainly then they would have much leſs endured; yea, abominated to be taken off by temporal and wordly Offices. And on this Occaſion, let me ſpeak a Word to thoſe of the inferior Clergy, who take upon them to ſtudy and practice Phyſick for Hire, this muſt needs be likewiſe ſinful, as taking them off from their ſpiritual Employment; had they ſtudied Phyſick before they entered holy Orders, and would after make Uſe of their Skill among their poor Neighbours out of Charity; this were commendable, but being entered on a ſpiritual and paſtoral Charge, which requires the whole Man, and more to ſpend their Time in this, or any other Study not Spiritual, is contrary to their Vocation, and conſequently ſinful; and to do it for Gain is ſordid, and unworthy their high and holy Calling. But *Neceſſitas cogit ad turpia*, the Maintenance of many Miniſters is ſo ſmall, as it forces them even for Food and Raiment to ſeek it by other Employment, which may in ſome Meaſure excuſe them, but mightily condemn thoſe who ſhould provide better for them: Whether this belongs not to King and Parliament, I muſt humbly beſeech them in Chriſt's Name ſeriouſly to conſider: I crave Pardon for this (I hope uſeful) Digreſſion, and return to the Buſineſs of Excommunication.

This Sacred Authority of Excommunication being committed by Chriſt to the Apoſtles and by them to their Succeſſors, was uſed in weighty and very ſcandalous Matters, very few Examples of it in Scripture: The inceſtuous *Corinthian*, *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, ſcarce another clearly expreſt. The Apoſtles being fully guided by the Holy Ghoſt in all Things, did exerciſe this Power ſingly themſelves; but the ſucceeding Biſhops, having not the Spirit of that full Meaſure, uſed the Aſſiſtance of the principal Clergy in their Dioceſs, that the Act might be more ſolemn and authentick; the Perſon excommunicated, if he conceived the Act injurious, appealed to one or more neighbouring Biſhops, who aſſembled together, and diſcuſſing the Matter, either confirmed or reverſed the Act, as they found Cauſe: And ſometimes the Matter proceeded ſo far as to cauſe an Aſſembly of the whole Province. But each Biſhop,

or

or *Præpositus* (as St. *Cyprian* calls him, and declares, that he) was absolute in his own Dioceſs to exerciſe his Power, and none condemned for uſing it, but only for abuſing it contrary to Reaſon and Conſcience; theſe were the only Rules they proceeded by at firſt. Afterwards when Biſhops on this or other Occaſions met in Aſſemblies Provincial or General, they made divers Canons, which paſſed for Rules and Laws to govern the Church by, which doubtleſs are very good Helps to bridle the extravagant Paſſions of particular Men, very apt in this corrupt Age to prevaricate; yet I cannot conceive them ſo far obliging but new emergent Circumſtances may juſtly cauſe new and different Decrees; yet ſo, as every particular Biſhop is obliged for Peace ſake to ſubmit to, or at leaſt to acquieſce in the General Decree of that Nation where he lives. I ſaid, They are not bound entirely to ſubmit to the Decrees of former Councils, either Provincial or General; becauſe, as I have ſhewed before, all their Decrees are human, not divine; and all human Eccleſiaſtical Laws are alterable, according to the Time and Occaſions by other General Councils.

As to the Bounds of each Biſhop's Dioceſs, they were occaſioned ſeveral Ways: The Apoſtles, for the better ſpreading of the Goſpel, preach'd it firſt in the principal Cities, which generally had great Influence upon the adjacent Parts, by reaſon that the Occaſions of moſt call them thither; and in theſe Cities they ſettled the chief Paſtors of the Church, with Power to ordain Presbyters and Paſtors in other leſſer Cities and Towns round about, as the Congregations of the Faithful encreaſed; and all thoſe Churches that were erected, and Paſtors eſtabliſh'd in them by theſe Apoſtolick Men in the chief Cities (I humbly conceive in reverence of their Worth and Apoſtolick Authority) were freely obſervant and ſubject to them, which afterwards out of Cuſtom, grew into a kind of Right challenged by their Succeſſors. Sometimes the Authority of the Paſtor or Biſhop of a City was enlarged according to the temporal Authority of the ſame, it being the Metropolitan of this or that Country; for ſo we find in the Council of *Nice*, and other Councils, the chiefeſt and largeſt Authority given to the Biſhop of old *Rome*, becauſe it was the firſt Imperial City, to *Conſtantinople* as the ſecond Imperial City, to *Alexandria* as the chief City of that Part of *Africa*, to *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, *Phillippi*, &c. where you ſee that though *Jeruſalem* was the firſt City from whence the Goſpel iſſued forth, *Antioch* the ſecond City where the Goſpel was planted, and where the Faithful were firſt called Chriſtians; yet *Rome*, *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria* were preferred before them, and had far larger Juriſdiction; ſo that it is a meer human temporal Matter, and Men have no farther Obligation to it in Conſcience, than for Peace ſake and Order, which in like Manner obliges every Man to be ſubject to all Magiſtrates within their reſpective Juriſdictions.

There are yet two Things more to be conſidered in this Buſineſs. Firſt, Where the Apoſtles firſt planted the Goſpel in Cities with Authority over the adjacent Parts, it was in rich populous Countries, where Cities were much nearer together than in theſe *Northern* Parts, and the Circuit of each City was much leſs in Compaſs, ſo that the Biſhop might well have the Inſpection into all, and underſtand the Behaviour of each Paſtor under him, to admoniſh and chaſtiſe when there was Cauſe. Whereas with us, partly by great Diſtance of Cities, partly by the Favour of former Princes, ſeveral Towns being call into

one Dioceſs, they became ſo large, as 'tis impoſſible any one Biſhop ſhould have a ſufficient Inſpection into them. As I ſaid before of great Pariſhes ſo here of Dioceſſes, the Biſhop knows not the Names nor Faces of half, or a quarter of them, much leſs their Behaviour, he may have as well a Part of *France* in his Dioceſs to govern. And as for their Triennial and Circuity Viſitations, they ſignify juſt nothing as to this, 'tis a mere Money Buſineſs to pay Procurations to the Biſhop, Fees to Chancellors, Regiſters, &c. the Biſhop indeed uſually makes a Speech unto them, and a Sermon is preach'd by ſome one of them, wherein perchance good Admonitions are given; but what Knowledge can the Biſhop by this have of their Lives, or Doctrine, or Diligence? If he continue long there he may learn a few more Names and Faces, ſcarce any Thing more. I humbly conceive this ought to be redreſſed, and the Dioceſs brought into that Compaſs, that each Biſhop may be a Biſhop in Government, as well as in Title and Authority over them. But if the Dioceſſes be divided leſs, and Biſhops more encreaſe, where ſhall we have Maintenance for ſo many Biſhops, ſome having too little already? Whenever I ſhall ſee the Clergy of this Nation congregated by his Majeſty's Authority, reſolved in good Earneſt to reform and eſtabliſh all according to the holy Conſtitutions of the primitive Times, and come to this laſt mentioned, contracting the Bounds, and in Number encreaſing the Dioceſſes, and Biſhops for them, I'll undertake to propoſe Ways both rational and conſcientious of providing convenient Maintenance for all; but I deſire to be excuſed at preſent, leſt greedy Harpies make ill Uſe of my zealous Intentions.

And ſo I proceed to conſider a ſecond Abuſe in the Church Government, which is, Exempt Juriſdictions, a Thing altogether unknown to Antiquity, and brought in by Papal Tyranny. The Popes at the Height of their uſurped Dominion, taking upon themſelves to be the Head of the Chriſtian Churches, to be the Univerſal Biſhop thereof, and all other to be but their Curates, took then upon them alſo, among other Matters, to exempt from the Power of any their under Biſhops whomſoever they pleaſed. And out of Policy to have the more Creatures and Vaſſals immediately depending on them in every Kingdom and Nation, to ſtickle for them with Kings and Princes on all Occaſions, did for the moſt Part exempt all Monaſteries (who with their near Relations and Tenants made a great Part of the Kingdom) from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop; they exempted alſo ſeveral Deans and Chapters, ſeveral peculiar Chappels, ſeveral Arch-deaconries, and others, and ſome of theſe were endowed with Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction in their Precincts, wherein they acted whatever they pleaſed, without Controul of any but their Popeſhips: All which would have appeared a confuſed Madneſs in primitive Times, when for any Perſon to have been out of the Juriſdiction of all Biſhops, was to have been quite out of the Church, and would have been look'd upon as a Heathen and Infidel, according to the primitive Practice in all Ages, till Papal Uſurpation. And therefore all theſe Exempt Juriſdictions are meer Papal, and if duly examined, will be found oppoſite to the eſtabliſhed Laws of this Kingdom ſince the Reformation from Popery, as they are directly oppoſite to the primitive Canons of the Church before Popery was known or heard of. And by Reaſon of theſe Exempt Juriſdictions great Diſputes and great Frauds ariſe between the Biſhop

and them, and the poor Clergy are ſo pil'd and pol'd by them both, that they are forc'd to go in Thread-bare Coats, whilſt the ſeveral Officers of both grow fat and fair by Fees extracted from them. Wherefore I humbly conceive the Biſhops, with the reſt of the Clergy, are bound in Conſcience to implore the Aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament to petition His Majeſty for the Redreſs of theſe Abuſes by pious Laws, ſettling the Church Government in the primitive Purity and Authority, which moſt evidently was very great, and as greatly reverenced, Biſhops being the Perſons to whom Chriſt and his Apoſtles committed the Souls of Men, bought with the precious Blood of Chriſt, to whom be Glory, and to his Holy Spouſe the Church, be all Sacred Authority for ever. *Amen.*

A Charitable Admonition to all Non-Conformiſts.

MY Beloved in Chriſt, you ſee how earneſtly I have pleaded for you to the Fathers and Governors of our Church, that they will graciouſly condeſcend to aboliſh ſome Ceremonies in the Church, that they may receive you into it; but yet I have no great Hopes that they will hearken to me, you yourſelves for whom I plead, deſtroy my Hope; for they preſently daſh me in the Teeth ſaying, go rather and perſuade the Sons in Duty to ſubmit to their Fathers, than Fathers to yield to Sons; and can you deny but of the two you are rather to ſubmit? You think to excuſe this by ſaying, Were it not againſt your Conſcience you would ſubmit, but you dare not for fear of diſpleaſing God, his holy Word forbids you; I beſeech you ſhew me in his holy Word any one clear Sentence, againſt any one Ceremony commanded in our Church; you ſee plainly I am not biaſs'd to any one Ceremony, and I am ſure I have read the Scripture all over ſeveral Times, and I humbly conceive 'tis no Pride of Heart, if I think I underſtand Scripture as well as you; and for my Part I cannot find any one condemning Sentence in Scripture. But you have the Spirit of God enlightening you, which I want; by this Rule you may affirm any Thing out of Scripture, and I ſhould be as mad in diſputing againſt you, as you in affirming it; 'tis Madneſs for a blind Man (as you conceive me to be) to diſpute of Colours; therefore if you are ſo void of all Reaſon, as to expect your bare Affirmation, you that you have Light, ought to convince all Gainſayers, I ſhall not trouble myſelf or you, to gainſay you farther, but addreſs myſelf to others, who ſoberly undertake to ſhew me ſuch Texts; as an unbiaſs'd Chriſtian, willing and deſirous to ſubmit to all Scripture Truths (as I am ſure I am) may diſcover the Truth of them; and I deſire thoſe ſober Undertakers to ſhew me, any one ſuch clear Text to excuſe their non-conforming, as I ſhew them for their conforming: *Submit yourſelves to every Ordinance of Man*, &c. 1. *Pet.* ii. 13. and *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and ſubmit*, *Heb.* xiii. 17. Theſe are as clear as the Sun, that you ought to obey: Now if the Text you bring be not ſo clear but doubtful, I beſeech you is your Conſcience ſo bold againſt a clear Text, and ſo timorous at a doubtful Text, is this Religion or Reaſon? Is it not apparently Wilfulneſs and Faction? I beſeech you my Brethren, take heed of thus diſſembling with God and the World, or take heed

of giving yourſelves up to theſe Deluſions of a miſtaken Spirit. Humility and Obedience are evident Marks of the Spirit; *Learn of me*, ſaith Chriſt, *Math.* xi. 29. *for I am meek and lowly in Heart: God reſiſteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the Humble.* Wherefore I beſeech you, firſt, put on the Lord Jeſus with all Humility, that he may give you the Grace of his Holy Spirit, to diſcern clear Truths, from conceited fancical Errors. Secondly, I beſeech you conſider, whether of the two it be not ſafer to err in the Way of Humility, than to err in the Way of Pride, which makes it doubly damnable, void of all Excuſe (I ſay this becauſe you think, or pretend to think our Way erroneous, not that I have any ſuch Thought or Doubt) whereas the humble Soul hath great Excuſe to plead; and if Charity cover a Multitude of Sins, ſure Humility will cover ſome; a Soul cloathed with Humility can't eaſily be diſpleaſing to our humble Saviour; but cloathed with Pride, can ſcarce be acceptable, but rather hateful, like the proud Phariſee, with all his enumerated Virtues; and my Brethren, 'tis moſt evident your Spirit ſavours ſomewhat of the Phariſee, magnifying your own Holineſs, and deſpiſing all others as Publicans and Sinners, and refuſing all Communion with them; whereas the Holy of Holies, our Lord Jeſus, choſe chiefly to converſe with ſuch; really I can't but think your Caſe very dangerous on this Account only, were there no more to accuſe you of. Thirdly, I beſeech you to conſider the great Miſchief you bring upon this Church and Nation by your Separation from the Church; you pretend to be the great Zealots againſt Popery, and yet give me leave to ſay, your indiſcrete diſobedient Zeal mainly brings it in; your Separation, and many following Diviſions, have cauſed many to abhor our Church, and turn to Popery, and doubtleſs you are to give an Account to God for the Ruin of thoſe Souls, for I can never yield that you have any reaſonable and true conſcientious Cauſe of Separation, and meerly miſtaken Reaſon and Conſcience, which I much pity, but no Way approve; and therefore I muſt lay the Advance of Popery to your Charge, to your Separation, for I am ſure 'tis the main Snare wherewith they catch unſtable Souls, perſuading them our Church is not guided by the Spirit of Truth, ſeeing it is confounded by the Spirit of Diviſion, it cannot be of God who is both Verity and Unity. Now though it be well known to the Learned, that their Church hath neither Verity nor Unity, yet this is not diſcernable to weak Souls, eſpecially here in this Country, where their Church is under a Cloud, and therefore their foul Spots nothing ſo viſible as Abroad, where it walks barefaced, but are here by their Prieſts either by great Confidence deny'd, or with great Cunning diſguiſed. Wherefore again I moſt earneſtly and moſt humbly beſeech you for Jeſus Sake, put on our Lord Jeſus in all Humility and Obedience, ſubmitting yourſelves to the Ordinances of thoſe Superiors and Powers which God hath ſet over you; and if out of meer Humility and Obedience you conform, though you were guilty of ſome Errors therein (I am confident there is none, yet were it ſo) my Soul for yours, that Guilt ſhall never be laid to your Charge by our moſt gracious Saviour, and moſt merciful Judge Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; to whom be all Honour and Glory, for ever. *Amen.*

A Poetical

A Poetical Meditation, wherein the Usefulness, Excellency, and several Perfections of Holy Scripture are briefly hinted by *J. C.*

THOU, Lord, to me thy Word hast given, Psal. 18. 30. & 119.
Precious and pure, 89, 140, 160, 163.
Sweet, holy, sure,
To guide me through the World to Heaven.

1. *In all Wants and Necessities* Mic. 2. 7.
Thy Word's my Store,
Heap'd, running o'er
With Plenty of most rich Supplies.

2. *Temptations, Terrors, Dangers, Fears,* Matt. 4. 3, 4, &c.
Those petty Hells, Psal. 119. 92.
Thy Word dispels,
And all the Way before me clears.

3. *When Satan flings his Darts at me,* Psal. 18. 30.
Then Lord, thy Word Eph. 6. 17.
Is Shield and Sword
To save me, and to make him flee.

4. *The World presents its Objects rare,* Psal. 119. 14, 72, 96.
But yet thy Word
Doth that afford, Phil. 3. 7, 8.
Which seems to me far costlier Ware.

5. *Then Lust invites me to its Pleasure,* Psal. 116. 47. 70. 16. 11. 36.
But to Delights
Thy Word invites, Heb. 11. 25.
Which far surpass in Weight and Measure.

6. *Then Errors their gum'd Wares display,* 2 Pet. 3. 18.
But Scripture says Psal. 119. 30, 102, 104, 118, 128.
Shun Error's Ways,
Walk by my Rule, This is the Way. Isai. 30. 21.

7. *Thus when I'm tempted unto Sin,* Psal. 19. 11.
By thy Word's Art, Psal. 119. 11.
Hid in my Heart,
Both Battle and Reward I win.

8. *Yea,*

Pſal. 119. 9.
John 15. 3.
Epheſ. 5. 26.

8. *Yea, though Sins have defil'd my Soul;*
Thy Word can cleanſe
Thoſe noiſome Dens
Of Luſt, and Sin's greateſt Strength controul.

Rom. 10. 17.

9. *Have I an unbelieving Heart?*
Thy Word, Lord, hath
Power to work Faith
By thy moſt Holy Spirit's Art.

Ezek. 36. 26.

10. *Have I an hard and ſtony Heart?*
Thy Word thus deals,
Firſt breaks, then heals,
That Stone is cured by theſe Smarts.

Ezek. 16. 30, 60, 63. 36. 26, 31.

11. *Will not my frozen Heart comply?*
Thy Word, thy Law,
That Heart can thaw,
And change it to a weeping Eye.

Acts 24. 25.
Rom. 12. 3, 16.
Phil. 3. 4, &c.

12. *Do tow'ring Thoughts poſſeſs my Breaſt?*
Thy Word brings low
The proudeſt Foe,
And lays him level with the leaſt.

Pſal. 38. 3, 14. & 39. 9.
Jam. 5. 10, 11.

13. *Do muttering Thoughts riſe and repine?*
Thy Rod and Word
Teach Patience, Lord,
And ſtill thoſe barking Thoughts of mine.

Hoſea 14. 2.
Rom. 8. 26.
Matt. 6. 9, &c.

14. *Am I Tongue-tyed and cannot pray?*
Thy Word inſpires
Praying Deſires,
Dumb Lips unſeals, tells what to ſay.

Pſal. 119. 105.
Iſai. 59. 10.

15. *When I in Darkneſs err and ſtray,*
Thy Word's a Light
Moſt clear and bright,
And leads me back into the Way.

Pſal. 19. 7, 8. 119. 104, 130.
Gal. 3. 24.

16. *I'm fooliſh, ſimple, and want Eyes,*
Thy Word's Light, Rule,
Maſter and School,
Which makes the Comers to it wiſe.

17. *I see my self undone and poor,* Pſal. 19. 10.
Thy Words infold Prov. 8. 10, 11.
A Mine of Gold,
A Pearl of Price, all richer Store.

18. *With God by Nature I'm at odds,* Pſal. 19. 8.
Thy Word my Soul, James 1. 18.
Converteth whole,
For Satan's Service unto God's.

19. *Do outward Troubles, inward Grief* Pſal. 119. 28, 50. 143, 165.
My Soul torment?
Thy Word is ſent,
With Comfort for my Soul's Relief.

20. *Am I perplex'd with Doubts and Fears?* Act. 16. 29, 30, 31, 32.
Thy Word of Grace
Reſolves the Caſe,
And ſo my clouded Judgment clears.

21. *Or do deſpairing Thoughts me take?* Pſal. 119. 11. & 150. 5.
Thy Word doth give
Me Hopes to live,
For Chriſt my deareſt Saviour's Sake.

22. *Do Multitudes of Thoughts me preſs?* Pſalm 94. 10. & 19. 8.
I call to Mind
Thy Word, and find
Such Comforts as my Soul refreſh.

23. *Can't I through Weakneſs walk alone?* Pſalm 119. 82, 49.
Thy Word, Lord, is
Strength to my Knees,
And Staff to ſtay my Hand upon.

24. *Thus though I thirſt, faint, hunger, pine,* Mat. 4. 4.
Thy Word me feeds 1 Pet. 2. 2.
In theſe my Needs, Iſai. 55. 1.
Thy Word itſelf is Bread, Milk, Wine.

25. *Thus though poor, ſcorn'd, forſaken, pain'd;* Pſalm 119. 51. 114. Prov. 4, 20, 22.
Thy Word alone
Hath all in one,
Health, Wealth, Friends, Honour, all contain'd.

26. *Thus though Soul-ſick, and wounded ſore* 1 John 2. 1, 2.
With grievous Sin
Which doth begin
To feſter, rank'ring more and more.

27. *Thy*

John 5. 39.
Jer. 8. 22.

27. *Thy Word ſhews whence Help may be had,*
And doth me guide
To Chriſt's pierc'd Side,
Whence flows the Balm of Gilead.

Pſalm 1. 23. 11. 119. 93.
Phil. 2. 16.
James 1. 18.

28. *Yea though in me no Life remain,*
Thy Word is good,
And living Food,
Which fetcheth me to Life again.

Pſalm 36. 2.
Iſai. 55. 1.
John 4. 10, 14.

29. *Would I prolong this Life for ever?*
The Scripture ſhews
Whence Water flows,
Pure Streams, whoſo drinks, dies never.

Pſalm 23.
Iſai. 55. 2.
1 Pet. 1. 23, 25.

30. *The Lord be bleſt who thus provides,*
And filleth full
My empty Soul,
With Food, which evermore abides.

Pſalm 119. 32, 105.
James 1. 21.
Jer. 32. 39.

31. *Bleſs God (my Soul) that thus hath given*
Strength, Light, Guide, Way,
Leſt thou ſhould ſtray,
In this thy Pilgrimage to Heaven.

Pſalm 19. 10.
Pſalm 119. 72, 162.
Prov. 8. 10, 11.

32. *This Book, theſe Sentences, theſe Lines,*
Each Word and Letter,
To me are better
Than Chains of Pearl and golden Mines.

John 17. 17.

33. *'Tis Heaven tranſcrib'd and Glory pen'd,*
God's Mind no doubt
Was copied out,
When he this Gift to Men did ſend.

Pſalm 119. 89. 142, 151, 152. 160.
Mark 13. 31.

34. *'Tis Truth itſelf: God doth intend,*
Man's Word ſhall fall
Heav'n, Earth, and all,
But this ſhall never have an End.

Pſalm 119. 18, 127.
1 Cor. 7. 9.

35. *My Soul admire that Hand and Quill,*
That did produce
For Sinners Uſe
Th' eternal Mind, the Sovereign Will.

Pſalm 119. 171, 164.

36. *Adore the Author too, and when,*
Thou canſt not raiſe
Sufficient Praiſe,
Sit down, and wondring, ſay AMEN.

A Modeſt VINDICATION of *Oliver Cromwell* from the unjuſt ACCUSATIONS of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, in his MEMOIRS. Together with ſome Obſervations on the MEMOIRS in general. 1698.

The PREFACE.

WHERE the Policy of the Republicans *lay, to expoſe, as they have done, their Embitterment againſt Monarchy at ſuch a Time as this, for it is to be ſuppos'd that* Ludlow *is now Spokeſman for them all, is a thing ſo unaccountable, that none but a* Scaffold *can unfold it. Nor is it leſs difficult to underſtand why* Oliver's Manes *ſhould be diſturb'd after a deep Sleep of ſo many Years, for no End that generally Men propoſe to themſelves upon ſuch Occaſions. For if it were to revive the Embers of their Faction, what ſignify'd the rekindling a Fire that wanted Fuel to maintain it? If it were to defame the Memory of the Dead, it was a mean and unworthy Act. We will therefore judge more favourably of them, and believe it was only to get Money. For it was imagin'd the World would believe that ſuch a Man as* Ludlow *would have brought to light ſtrange Myſteries and hidden Secrets, never known before; but 'tis pleaſant to think how they were cheated; the Purchaſers had nothing for their Money, but the Rags and Tatters of old Stories, worn as Threadbare as an Uſurer's Cloak. As for* Ludlow, *he had not a Genius nor an Elocution to do* Oliver *any great Harm, eſpecially conſidering the Method he took.* Oliver *was a Great Man, let his Detractors ſay what they pleaſe. We read but of Two in the* Roman *Story that rais'd themſelves by Inteſtine Wars,* Sylla *and* Cæſar; *and I look upon* Cromwell *to have been as great as either. He fought with* Cæſar's *Fortune, vanquiſh'd* Pompey *in* England; *ſubdu'd* Petreius *and* Afranius, *at* Dunbar *and* Preſton; *the Sons of* Pompey *at* Worceſter, *and* Scipio *and* Cato *in* Ireland. Cæſar *once fought for his Life, which* Cromwell *never did; he never was in danger of a Foil: And if he aſcended by the Steps that others built for him, 'tis no more than what many others, had they had the ſame Temptations, would have done. Laſtly,* Cæſar, *by uſurping the* Roman *Commonwealth, was in many things beneficial to the Publick; ſo is* Cromwell *allow'd to have done as many things for the Good of the* Engliſh *Commonwealth. I do not undertake to defend all* Cromwell's *Actions, but only ſuch as* Ludlow's *Book, and Diſguſts againſt him, aſſume a Liberty to condemn. And then I may juſtly hope the World will take it for a Piece of Generoſity to undeceive Poſterity, and prevent their being miſguided by the falſe Relations and Reflections of Paſſion and Prejudice.*

CONſidering how Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* has ſtated the Grounds and Reaſons of his Diſguſt againſt *Oliver Cromwell*, the Queſtion, as to *Ludlow*'s Particular, is not ſo much whether *Oliver*'s Actions were juſt and laudable, or no; but whether the Lieutenant-General, who as it plainly appears was a Perſon ſway'd by a violent Bigotry to his own Party,

were a competent Judge of the Goodneſs or Badneſs of thoſe Actions which he ſo vehemently reproaches in *Cromwell*. As for his own Perſonal Parts, he was never look'd upon to be a Man of ſuch an extraordinary Head-piece, as to render him eminently diſtinguiſh'd in the Management of Civil Affairs. Neither did his Military Employments ever rear him up thoſe Monuments to his Glory, which others rais'd themſelves by their Proweſs and Conduct. And then for theſe *Memoirs* of his, they likewiſe were writ in the Decline of his Years, when Age had riveted into his Mind thoſe Sentiments of paſt Tranſactions, which younger Diſcontents and Animoſities had imprinted in his Thoughts, and now had made the Objects of a half-craz'd Judgment to make ſuch Reflections on, as are uſually the Effects of moroſe and ſour Miſunderſtandings. For when *Blood* was in his Prime of Action, and ſent over to *Geneva* by a Party then meditating Diſturbance of the Government, as believing *Ludlow* the moſt proper Perſon to head and command them, that Man of a quick and penetrating Judgment brought over but a very ſlender Account of that Great Lieutenant-General of Horſe: For *Blood*'s Report, which he often upon other Occaſions ſignified to others, was, That he found him very unable for ſuch an Employment; only that he was writing a Hiſtory, as he call'd it, which as he told the Colonel would be as *true as the Goſpel*; and which in all Probability were theſe Two Volumes of *Memoirs* now lately printed. Nor indeed did the Character, which then he gave his little Embrio of a Hiſtory, ſhew him to be other than what the Colonel ſpoke him. But perhaps the Lieutenant-General thought it neceſſary for him to believe himſelf inſpir'd, when he was defending and writing the Hiſtory of the *Sacred RUMP*. However, as certain as theſe Memoirs are, there is one Truth more which muſt be added to the reſt, That his Truths are of very little Value; ſuch minute Stories, the greateſt Part of them that concern himſelf, of his Military Performances in *Wardour-Caſtle*, and other Parts of *Wiltſhire*, that all of them put together would never have procured him ſo much as a petty Ovation in old *Rome*. Nevertheleſs he ſeems to have crowded them together on Purpoſe to make out his extraordinary Devotion to the *Rump*, and his Sincerity to the *Cauſe*; and from thence takes an Occaſion to inſinuate his own high Deſerts, and *Oliver*'s Contempt and Slight of thoſe that were moſt zealous for the *Public Good*, by which he means the *Republican* Intereſt, the peculiar Darling of his moſt ardent Affections. Tho' all this while I can diſcover nothing ſo much through the whole Contexture of theſe Memoirs, as a continued Proſecution of Envy and Revenge, ripen'd into Invective by the Sullenneſs of his Age: Yet ſuch a Sort of Envy, that I could not have expected to have found in a Man of Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*'s Principles; that repines more at the Merits of *Cromwell*'s Actions, than the Glory of his Trophies: As if the high Commands and Power which he was deem'd worthy of, and for which he was cull'd out by thoſe that knew not where elſe to ſupply their preſſing Wants of ſuch another, had been the Acquiſitions of his ambitious Induſtry and overreaching Politics, rather then conferr'd upon him for the ſenſible Benefits of his continued Victories and Succeſſes. This ſeems to imply, that Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* was willing enough that the *Republican* Party ſhould have enjoy'd the Fruits of *Cromwell*'s unwearied Labours, no leſs than Grandeur equal

to

to Royal and Supreme Authority; but in the height of his Gratitude, the Lieutenant-General of the Horſe would have had them kick'd down the Inſtrument of their glorious Fruitions, when they were out of Danger. He complains that his petty Skirmiſhes at *Wardour-Caſtle*, and in other Parts of *Wiltſhire*, where Fortune was as frequently unkind as gracious to him, and ſuffer'd him to be taken Priſoner, were never ſufficiently recompenced: But he mentions with Regret a Donative of Four or Five Thouſand a Year given to *Cromwell*, for the Conqueſt of Three Kingdoms, and ſaving the *Common Cauſe* from utter Downfal. Such a ſort of Envy as this it was, that plagu'd the fam'd *Polonian Tarnovius*, of whom *Thuanus* reports, that after he had ſubdu'd the *Moldavians* and *Ruſſians*, and freed his Country from the frequent Incurſions of the *Tartars*, it was incredible how he was envy'd at home by thoſe that ſuſpected the very Name of General, which he had merited by his great Atchievements. But there are a great many People of the Lieutenant-General's Humour, whatever is above their own Merit diſpleaſes them; tho' there are not many ſo inadvertent to ſhew it with ſo much formal Sincerity as the Lieutenant-General has done. When ſuch People behold an extraordinary Merit in any Perſon, they look upon it as an Object that reproaches their Imperfections, an Object that affronts them, and renders them ſo much the more contemptible. Theſe are the true Reaſons that kindled the Lieutenant-General's Anger againſt *Cromwell*; ſo that, after long Meditation, he at length found out the uſual way of laying hold upon the common Pretences of Juſtice and Equity to condemn him according to the Motions of his own Paſſion.

His Deſire of Revenge is no leſs apparent, and very unbecoming a Soldier; whoſe Part it is to combat his Enemy living, and if he can to kill him fairly in the Field; but thus to aſſail and quarrel with a dead Man in his Tomb, to ſtigmatize the Fame of one deceaſed, for only having been more fortunate in the ſame Cauſe, which his own Sword had weakly defended, is an Act of Malice ſo much the more unworthy and miſbecoming a Man of Honour, by how much it is altogether inſignificant, and gratifies only an inveterate and ignorant Paſſion, condemn'd by all magnanimous and heroic Spirits. For I can never believe, that ever they who took up *Cromwell*'s Carcaſs, to hang it ignominiouſly upon the Gallows, and poorly inſulted over the Bones of a Man who had ſo often vanquiſh'd them in Battle, gain'd any great Honour by ſuch a puſillanimous Act; much leſs did it become our Lieutenant General to rake into the Aſhes of one who had never been his Enemy, but by his own Confeſſion had given him ſuch a Character in Publick, as raiſed him to his higheſt Preferment: However, the Lieutenant-General was pleaſed to put an ill Interpretation upon it. But Men of his malign Temper have many times this Misfortune attending them, that while they are labouring and delving to the Prejudice of others, they do themſelves the greateſt Harm: For aſſuredly, when the World ſhall obſerve him ſo frequently interlacing his own Murmurs and Diſcontents with his Diſguſts againſt *Cromwell*, for only diſappointing the Party which he himſelf had ſo nearly eſpouſed, never blaming him for fighting againſt his Sovereign, nor bringing him to the Block; it muſt be thought that his *Memoirs* muſt ſmell very ſtrong of the Garlick of Self-Intereſt, which will very much enervate the Credit of his Recriminations upon *Cromwell*, eſpecially in the Senti-

ments of remoter Posterity, that will judge of those Transactions with a more sincere Impartiality. And here the Question may not be unseasonably put, What the Aim and Design of publishing these *Memoirs* could be? For if it were to gratify the expiring Remains of that same Party, against whom *Cromwell* fought with such Success, what Favour can our *Lieutenant-General of the Horse in* Ireland gain among them, by telling them a long Story of *Cromwell*'s dismounting the *Rumponians* from the Saddles of their Authority? Who, had they been sent to the Crows some Years before, that Party would not have repined at it: Rather he merits their severest Indignation, for justifying and approving *Cromwell* all the while he contributed to the Downfall of their Martyr, and reproaching him for so much as offering to treat with him. On the other Side, if these Relations were set forth to endear the Memory of the Lieutenant-General to his own Party, what Kindness can it be to them to be reviv'd for a Company of Fools that could not keep the Government when they had it in their own Hands, but suffer'd themselves to be baffled, outwitted, and turned out of Doors by their own Underling and Servant, as they call'd him? But what cared the *Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces in* Ireland? For so he could but inculcate into the World a bad Opinion of *Cromwell* and his Actions, though it were to the Disgrace of his own Party, he values not to what Censures and Sarcasms he exposes the Fondlings of his Devotion: Which being the main Drift of his *Memoirs*, they cannot chuse but be infinitely beholding to him for it. He pretends to have had a Prospect of *Cromwell*'s ambitious Designs, as he calls them, long before they were brought to Perfection: To much Purpose; for had he been a true Emulator of *Cromwell*'s Gallantry, he might perhaps have made a much better Use of his *Lieutenant-General-ship*, and his *Command* of the *Forces* in *Ireland* in the Rescue of his distress'd Minions, than to sit an exil'd Scribbler of trivial *Memoirs*, that drop'd from his Pen, more to the Shame of his own Darlings, than the Defamation of *Cromwell*, in those Matters where the Stress of his Reproaches lie. And thus much for the *Memoirs* in general.

To come to Particulars: There is little worth Observation in the first Volume, which is no more than a succinct Relation of the military Transactions of those Times, both in *England* and *Ireland*, for the greatest Part, from the Beginning of the Combustions to the first *Dutch* War: Wherein, however, he is very particular and tedious in the Account which he gives of his own Exploits when he was Governor of *Wardour-Castle*, and High Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, larded with such impertinent Circumstances, of *a Dozen Pasties of his Father's Venison*,* which the Enemy had just baked, and would have carried away, had he not come in timely and manfully *with forty Horse* to their Rescue. He holds out *Wardour-Castle* in his Relation almost as long as the Enemy lay before it, enlarging his Recital on purpose to magnify his Courage, his Resolution, and Zeal to the Cause, even to Vanity. The rest of the Pages, after he had deliver'd the Castle, and was become a Prisoner of War, from 92 to 112, are all no less a Panegyric upon himself. Not considering that the Praises which come from others are pleasing to the Ear; but the Elogies which a Man ascribes to himself are ever most troublesome. He omits not to tell you how he took

* P. 62.

took up one of his Troopers behind him,† leſt he ſhould be taken by the purſuing Enemy; which was doubtleſs to notify his Charity and Compaſſion. He gives you a juſt and exact Account of the Death of his Couſin *Gabriel Ludlow*, and of the Misfortunes that befel his two Servants, *Stent*, § and *Henry Coles*;‖ with a World of other minute Stories of the ſame Nature: A plain Demonſtration of the Narrowneſs of his Soul, and the Lowneſs of his Genius.

But the main Thing remarkable in his firſt Volume is, that becauſe he would make the World believe him to be a Man of Parts, and one that was able to ballance a Party, he takes great Care to diſplay his Intimacy with Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*. "One Morning,* ſays he, as I was walking with Lieute-"nant-General *Cromwell* in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Garden, he inveigh'd bitterly "againſt thoſe that accompanied the Earl of *Eſſex* to his Grave; ſaying in a "familiar Way to me, If thy Father were alive, he would let ſome of them "hear what they deſerve; adding farther, that it was a miſerable Thing to "ſerve a Parliament, to whom let a Man be never ſo faithful, if one pragma-"tical Fellow riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off. Whereas, "ſaid he, when one ſerves under a General, he may do as much Service, and "yet be free from all Blame and Envy."

From theſe Words *Ludlow* it ſeems perſuaded himſelf, that *Cromwell* had at that Time conceived the Deſign of deſtroying the Civil Authority, and ſetting up himſelf; and that he took that Opportunity of feeling his Pulſe, whether he were a fit Inſtrument to be employed to thoſe Ends.

We ſhall not diſpute the Truth of this Diſcourſe, nor will we deny but that the Author of the *Memoirs* Conjecture might be as true, that *Cromwell* might ſpeak the Words to take the Dimenſions of *Ludlow*'s Capacity. But ſeeing there is not the leaſt Ground for the drawing any ſuch Inference as he makes from the Words, we muſt rather believe, that the *Lieutenant-General in* Ireland's Surmiſe was of a later Date; like thoſe who pretend to have propheſied of Things after they are come to paſs. Nevertheleſs, that *Cromwell* upon his canting Anſwer had enough of him, we look upon as a Thing beyond all Controverſy: For *Cromwell* was a Perſon who never ſounded the Breaſt of any Man, but he ſoon reach'd the Depth of it.

However, ſoon after this, the Author of the *Memoirs* tells you of another great Piece of Familiarity between him and *Cromwell*.‡ For he ſays, the Parliament being diſpleaſed with the Carriage of the Army, ſome menacing Expreſſions fell from ſome of the Members; upon which *Cromwell* took an Occaſion to whiſper the following Words in his Ear, *Theſe Men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the Ears.* But here I am afraid the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* a little forgets himſelf: For after he had told us but two Pages before, that *Cromwell*, not finding him fit for his Purpoſe, *he never heard from him any more upon that Point*; meaning the Point of *Deſtroying the civil Authority, and ſetting up for himſelf.* Here he introduces *Cromwell* altering his Mind, and whiſpering to him a Secret of far greater Importance; and a much clearer Demonſtration of the evil Deſign which the Lieutenant-General ſuſpected him to be meditating

† P. 116.
‖ P. 141.
‡ P. 189.
§ P. 129.
* P. 185.

meditating againſt the Civil Authority, than any he could gather from his former Diſcourſe. I muſt confeſs this does not hang well together. *Cromwell* did but feel the Lieutenant-General's Pulſe before; now he begins to be downright, and to open his Heart: And yet *Cromwell* was never taken to be a Blab of his Tongue. Neither is it probable that *Cromwell*, a Perſon ſo reſerv'd as he was, would have utter'd ſuch a dangerous Expreſſion in the midſt of his Enemies, to a Man whoſe Imbecillities and Bigottry he had ſo lately try'd. Why did not the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* immediately charge him with it? It would have been the beſt piece of Service he could have done for thoſe, who, as he ſays himſelf, were at the ſame time for ſecuring *Cromwell*;* and who from hence might have taken a juſt Occaſion to proſecute their Deſign, which would have been the beſt Day's Work that e'er they did in their Lives, for their own Security. But *Ludlow* believing that this would be objected againſt him, tells you,† That he would *have reſented it, if the State of his Party's Affairs would have permitted.* A very lame Excuſe, and which lays the total Overthrow of his Party at his own Door: For if this be true, That *Cromwell* ſhould be ſo inadvertent to whiſper thoſe Words into his Ear, 'tis plain that Fortune put an Opportunity into *Ludlow*'s Hands to have preſerv'd his Party; but he was ſo ſimple, that he knew not how to make uſe of it. And now I appeal to all unbias'd Men, whether this manifeſt Slip be not ſufficient to invalidate the whole Teſtimony of the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, and to render ſuſpected what he ſhall henceforward advance in the Derogation of *Cromwell*'s Proceedings, as being only the Murmurs of Self-Intereſt.

But this great Familiarity between the *Engliſh* and the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-Generals, broke off, on the Part of the Author of the *Memoirs*, upon *Cromwell*'s and the Army's treating with the King; which *Ludlow* calls‖ *A driving on a Bargain for the People's Liberty* by *Oliver* alone: For it was the Opinion of the *Author of the Memoirs*, that which way ſoever the King had been reſtor'd, *he might eaſily have gratified his Friends, and reveng'd himſelf upon his Enemies.* So that the Lieutenant-General in *Ireland* was clearly for a Republick, and he knew that ſo long as there was a King, there could be no Republick, in *Iſrael.* But in regard that *Cromwell*'s Treating with the King was imputed to him as a Crime by none but *Ludlow*'s Republicans, while the *Presbyterians* and *Scots* did the ſame; and if *Cromwell* made any Bargains with his Royal Priſoner for his own Advantage, it was no more than what General *Monk* did afterwards; we ſhall paſs from our Author's *Memento's* upon thoſe Tranſactions, which bring a far more general Odium upon himſelf than upon *Cromwell*, while he was one of thoſe, who under the Name of Commonwealths-men declar'd, §*That Monarchy was neither good in itſelf, nor for the Nation; that the King had broken his Oath, and thereby diſſolv'd our Allegiance; and that the King having appeal'd to the Sword for the Deciſion of the Diſpute, and thereby caus'd the Effuſion of a Deluge of the People's Blood, it ſeem'd to be a Duty incumbent upon the Repreſentatives of the People to call him to an account, and then proceed to the Eſtabliſhment of an Equal Commonwealth, founded upon the Conſent of the People, as being moſt juſt, and in all Reſpects moſt conducing to the Happineſs and Proſperity thereof.*

Now

* P. 190.
† P. 189.
‖ P 223.
§ P. 238, 239.

Now that *Ludlow* was one of this Cabal is plain, by the ſame Token, as he ſays himſelf,† that *Cromwell*, after he had learnt *what he could of the Principles and Inclinations of thoſe preſent at the Conference, he took up a Cuſhion, and flung it at the* Iriſh *Lieutenant-General's Head, and then ran down Stairs:* But the undaunted Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, *ſoon overtook him with another, which made him haſten down faſter than he deſir'd.* And here certainly, after ſuch a Victory as this, the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General ought to have clos'd his Memoirs, and ſet up his *Hercules*'s Pillars; for after ſuch an Atchievement as this, no leſs than the putting to Flight one of the moſt victorious Captains of his Age, and till then invincible, What could he expect to do greater, or that could more eternize his Fame? At leaſt, it is to be wonder'd, that his Party did not take from hence a proſperous Omen to ſet ſo valiant a Champion up in Oppoſition to *Cromwell*; ſince they had great reaſon to hope, that he who had put the famous *Cromwell* to Flight with a Cuſhion, would eaſily ſubdue him with his Arms in his Hand.

In the mean time this Paſſage is of that Nature, as evidently demonſtrates *Ludlow* to be as deep in the Mud, as *Cromwell* was in the Mire; nay, he may rather be thought the worſe of the Two: For *Ludlow* was one of thoſe that were already premeditating to call the King to an Account, and then to alter the Monarchical Government of the Kingdom, and ſet up a Commonwealth. Theſe diſdain'd all manner of Treaty with the King; whereas *Cromwell* deſign'd his Reſtoration, and may be ſaid to have acted not ſo much by premeditated Deſign, as by the Impulſe of a driving Fate, that puſh'd him on by Degrees, by the Encouragement of concurring Events, and Conduct of opportune Proſperities. And therefore it is much to be admir'd that the Publiſhers, or at leaſt the Over-viewers of theſe Memoirs did not ſtrike out this and many other Paſſages of the ſame Nature, before they let them ſee the Light. Certainly they did not conſult the Honour of the Author, to let ſuch an Antimonarchiſt as *Ludlow* appear in *England* with his *Helvetian* Commonwealth Meditations, barefac'd, and in all his Republican Colours, at a Time when Monarchy had recover'd her ancient Splendor in the Kingdom. His beſt Friends moſt certainly could never believe that either his Perſon or his Works could be acceptable or welcome here, or procure him any Eſteem in a Nation wholly Monarchical. And all this to blacken the Actions of *Cromwell*, who was ſo far from being a Hater of Monarchy, that he at length ſet up for a Monarch himſelf; chiefly too by thoſe Actions which to this Day are no way diſpleaſing to the greateſt Aſſertors of Monarchy. So that if theſe Memoirs were publiſh'd to prejudice *Cromwell*'s Memory, they will miſs very much of their Aim; ſeeing that the Reputation of a bad Man can never receive much Damage from the Accuſations of one that is worſe than himſelf. And it is to be fear'd that all the Recompence that *Ludlow* will get by theſe Memoirs of his, will be only the Sarcaſm of *Juvenal*,

Clodius accuſat Mœchos, Catilina Cethegum.

But whatever Jealouſies and Suſpicions the Republicans had of *Cromwell*, when they thought themſelves ſecure, yet whenever any imminent Danger threaten'd

† P. 240.

threaten'd them, they flew to him for Refuge. And therefore by the Confeſſion of the Author of the Memoirs himſelf, when *Hamilton*‖ was upon his March into *England* with Twenty Thouſand *Scots*, and *Langdale* ready to join him with Five Thouſand *Engliſh* more, *ſeveral who had oppos'd his Proceedings* as *Arbitrary and Selfiſh*, then thought themſelves oblig'd *to ſtrengthen his Hands*, in a Work which they call'd *neceſſary*, and aſſur'd him of *all the Aſſiſtance* they could give him.

And now you have the Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland* making another Confeſſion, That it was not *Cromwell* who broke off the Treaty with the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, but that he himſelf was one of the main Inſtruments that did the King that kind Office. For he tells you,* that the Treaty with the King being preſs'd on with more Heat than ever, which he calls *a viſible Deſign to render all their Victories uſeleſs*, he went to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and told him, *That a Deſign was driving on to betray the Cauſe, in which ſo much of the People's Blood had been ſhed; and that the King being under Reſtraint, would not think himſelf oblig'd to any thing he ſhould promiſe under ſuch Circumſtances*; aſſuring him at the ſame Time, *That they who were moſt eager for the Treaty, never intended that the King ſhould be bound to the Performance of his Word, only they deſign'd to uſe his Authority to deſtroy the Army, which ought to be his Care to prevent*. Nay, that he might aſcribe all the Honour of this Enterprize to himſelf and his Party, to the Excluſion of *Cromwell*, the Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland* tells you a Story ſome Pages before, how that *Cromwell*, being inclin'd to cloſe with the Commonwealth Party, invited ſome of them to confer with him at his Chamber; with which when he acquainted our Author of the *Memoirs*, he affronted him with a very rude and uncivil Anſwer, telling him, *That when he had an Occaſion to make uſe of the Republicans*,† he knew how to *cajole them and give them good Words*; which put *Cromwell* into ſuch a Paſſion, that he gave him as rude a Reply, *That the* Republicans *were a proud Sort of People, and only conſiderable in their own Conceits*. And thus the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General would ſeem to inſinuate, that *Cromwell* could be none of their Cabal, but only that they made uſe of him as their Plantain Tree, whoſe ſpreading Shade might ſecure them from the Swelter of Trouble and Danger. Tho' 'tis not rational to believe, but that they were influenc'd altogether by his Counſels and Directions; however, *Cromwell* knowing their Humour, let them alone, and play'd with them as an Angler does with a Pike, when he has the unruly Fiſh faſt in his Hook. More than that, as our Author ſays, he was ſo complaiſant, as to declare at his Arrival from *Scotland*,§ that he was not acquainted with the Deſign; only ſince it was done he was glad of it: And thus far he was ſtill their Friend, in conceding them the Honour which they ſo ardently deſir'd.

It farther appears that *Ludlow* would ſeem to make himſelf more than ordinarily buſy in this Tranſaction. For finding *Fairfax* irreſolute, he preſently repair'd to *Ireton*, to negotiate their grand Affair; and ſtill he would make the World believe that he was the main Inſtrument of the Revolution. But what was the Effect of all his Labour? Why, the Army *having wonderfully diſpers'd their Enemies on every Side*, began to conſider how to ſecure themſelves and the common

‖ P. 258. * P. 262, 263. † P. 241. § P. 272.

Common Cauſe againſt thoſe Counſels that were carry'd on in Oppoſition to them, and to that End drew up a Declaration at *St. Albans*, &c. and ſo the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General was turn'd out of his Employment. However, tho' *Cromwell* and the Army had laid him aſide, yet ſtill, in Exaltation of himſelf, he would make you believe, they were afraid of diſpleaſing him. And therefore he now pretends to be a Confident of *Ireton*'s, who upon the Army's drawing towards *London*, in order to purge the Parliament, wrote to the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, *that now he hoped they ſhould pleaſe him*; which, as he acknowledges, they did, not from any *particular Advantages that he expected* from it, if you will believe him, *but that the People of* England *might be preſerv'd in their juſt Rights from the Oppreſſion of violent Men*; *being fully perſuaded that an Accommodation with the King was unſafe to the People of* England, *and unjuſt and wicked in the Nature of it.* And thus you ſee, the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General writes with a two-edg'd Pen, with one Side to gaſh the Reputation of *Cromwell*, and with the other to ſliver the Devotion of thoſe who venerate *Charles* I. for a *Martyr*.

And now we are come to the laſt Act conſiderable in the firſt Volume, wherein our Author is very induſtrious by extenuating, to advance his own Worth, to ſhew the Continuance of his Familiarity with *Cromwell*, and diſplay his own Ingratitude to his Friend. And here it is obſervable in the firſt Place, that he ſtill made *Cromwell* the Aggreſſor in his Diſcourſes with him: An evident Sign that he affected to have it believ'd by all the World that *Cromwell* had a high Opinion of him for his Abilities, and the infallible Counſels of his oracular Foreſight: Whereas all judicious Men that read his Memoirs will find, that *Oliver*, who was a Man of a deep Reach indeed, had quite another Aim. For *Cromwell*, well knowing that his Bigotry to the Party had gain'd him a Reputation for his Fidelity to the Cauſe among them, and that he was for that Reaſon entruſted with all their Secrets, addreſs'd himſelf to the *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General as one of the weakeſt among them; that by ſifting his Thoughts, he might underſtand the Judgment of the reſt of the Party, or at leaſt of the more cunning Sort.

He tells us, That *Cromwell*, after the Parliament had voted him General, as our Author was ſitting by him in the Houſe, expreſs'd an extraordinary Sorrow to obſerve *an Alteration in his Looks and Carriage towards him*,* *by which he apprehended* that his dear Friend *Ludlow had entertain'd ſome Suſpicions of him.* Which Addreſs of *Cromwell*'s might be very probable; not that it is to be thought that *Cromwell* car'd a Ruſh for his *Looks* or his *Carriage*; but it was a Compliment proper to draw an eaſy Man into the Nooſe that better Cunning was preparing for him. After this, nothing would ſerve *Cromwell* but a Meeting with this ſame *Seraſkier* of the *Iriſh Spahi's*, to remove the Grounds of their Miſtakes and Miſapprehenſions; and accordingly they met in the Queen's Guard-Chamber, where as he ſays† *Cromwell endeavour'd to perſuade him of the Neceſſity incumbent upon him of doing ſeveral Things that appear'd* extraordinary in the Judgment of ſome Men, who in Oppoſition to him would bring Ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the Public Cauſe. Preſently *Ludlow* conſtrues theſe *extraordinary Things*, to be *Cromwell*'s treating with the King,

* P. 316. † P. 317.

and ſhooting to Death one of the Soldiers, and impriſoning the reſt, that mutiny'd at *Ware* upon the account of that Treaty, and teſtifies his Diſlike of thoſe Actions, as being done for *ſiniſter Ends*. However, ſince the Army and he had manifeſted themſelves *convinced of their Errors* by their *Adherence to the Commonwealth*, he was willing to wait for the Accompliſhment of thoſe good Things which he expected from him, ſo ſoon as he ſhould return with Victory home again (for *Cromwell* was then going to invade *Scotland*), but then he hoped, that the General's* *Intereſts and Principles would lead him to do what was moſt agreeable to the Conſtitution of a Commonwealth, and the Good of Mankind.* Nor did he forget his own particular Grievance by the bye, which was the too partial Hand of the Parliament and General in their Diſtributions of Gratuities; conſidering how he had held out *Wardour-Caſtle*, and expos'd his Life in *Wiltſhire*, and never got any thing for his Pains. Now if you will believe our Author, nor is it material to contradict him, can any Man of Senſe perſuade himſelf that *Cromwell*, at that time a General, and a Man oppreſs'd with ponderous Affairs, would have ſpent his Time in ſoothing up the Humour of an empty Bigot, and waſted above an Hour in preaching upon the 110th *Pſalm*,† to tickle his Fancy, had it not been for ſome other Reaſon than our Author firſt pretended. 'Tis a Vanity to think it. But *Cromwell* was then ready to march for *Scotland*, and wanted a Journeyman for his Son *Ireton* in *Ireland*. Some he thought too nimble and cunning, ſome too faithleſs to be truſted; but here was one for his turn, ſtout of his Hands, a weak Head-piece, and one that would be eaſily ruled, if well managed; but for want of Underſtanding, diſpleas'd with his extraordinary Proceedings, and for that Reaſon to be fondled into a good Humour again. And therefore ſo ſoon as the General ſaw him mollify'd, he not only propounded the Preferment he deſign'd him for the fore-mention'd Reaſons, to himſelf, but propos'd him to the Council of State, and they to the Parliament, and ſo got him choſen in a Manner in deſpight of his Teeth; when others, far more deſerving and experienc'd in the *Iriſh* Affairs, ſuch as the Lord *Broghil*, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, ſolicited for the ſame Employment at the ſame time. And indeed he would make you believe it was really ſo: For as he ſays, he not only pleaded the common Excuſes, and goodly good-morrows of Inability and Unfitneſs, but the apparent Emergencies of his Eſtate and Family. But *Cromwell*, who knew he had committed a proper Tool into the Hands of a good Workman, would admit of no Denial.

However, he had no ſooner received his Commiſſion, but his Advancement puffing him up with a high Opinion of himſelf, he ſo order'd it, that his Friends gave out,‖ That *the Opportunity was taken by the General to remove him out of the Way, leſt he ſhould prove an Obſtruction to his Deſigns*; yet himſelf ſtill ſtanding upon his Guard of Modeſty, and telling the World, *that he could not think himſelf ſo conſiderable.* Nor could his Friends believe it, whatever they publiſh'd, who knew ſo well it was not *Cromwell*'s Way to remove, but quite to lay aſide thoſe Perſons whom he accounted dangerous, or look'd upon as Obſtructors of his Deſigns. Beſides that, ſuch affected Self-Debaſements ſeldom find Belief with Men of Senſe, as being incompatible with Truth, in Men that ſo often complain of unrewarded Merit, as our Author does.

Seeing

* P. 318. † P. 319. ‖ P. 303.

Seeing then, that this great Preferment was not forced upon him, leſt he ſhould obſtruct the General's Deſigns, as our Author himſelf pretends, but as he rather conceives, for his Merit; it follows that the World muſt conclude him guilty of a great Share of Ingratitude, ſo to beſpatter, as he does, with the Epithets of Ambitious, Wicked, and Impious (for in ſuch Heats and Paſſions we ſhall find the Lieutenant-General of the Forces in *Ireland* in the next Volume) his only Benefactor, and the very Perſon that exalted him to the higheſt Dignity that ever he attain'd to in this World, and higher than ever he could have expected from his own Deſerts. So that whatever hard Opinion the worſt of *Cromwell*'s Enemies may have of him himſelf, they can never be ſo ungenerous to have any kind Thoughts of the Author of theſe Memoirs, who has ſo unbeſeemingly trampled upon the Duſt of his Benefactor.

It may be objected, That *Ludlow* had no Enmity or Hatred againſt the Perſon of *Cromwell* in his private Capacity; but that he condemns his public Actions only, his Violation of the Laws, his Subverſion of the Government, his Arbitrary Proceedings, his Treachery to thoſe from whom he deriv'd all his Authority, and his aſſuming to himſelf the Supreme Power out of the Hands of thoſe who were inveſted with it; and no Man is bound to retaliate the Benefits of an Enemy of his Country.

But 'tis readily anſwer'd, that this Objection had been of ſome Force indeed, if *Ludlow* had been in the undoubted Right, and *Cromwell* in the unqueſtionable Wrong. But general Opinion concludes, that both were in the Wrong; and then *Ludlow*'s Accuſations and Impeachments of *Cromwell*'s Actions are unjuſt and injurious, as being grounded upon no true Foundation. For the Subjects of Praiſe or Diſpraiſe muſt be ſuch as are univerſally taken *pro Conceſſo*; otherwiſe he that condemns another for that which is not certainly evil in itſelf, or by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, condemns him only upon the Inſtigations of Paſſion and Prejudice, and makes that a Crime, which others at the ſame time may look upon as a Virtue. But granting that *Ludlow* did firmly believe himſelf and his Party to be in the Right, yet he could not be ſo infatuated to his Bigotry, as not to ſee that Two of the principal and moſt numerous Judgments of the Nation were againſt him; and then it was a high Piece of Ingratitude to lay general Imputations of Impious, Wicked, and Arbitrary, upon his Friend that had been ſo kind to him, for Acts committed againſt his particular Party, where the Controverſy was ſo dubious, and the Balance ſo unequal againſt him.

Upon theſe wrong Foundations *Ludlow* proceeds, and taxes *Cromwell*, for that after the Battle of *Worceſter* he took upon him a more ſtately Behaviour, choſe new Friends*, and after the Fight *frown'd upon and diſmiſs'd thoſe who had aſſiſted him againſt the common Enemy, though he knew they had deſerv'd as much Honour as himſelf* and the ſtanding Army. And wherefore was it? Becauſe he knew that a *uſeful and experienc'd Militia was more likely to obſtruct, than ſecond him in his ambitious Deſigns.* But theſe are the Murmurs of Envy and Prejudice: For what would our Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland* have had the *Engliſh* General have done with the Militia when there was no farther uſe of them? He that pretended to have been always ſo tender of burdening

* P. 365.

the Nation, would have had the General, instead of frowning upon them (for which we have only his bare Word) have kiss'd them Man by Man, and rewarded them every one with so many Points and a white Loaf, like the Procession Boys at *Whitsuntide*. But he should have blamed the Parliament for that Omission; that was none of the General's Business. He would have had the Parliament have kept them up to obstruct the General's *ambitious Designs*. But to their Misfortune they were not so quick-sighted as our foreseeing Author of the Memoirs, and therefore they sent them home again to their Wives and Children; whither, no question, they were as willing to return, as the General was to send them away. However, afterwards the same Militia petition'd for bringing Delinquents to speedy Punishment; and then, I hope, they pleas'd our Commander in Chief of the *Irish* Forces, as well as if they had kept the Field. Now for the ambitious Designs of *Cromwell*, with which our Author often makes a great Noise, I would fain know, What was the Difference between the *ambitious Design* of setting up a tyrannical Republic, and the ambitious Design of advancing a single Usurpation? The latter I am sure was more consonant to the ancient Government of the Nation; for that restor'd the Monarchy, though not the Person; but the other would have pull'd down the very Fabrick and Constitution of the *English* Government. And now let him cry out as much as he pleases against our ambitious Design, we will not exchange with him; because our ambitious Design was better than his. Nay, they were so fond of this ambitious Design of theirs, that they would have bribed the General to have let them alone to sit still, till they had rear'd their triumphant Arch of a Commonwealth. But they were such narrow-soul'd People, that their stingy Avarice would not suffer them to offer any more than four thousand Pounds a Year for the Disposal of the whole Revenue of the Nation,* besides what they might have added to it. Now I appeal to any conscionable Man, whether that were enough to oblige a General, who had the Power of the Sword in his Hands, to the *Performance of his Duty*.

However, while he is thus degrading the Reputation of the Father-in-Law, no sooner is the Son-in-Law dead, but he extols him to the Skies, and raises him a Monument as high as his slender Elocution will permit him. A clear Argument that Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* was no other than a thick-skull'd Officer of Horse, who might have enter'd into Battle invulnerable in the Forehead so to extol as he does the Son-in-Law, who was he Framer and Contriver of many of those very Designs which he calls Impious and Wicked, at the same time that he expends all the small Shot of his Indignation against the Father-in-Law, for putting them prudently and resolutely in Execution. He applauds his departed Friend for his *Affection to his Country, his Abilities of Mind, his impartial Justice, and his Diligence in the Public Service*;† and at length embalms his Memory in a venomous *Effluvium* against the Generality of Kings both past and to come; affirming that his *Virtues* were a far greater Honour to it, than *a Dormitory among the Ashes of Kings, who as they govern'd others by their Passions, so were they themselves no less govern'd by them.*

And now you shall find the sincere and upright Compiler of these Memoirs in a second palpable Contradiction of himself. For he tells you before, That when his

* P. 371. † P. 384.

his Friends would have perſwaded him that *Cromwell* took the Opportunity of preferring him, to remove him out of the Way, leſt he ſhould prove an Obſtruction to his Deſigns, he made them anſwer,* *That he could not think himſelf ſo conſiderable, and therefore could not concur with them in their Opinion.* But now upon *Lambert*'s Refuſal to go over without any Character into *Ireland*, leſs than that of *Deputy*, a certain Speech of Mr. *Weaver*, tending to continue him in his Military Command, †*increas'd* Oliver's *Jealouſy of him, that he might prove an Obſtruction to the Deſign he was carrying on, to advance himſelf by the Ruin of the Commonwealth*; and therefore reſolv'd to place Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* at the Head of Affairs in *Ireland*. Before, he denied that his Preferment by *Oliver* proceeded from any Suſpicion that the General had of being diſturb'd by him in his Deſigns, becauſe he knew himſelf incapable to do him any Harm. Here he affirms that the Increaſe of that Suſpicion, meaning doubtleſs that Suſpicion which he had before denied, was the Reaſon that *Oliver* reſolv'd to place another above him. Now all Men know, what never was, can never increaſe. To ſalve then this ſame Slip of the Lieutenant's-General's Memory, we muſt believe that either *Cromwell* was not ſo cunning as the World took him to be, or elſe that the Lieutenant-General diſſembled with his beſt Friends. But 'tis to be hoped that the Lieutenant-General may be pardon'd for forgetting himſelf a little, provided he might gain the Honour of being thought an Antagoniſt capable to prevent the ambitious Deſigns of a Man ſo formidable as *Cromwell*. 'Tis the Nature of ſuch Aſpirers as the Lieutenant-General, to be, like Bladders, ſometimes ſhrivel'd up with Self-Denial, and by and bye ſwoln up with the Wind of Vanity and Self-Conceit; or otherwiſe, like Proſpective-Glaſſes, that leſſen at one End, and magnify at the other.

But it ſeems *Cromwell* was too nimble for him, and ſoon rid himſelf from all his Fears of the Lieutenant-General's obſtructing his Deſigns; which the diſappointed Lieutenant-General loudly bemoans. For upon *Fleetwood*'s Arrival in *Ireland*, he fetches a deep Sigh, and with the Cobler cries out, *Perdidi Operam*, finding all his ‖ *Cares and Fatigues recompenced only with Envy and Hatred.* Which was, no doubt, the Reaſon that afterwards he reſolved to repay *Cromwell* in his own Coin. Nevertheleſs, as much rejected as he was, he will not forego the high Opinion he always had of himſelf; and becauſe he had no other Witneſſes, cunningly brings in *Envy* and *Hatred* to be the Teſtimonies of his great Performances: For *Envy* and *Hatred* among great Perſonages never attend little Matters. I muſt confeſs he tells you of many Things he did in *Ireland*; among the reſt,§ how he ſmoak'd a Party of the *Iriſh* to Death in a hollow Rock; and how, out of his great Ingenuity, perceiving the *Smoke that went into the Cavity of the Rock came out again at other Crevices*, he, as Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, cauſed thoſe Places to be cloſely ſtop'd, and another Smother to be made; and then conceiving the Work to be done, by the ſame Authority as before, he ſent in his Men armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-piece, to fetch out the dead People. But this was no ſuch mighty Act to deſerve the Hatred and Envy of any Man. And therefore ſeeing the Lieutenant-General gives us no Account who they were that *envy'd and hated* him; and for that we ſee no Ground to believe it, more eſpecially if he

* P. 303. † P. 414. ‖ P. 425. § P. 423.

he means *Cromwell* to be one (for Men of *Cromwell*'s Temper never hate or envy thoſe that they know can do them no Harm) unleſs the Lieutenant-General miſtook Contempt and Slight for Envy and Hatred; we can only believe it to be a Stratagem of the Lieutenant-General himſelf, to inſinuate the Grandeur of his own Atchievements and Merits, which others either could not, or were unwilling to do to that Degree as he was deſirous they ſhould. More than this, it is obſervable, that notwithſtanding all the great Actions in *Ireland*, which the Lieutenant General aſſumes to himſelf to have ſo glorioufly performed, *Whitlock* (ſo particular in relating the Actions of other great Officers in *Ireland*, as *Broghil*, *Waller*, *Jones*, *Axtel*, *Zanchy*, &c.) makes no mention at all of the Lieutenant-General, till after *Ireton*'s Death; and then he ſays no more of him, but that he was appointed to command the Forces in *Ireland*, till the farther Pleaſure of the Parliament was known.

This is the Subſtance of the Firſt Volume of *Ludlow*'s Memoirs, ſo far as they relate to his inconſiderable Quarrels and Diſſatisfactions with *Cromwell*'s Proceedings; which may be reduced to three particular Heads: His private Treaty with the King; his ſuſpected Deſigns to ruin the Republican Party, and ſet up for himſelf; and his Neglect of recompencing the Lieutenant-General according to his Merits. Which are Accuſations ſo far from doing any Injury to *Oliver*'s Memory, that they rather ingratiate him with the moſt conſiderable Part of the Nation. So that, as I have already once or twice repeated, I admire to what Purpoſe theſe Memoirs were printed in *England*, unleſs it were to expoſe the Author to be a Perſon that hated Monarchy, and conſequently the preſent Government, with ſuch an inveterate Abomination, that it may be queſtion'd whether he had any Kindneſs for *Adam*, becauſe he reign'd ſingle in Paradiſe. They might indeed have ſerved to ſhew his Gratitude to the Canton of *Bern*, to which purpoſe they were written; but to print them ſo unſeaſonably here in *England*, with a noiſy Title, and himſelf ſtanding in his ornamental Iron at the Entrance into the Booth of his Memoirs, like a *Charlatan* and three Trumpeters *ſolus* in a *Bartlemew-Fair* Balcony, was an Act that wanted ſo much Conſideration, as ought to have preceded their being thus ſent to farce it abroad in the World. Beſides that, when you expect a gaudy Shew, there is nothing to be ſeen but Relations of Things long ſince *Lippis & Tonſoribus nota*, and already recited by others with much clearer Exactneſs, and a more pertinent Fidelity.

Nevertheleſs, the Gentleman-Uſher of theſe precious Memoirs applauds his Author for a Perſon that ſerved his Country with that indefatigable Care, Diligence, and Fidelity, as no Man more; which he does upon a falſe Notion of *Ludlow*'s Services, and for Want of well diſtinguiſhing between the Nature of Public Services: For it is one Thing for a Man to ſerve his Country, another Thing to ſerve a particular Party. Now I do not find by the Preamble, that he ever did any Service for his Country, otherwiſe than by expending his Care and Diligence for the Service of the Republican Party (which, by the way, the Writer of the Preamble calls his *going through innumerable Hazards for the Liberties of* England) for he *never acted* under *Cromwell*'s ſingle Power, and he hated Royaliſts and Preſbyterians both alike. But whether he ſerved his Country in ſerving the particular Party of the Republicans, is a Queſtion that lies

wholly

wholly at the Writer of the Preamble's door to decide. I am apt to believe, if he will be so adventurous to assert it, he will meet with Champions enough that will undertake him. Certain it is, there were some, and those no mean Persons, nor few in Number, among whom there were some Judges of the Land, who never believed the Writer of the Preamble, that ever *Ludlow* did any Service for his Country; and therefore though the Lieutenant-General so frequently complains, that he could never be gratified according to his Merits, *they would have recompenced him to the full of his Deserts in fighting for his Country, had the Lieutenant-General not fled from his Reward.* And so we proceed to his Second Volume.

VOLUME II.

THE Second Volume begins very tartly and roundly indeed, and displaying a kind of *Billinsgate* Passion against *Cromwell*, for dissolving that Part of the Parliament, which the People afterwards in Derision call'd the *Rump*; and which the Lieutenant-General* calls *a Villainous Attempt*, and *a Barbarous Usage of the Parliament*; which they who well consider will find to be the Language only of Prejudice and Self-Interest, and in the Lieutenant-General to be no way justifiable. 'Tis true, his Charge against *Cromwell* is very high, and very plausible; but whether the Accusations will fix a real Guilt upon the Party accused, is the Question. For this is an Axiom in Logic, that nothing is to be admitted for Truth, but what is acknowledged to be certainly such: that is to say, all Precipitancy and Prejudice in judging is to be avoided; and nothing is farther to be absolutely concluded, than as it is so clearly and distinctly evident to Reason, that it can no way be call'd in Question.

Now there is No-body will deny, but that *Cromwell* turn'd out the Rump; yet there are Thousands will deny that he did amiss in doing it. But to shew how Partiality blinds the Reason of some People, I would fain know where lay the Difference between purging the House, and turning out the Members that were treating with the King in the Isle of *Wight*, and dissolving the Republican Rump: For *Oliver* was as much a Servant to the one as the other. Yet the Lieutenant-General could approve the first Act, whatever Exclamations he makes against the latter. Then *Oliver* was faithful and an Assertor, now a perfidious Invader of the Liberties of the People. Neither did *Cromwell* owe them that Obedience which the Lieutenant-General pretends: He was a Member of the same Body, equal in Authority, superior in Power, and fought for himself as well as for them; and if they aided him with Money and their Counsels, he assisted them with his Counsels and his Sword. They sat under his Protection, and owed their Grandeur to his Victories; and he might be said to have given them their Being in a political Sense; and to support that Being of theirs, he ran all the Hazards abroad, while they enjoyed the Fruits of his Labours at Home. Their Power was only precarious, and while they ruled by Laws only of his and their own making, he was not circumscrib'd to any Limits of Obedience to Acts and Ordinances made only for present Conveniences; which in an unstable Government there may be as great a Necessity to alter or repeal upon new Emergencies.

It

* P. 452, 461.

In this Confuſion of popular Anarchy, *Cromwell* reſolv'd to be govern'd by the only ſtanding Law in the Kingdom at that Time, which was the Law of Self-Preſervation: And the ejected Republicans may thank the Earl of *Eſſex*, when General, and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, for teaching him that Leſſon. Mr. *Whitlock*, in his *Memoirs*, tells the Story thus:

Colonel *Cromwell* being made Lieutenant-General of *Mancheſter*'s Army, gave ſuch an Account of the Miſcarriages of the Parliament's Forces before *Donnington* Caſtle, as made great Impreſſions of Jealouſy in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Breaſt, then Captain-General for the Parliament; inſomuch that he was adviſed to put his Strength to rid *Cromwell* out of the way; and the Means to effect it was ſuppoſed to be by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who were not well pleaſed with *Cromwell* for certain Words which he had ſpoken, as they apprehended derogatory to the Honour of their Nation. So early did *Cromwell* begin to be both eminent and formidable.

One Evening *Mainard* and *Whitlock* were ſummon'd to *Eſſex*-Houſe, whither they went to attend the Lord-General, not knowing the Occaſion of their being ſent for, and found already come before them the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and ſome others. After the uſual Compliments, the Lord-General addreſſing himſelf to *Mainard* and *Whitlock*, told them, he had ſent for them upon a ſpecial Occaſion, to have their Advice and Counſel in a Matter of great Importance, wherein the Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland* were concerned, as well for their own, as the State of *England*; and refer'd himſelf to the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, as a much better Orator than himſelf, to acquaint them with the Buſineſs.

Upon which the Lord Chancellor, after he had aſſured them of the good Opinion that himſelf and his Brethren had of their Worth and Abilities, You ken vary weel, ſaid he, that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* is no Friend of ours, and ſince the Advance of our Army into *England* he has uſed all under-hand and cunning Means to take off from our Honour and Merit of this Kingdom: Therefore it is thought requiſite for us, and for the carrying on of the Cauſe of the twa Realms, that this Obſtacle or Remora may be removed out of the way, whom otherwiſe we foreſee will be no ſmall Impediment to us, and the gude Deſign we have undertaken.

He not only is no Friend to us and the Government of our Kirk, but he is alſo no Well-willer to his Excellency, whom we have all Cauſe to love and honour: So that if he be permitted to go on in his Way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole Buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome Courſe to be taken for Prevention of that Miſchief.

You ken vary weel the Accord betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the Union between the two Kingdoms by the ſolemn League and Covenant, and if any be an *Incendiary* between the two Nations, how he is to be proceeded againſt. Now the Matter is, wherein we deſire your Opinions, what you take the Meaning of this Word *Incendiary* to be, and whither the Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* be not ſike an *Incendiary* as is meant thereby; and whilke way wud be beſt to proceed againſt him if he be proved ſike an *Incendiary*, and that will clepe his Wings from ſoaring to the Prejudice of our Cauſe.

Now

Now you may ken that by our Law in *Scotland* we clepe him an *Incendiary* wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiſeth Differences in the State to the public Damage, and he is *tanquam Publicus Hoſtis Patriæ.* Whether your Law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt who are mickle learned therein; and therefore, with the Favour of his Excellency, we deſire your Judgments in theſe Points.

Whitlock reply'd, That the Senſe of the Word *Incendiary* was the ſame in *England*, as his Lordſhip had expreſs'd it to be by the Law of *Scotland*, *One that raiſeth the Fire of Contention in a State*, or that kindles the *burning hot Flames of Contention*; but whether Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* were ſuch an Incendiary between the two Kingdoms, could not be known but by Proof of his particular Words and Actions tending to the kindling of ſuch a Fire of Contention between the two Nations.

That it was not for the Lord General and the Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland* to appear in any Accuſation of this Nature, unleſs they were certain it could be made out by ſufficient Proofs.

That they were to conſider the Condition, Parts, and Intereſt of the Perſon who was to be accuſed as an *Incendiary*.

That Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* was a Gentleman of quick and ſubtle Parts, and one who had gain'd no ſmall Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, and wanted not Friends in the Houſe of Peers, nor Abilities in himſelf to manage his own Defence to the beſt Advantage.

And therefore ſince neither his Excellency nor the Lord Chancellor had mention'd any Particulars, nor that he knew of any by his own private Obſervations, that could amount to a clear Proof that would ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* was an Incendiary, his Advice was, That they ſhould deſiſt from any further Proſecution of this Matter, till they were certain of evident Proofs to make out their Accuſation.

Maynard gave the ſame Anſwer, only vary'd in Words. However, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and ſome others, ſpoke ſmartly to the Buſineſs, and mentioning ſome particular Paſſages and Words of *Cromwell*, tending to prove him an *Incendiary*, would willingly have been upon the Accuſation. But the *Scots* Commiſſioners were not ſo forward to adventure upon it, for the Reaſons alledged by *Maynard* and *Whitlock*. Nevertheleſs, this Buſineſs was not carry'd ſo privately, but that *Cromwell* was inform'd of it: Which Mr. *Whitlock* gathers from hence, That though *Cromwell* took no Notice of any particular Paſſages at this Conference, yet he ſeem'd more kind to *Whitlock* and *Maynard* than formerly he had been, and carry'd on his Deſign more actively of making Way for his own Advancement.

From hence it is apparent, that there was a Party in the Parliament that bore an early Spleen againſt *Cromwell*, and fain would have nipt him in the Bud; but his eminent Service at *Naſeby* procuring him to be appointed and continued Lieutenant-General under *Fairfax*, and the continual Succeſſes that attended him from that Time forward, ſet him above their Machinations. Nevertheleſs, they did not eraſe out of his Breaſt the Remembrance of the Kindneſſes they would have done him; nor did their Flatteries of his Proſperity make him the more neglectful of ſtanding upon his guard. And it was a

warrantable for *Cromwell* to secure himself from the Contrivances of his Enemies in a shatter'd Parliament, of which he had so long before such timely Notice, as it was for them to seek his Ruin. For they were not his Sovereigns, but his Equals. This I urge to throw off that common Aspersion from *Cromwell*, That he sought his own Advancement from the Beginning, more than by enlarging his Fortune by Acts of Prowess, and joining with others to procure the general Good of the Kingdom. For *Baxter* confesses,* that at first he took extream Care to get as many Religious Men into the Regiment that was to serve immediately under him, as possibly he could; who being People of more Understanding than common Soldiers, were the more apprehensive of the Importance and Consequence of the War, and being conscious that they fought for the Public Felicity, became the more valiant; and he instances *Airs*, *Berry*, *Desborough*, and the rest of that Troop, that they proved so valiant, that, as far as he could learn, they never turn'd their Backs to an Enemy. He adds farther, That at *Cromwell*'s first making choice of such Men, it was the very Esteem and Love of Religious Men that principally moved him; and the avoiding those Disorders, Mutinies, Plunderings and Grievances of the Country, which debauch'd Men in Armies are usually guilty of. Now it is not easy to believe, that a Man of such Principles should be guilty of that inordinate Ambition which his Maligners lay to his Charge. But when he found that his prosperous Atchievements rais'd him Enemies on every Side; that they who were most beholding to his victorious Successes, combined with the greatest Animosity to his Destruction, 'twas Time for him then to look about him, and to oppose their undermining Devices with Countermines of the same Nature. Nor does it appear by any Proof that carries Authority with it, that he pretended to single Greatness till he was forced to it for his own Safety. It is agreed by the Author of the *Memoirs* himself, that *Cromwell* offer'd more candid and easy Conditions to the King than the *Presbyterian* Party did; which if the King had accepted (and it does not appear to be *Cromwell*'s Fault that he did not) *Cromwell* himself had then put a Stop to all his single Advancement; whereas he would surely have taken another Course, had he at that Time meditated single Sovereignty; but the King, who was design'd by Fate to be a Victim to evil Counsel, refus'd those Offers, trusting to vainer Hopes. On the other Side, it was manifestly apparent that the *Presbyterian* Party aim'd at nothing more than their own Advancement by their selling the Bishops Lands, and when they came to treat with the King, by their stiffly adhering to their Proposition for the Abolishing of Episcopacy, knowing there could be no Bishops without Maintenance, and that then they must be the paramount Clergy of the Kingdom. But then, indeed, *Cromwell* perceiving that it was not safe to rely upon the King, nor willing to truckle under a Party that were treating for their own Advancement upon his Ruins, 'tis rational to believe, that from that Time forward he began to look upon the King as a conquer'd Prince, and that none could better supply his Room than the Person who had subdued him.

The Motives and Provocations that incited *Cromwell* to dissolve the *Rump*, were somewhat different; for before the *Presbyterian* Party was expell'd, though the

* *Baxter*'s Life, Part I. P. 98.

the Royal Party had deſerted the Houſe, there was a Number ſtill left ſufficient to take upon them the Name of a Parliament; and there was ſome Face of that Authority which the Law of the Land had inveſted in the Repreſentatives of the People; beſides that, the King had acknowledged them to be a Parliament, upon the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. But they being ejected, the ſmall Remainder was only a Junto, which derived their Authority from the Power of the Sword; their Votes and Acts were no farther Laws than the Sword conſtrain'd Obedience to them; they were only continued in their Seats by *Cromwell* for a preſent Convenience; and therefore as they were only countenanced and ſupported by the Power of the Sword, which was then in the Hands of *Cromwell*, they were to be look'd upon as no other than a Party ſet up by him, and owing their Authority to him. So that when they began to extend that Authority beyond its Limits, and aſſumed to themſelves a democratical Power, in Oppoſition to him from whom they derived their Subſiſtence, they were rather Rebels to *Cromwell*, than *Cromwell* to them; and as he ſet them up, in hopes that they might be ſerviceable to him for the Good of the Nation, he might pull them down again, when he ſaw them exceeding their Commiſſion. Now whether the Deſign, for the bringing of which to paſs *Cromwell* fix'd them in their Seats *pro tempore*, were good or bad, is not the Queſtion: But whether they who were no lawful Authority, but only acted under the Safeguard of another unlawful Authority, had Power to make any Act good or evil, as it ſuited with their Intereſt, or oppoſed their Deſigns. For if they had not, which is moſt probable, *Cromwell* is never a jot the more impious, the more perjured, the more a Villain, becauſe they call him ſo. For being a Junto of his own erecting, upon ſuch and ſuch Conſiderations, he might without any Fear of thoſe Reproaches, ſend them a grazing when he found them deviating from thoſe Ends for which he had ſuffer'd them to keep their Places. Now it is plain, that *Cromwell* never intended they ſhould ſit long, or thought them able to accompliſh his main Deſign, which was to ſettle the Nation. For *Whitlock* in his Memorials gives you an Account, how that after the Battle of *Worceſter*, *Cromwell* deſired a Meeting with ſeveral Members of Parliament, and ſome chief Officers of the Army at the Speaker's Houſe, where, in the Preſence of a great many that met, he propoſed to them, That *ſince the Old King was dead, and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation*, and therefore he had deſired that Meeting to conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done.

Whitlock offer'd, Whether it were not requiſite to be underſtood in the firſt Place, in what way ſuch a Settlement was deſired; whether of an abſolute Republic, or of any Mixture of Monarchy.

Cromwell concur'd with *Whitlock*, that his Meaning was, that it ſhould be conſider'd, whether a Republic or a mix'd Monarchy would be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that Power to be placed.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington* was of Opinion, That a mix'd monarchical Government was the moſt ſuitable to the Laws and People of the Nation; and if monarchical, that it would be moſt juſt to place it in one of the Sons of the late King.

Fleetwood thought that the Question whether a mix'd Monarchy or a Republic, would not be very easily determined. But,

St. John, the Chief Justice, was of the same Opinion with Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and so was the Speaker; but they did not mention where it was proper to be placed.

Widdrington again proposed the Duke of *Glouceſter*; and *Whitlock* propounded that a Day might be fix'd for the King's eldest Son and the Duke of *York* to come into the Parliament, that so upon such Terms as should be thought fit and agreeable, both to the Civil and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement might be made with them.

Cromwell reply'd, That it would be a Business of more than ordinary Difficulty; however, he really thought, that if it could be done with Safety to the Preservation of the *English* Rights, a Settlement with something of monarchical Power in it would be very effectual.

In short, the Soldiers were against any thing of Monarchy, as *Desborough* and *Whalley*, who were present at the Meeting; but the Lawyers were for a mix'd Monarchy.

Hence it is apparent, that the Dissolution of the *Rump*, in order to the setting up a Government with a Mixture of Monarchy in it, had a truer and more noble Aim, as being more conformable to the Laws of the Land, than the Continuance of a Republic.

The Point is not (here) whether *Cromwell* did ill in setting up himself; but whether he did amiss in setting up himself above the Republican *Rump*; and for that, he has of his Side the Opinions of the greatest and most learned Lawyers of that Time: And *Whitlock* testifies, That *St. John*, the then Chief Justice, with many others, advised him to dissolve the *Rump*. So that *Ludlow*'s Outcries of *Villainous*, *Wicked*, and *Perfidious*, are false and scandalous, as being grounded upon Ignorance, Passion, and Partiality. He could not be taxed with Wickedness or Villainy, because he pursued the Constitutions of the Nation, at least much closer than they who had design'd the Subversion of the national Government: Nor could he be charged with Perfidiousness, because he never promised to perpetuate their Session, but had often desired them to dissolve themselves, which they foreslowing by a thousand cunning Delays, he took the Liberty to dismiss them by Force.

But how highly soever *Ludlow* was offended with the Dissolution of his Republican Brethren, many others were not of his Opinion. For *Whitlock* tells you, that their Dissolution caused much rejoicing among the King's Party; and that among the Parliament's Party several Pastors of Churches and their Congregations were pleased at it; and that several Acknowledgments of the Justice of that Action were sent up to *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, not only from several Parties of the Army, but from others in various Countries, with Engagements to stand by him; and *Baxter* tells you, that *no Sort of People expreſs'd any great Offence at their being caſt out*; though he closes his advantagious Testimonial of the general Approbation of the Action, with a Lash of his satyrical Pen, upon the Score of his old Friends, the exterminated Members: For Mr. *Baxter* does not appear in his Descants upon *Cromwell* to be a Man without Gall. However, he serves as a good Witness against Lieutenant-General

General *Ludlow*, to ſhew that *Oliver*'s Diſſolution of the *Rump* was no ſuch Crime, as he proclaims it to be. And thus it is obſervable how ſtrangely Falſhood is impoſed upon the World in the various Dreſſes and Diſguiſes of Truth. If you will believe the Affirmations of Self-Intereſt and Partiality, there are as many Truths as there are Waiſtcoats of the Virgin *Mary*, among the Papiſts; at leaſt, there is no Champion of a Party but has his Wardrobe of Pretences, and Dreſſes of Juſtice, Piety, Virtue, and whatever is revear'd and eſteemed among Men, to prank and trick up their minion Falſhood, that it ſhall not be poſſible to diſtinguiſh her from Truth; nor are they at the ſame Time without as many Magazines of deformed Vizors and Diſguiſes to render Truth the moſt odious and monſtrous of all Things, and ungrateful to Mankind. One cries up this for Truth; another aſſerts for Truth that which is diametrically oppoſite; a Third ſteps in, and charges them both for Impoſtors. And the Generality of Men, too lazy to examine which is Truth and which is Falſhood, refer themſelves to him, who having got ſomething of a Name in the World, either for his Learning or Piety, or it may be ſometimes for both, has the greateſt Authority over their Perſuaſion.

This is *Cromwell*'s Caſe; of whom it was ſaid, that no Man was *higher extoll'd*, no Man more *baſely vilified*; no Man *worſe*, no Man *better* ſpoken of; as *Intereſt led the Judgments* of Men. The *Presbyterians*, with *Baxter* at their Head, affirm it was an Act of *Rebellion*, *Perjury*, *Perfidiouſneſs*, and *Impudence*, to turn ſo many of their Members out of the Houſe at once: The *Republican* Party ſay, No; that was no Crime at all; but it was a *Villainous*, *Barbarous*, *Perfidious* Act to diſſolve the *Rump*. Whence it is naturally concluded, that until both Parties can make out their diametrical Infallibility in theſe Points, *Cromwell*'s Reputation ſtands irreproachable, as to thoſe Acts with which they charge him to have committed againſt themſelves. Add to this, that being all Parties and Accomplices, they were no competent Judges of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of their own Cauſe, conſequently neither of *Cromwell*'s Proceedings againſt themſelves. So that having no Right to judge, they had no Power to condemn.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de Seditione querentes?

And now we come to the Accompliſhment of the Soothſayings and Conjectures of our *Iriſh* Lieutenant-General, That after all was done, *Cromwell* would certainly fool the *Rump*, and ſet up for himſelf." And here with a Painter-Stainer's Bruſh of his over-weaning Malice he ſtrives to render *Oliver* as deformed as poſſibly he can, to the End he may make his *Rump* appear the more ſleek and immaculate. To this Intent, his main Pretence is *violent Uſurpation*, but his chief Reaſons, which he diſplays too inconſiderately to the World, were his own Diſcontents, the Abatement of his Pay, and his being at length turn'd quite out of Commiſſion: For, ſays he,* *the Pay of ſome of the Officers of the Army was alſo reduced; among whom it fell heavier on me, than any other; for I was obliged to keep a more plentiful Table than the reſt, and twenty Horſes continually in my Stable ready for Service:* And indeed it would have vex'd a Saint, to have been thrown down, like *Lucifer*, from ſo much Glory all of a ſudden.

* P. 465.

ſudden. Then for his Commiſſion, he himſelf acknowledges * that it was not taken from him, till he was diſcover'd to be a Diſperſer of Petitions and *Memento's* againſt the Perſon who procured it for him, and in whoſe Name it was given. And here his pretended tender Conſcience being prick'd and goaded with a hundred Scruples and Niceties, 'tis very pleaſant to ſee how it caper'd and curvetted upon the Demand of that Commiſſion. However, it is apparent, that he was uſed with a World of Civility, more than he deſerved, and that great Care was taken to recover him from thoſe pious Frenzies and Vagaries, with which his Celeſtial Bigottry was led aſtray.

As for his Charge of Uſurpation and Tyranny upon *Oliver*; we muſt take him for a Perſon abſtracted from all other Parties but his own, and deal with him as one that boaſted that he had ſubſcribed the Engagement to be true to the *Rump*, without King or Houſe of Lords, *with his Hand and his Heart*; and then we muſt affirm, that he has gone all along upon a wrong Ground; ſeeing there could be no greater Proof of Uſurpation, than that very Engagement which the Lieutenant-Gendral ſign'd with his Hand and his Heart. For it was a Demand of Fealty by thoſe who had no legal Authority to require it, and a perfect Invaſion upon the Prerogatives of the King and the Lords, and erecting a ſpurious Commonwealth upon their Ruins. So that the Confidence of the Lieutenant-General is greatly to be wonder'd at; who being an Accomplice in ſo ſignal a Uſurpation, durſt adventure to call *Cromwell* a Uſurper, who did no more than what they had done before him with much more Injuſtice and Illegality. For the Lieutenant and his Copartners uſurp'd upon the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Nation; whereas *Oliver* was only a Uſurper upon Uſurpers, if it might be called a Uſurpation. However, to make it out, the Lieutenant-General conjectures this, and ſurmiſes that, according as his own idle Fancy prompted him; and would make the World believe that he knew *Cromwell*'s Thoughts, and all the Reaſons of his Actions, which he takes ſo much care to beſpatter with his fond Reflections and Interpretations, to the beſt Advantage of his undefiled *Rump*. Whereas there be ſome who reckon that Action of *Cromwell*'s among the moſt glorious of his Performances, and which came the neareſt to one of the moſt famous Atchievements of *Hercules* himſelf, to cut off that many headed *Geryon* of Anarchy, Folly, and Tyranny, at one Blow.

But notwithſtanding all his ſtroaking and clapping his Republican *Rump*, there are others that write with more Impartiality, who give us a better Account of Things; and from thoſe bare Relations of Matters of Fact, we find that *Cromwell* always adviſed with the greateſt Lawyers in the Nation, before he put his Determinations in Execution. In an accidental Conference between *Cromwell* and *Whitlock*, the latter agreed with the former, That *Ludlow*'s ſpotleſs *Rumponians* were a Proud, Ambitious, and Self-ſeeking Sort of People, ingroſſing all Places of Honour and Profit to themſelves and their Friends, and daily breaking out into new and violent Parties and Factions; that they were Delayers of Buſineſs, and Men that deſigned to perpetuate the Power in their own Hands. So that it was then concluded between them, that there ought to

* P. 522, &c.

to be ſome Authority and Power ſo full and ſo high, as might reſtrain their Exorbitances, and reduce Things to better Order.

Certainly theſe were Inducements for *Cromwell* to diſſolve the *Rump*, much more juſt and honeſt, and far more beneficial to the Nation, than thoſe Figments which *Ludlow* charges him withal. Had they been thoſe By-ends, and that Ambition which *Ludlow* would pretend to diſcover in him, it was well known, and *Whitlock* put him in mind at the ſame Conference, that he had all the kingly Power in him already; that of the *Militia*, as he was General; that as to the Nomination of Civil Officers, thoſe whom he recommended were very ſeldom refuſed; and that though he had not a negative Vote in paſſing the Laws, yet what he diſliked was not eaſy to be carried; and that it was in his Power to diſpoſe of the Public Money: Then as to Foreign Affairs, though the ceremonial Application were made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Succeſs was from himſelf; and particular Solicitations of Foreign Miniſters were made only to him.

But *Cromwell* well knowing that the Power of a King was univerſally underſtood and reverenced by the People of this Nation, and that a ſingle Perſon, under what Title ſoever, was more agreeable to the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, in all Probability believed that it would be much better to deſtroy the *Republican Hydra*, paſt Recovery, than to be guilty of ſo many foreſeen Miſcarriages, by ſuffering the unruly Monſter any longer to domineer under the Protection of his Power. For certain it is, that whatever the Nation had ſuffered, though it had paſs'd in their Names, would have been all laid upon his Shoulders. And by the Event it may be juſtly thought, that theſe were the real Motives that ſway'd *Oliver* to aſſume a ſingle Title, rather than the Fictions of *Ludlow*'s Malice and Diſcontent. However, *Ludlow* pretends, that his *Rump* was dock'd in the full career of their good Intentions for the Good of the Nation; to which ſome Credit might have been given, had ſome indifferent Perſon ſpoke it: But as the Praiſes and Encomiums of a Bigot gain little Belief, ſo neither are his Defamations and Reproaches any more to be regarded among Men of Senſe. More than this, *Cicero* will not allow that any Man ſhould accuſe another for that which he is as much, or more guilty of himſelf. Now it is apparent that *Oliver*, as has been ſaid, ſo far as concerned the *Rump*, was much leſs a Uſurper than *Ludlow* and his Party, who had uſurped all the Authority in the Kingdom to themſelves, and were going about to ſubvert the fundamental Government of the Nation; whereas *Oliver* did but diſſolve a Conventicle of a Parliament, out of a firm Belief that they were meditating the Ruin of the Kingdom; which having no legal Authority, might eaſily be diſſolved by the ſame Power that ſupported it. So that there is not the leaſt Pretence for *Ludlow*'s Outcries of Uſurpation againſt *Oliver*, who had as much Right, if he ſaw Cauſe, to diſſolve them, as they had to ſit; more eſpecially ſeeing neither *Ludlow*, nor any of his Party, could claim any Redreſs from the Law of the Land, to which they were all ſworn Enemies by virtue of their Engagement; nor was there any other Law to make it Uſurpation, unleſs they meant ſome petty Votes of their own, which ſignified nothing.

The Lieutenant-General's next Charge upon *Cromwell*, is an Accuſation of Tyranny; not that the Lieutenant-General ever felt the Effects of it, unleſs it were

were his being turned out of Commiſſion for endeavouring to raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon him, as we told you before, by diſperſing Petitions and *Memento's* againſt *Oliver* and his Government, which he thought, in his ſilly Conſcience,* to be a Duty incumbent upon him: But becauſe the Lieutenant-General having read or heard that Uſurpation and Tyranny were generally Concomitants, he thought it a Duty incumbent upon him to give *Oliver* a double Scratch, and becauſe he had charged him with Uſurpation, that therefore it behoved him to accuſe him of Tyranny, by reaſon they were ſo near a-kin. Such Blunders do Men commit that are ſway'd by Prejudice and Diſguſt. Now therefore we are to examine who were the greateſt Tyrants, the *Rump* or *Cromwell*. The Definition of Tyranny, according to *Ariſtotle*, is the Domination of one or more Men, with regard to nothing elſe but their own proper Intereſt and Advantage.

Now you have heard the Characters of the Generality of the *Rump*; that they were *Proud*, *Ambitious*, and *Self-ſeekers:* Endowments ſo temper'd by original Sin to qualify Men in Authority for Tyranny, that it is a difficult Thing for thoſe that poſſeſs them to avoid the Temptations of deſpotic Dominion. But to come to Particulars; their deſpotic Votes, from which there was no Appeal; the Sequeſtrations, Decimations, their Committe-Men, *Baſha's* and *Sangiacs*, in every Corner of the Kingdom, to extirpate the ancient Gentry and Nobility of the Nation; their deſigning the very Annihilation of Kingſhip, by expoſing the Palaces of Royalty to Sale; their Lording it over the epiſcopal Clergy to that Degree, that they would not ſuffer them to have two or three gathered together in their Saviour's Name, as if the *Cavaliers* had no Right to Heaven; Taxes impoſed *ad Libitum*, by a uſurp'd Authority, to maintain Wars with *Holland*, Wars with *Portugal*, that ſignified nothing to *England*, but tended all to the Advancement of their own Grandeur: And all this while, the Nation rent and torn, Family againſt Family, Parents againſt their Children, Foreigners increaſed in the Staple Manufactures of the Kingdom, and Confuſion, that always nurſes Anarchy and Tyranny, as the Wolf did *Romulus* and *Remus*, raging uncontrouled from *Dover* to *Berwick*.

While the Kingdom was in this diſaſterous Condition, *Cromwell* ſteps in and puts a ſtop to theſe precipitant *Phaetons*, that had quite overturned the Chariot of Government, and finding no other way but to reſtore the ancient Eſtabliſhment of a ſingle Perſon and a Parliament, takes the Reins into his own Hands. And this is that which our Lieutenant-General of the Forces in *Ireland* ſnorts and fumes at with ſo much Indignation, and calls, though very improperly, his own Circumſtances conſidered, a Betraying of the precious Cauſe, and a *Sacrificing of all their Victories and Deliverances to his Pride and Ambition*,† *contrary to his former ſolemn Vows and Profeſſions*. A Charge of a high Nature, but which has been ſufficiently anſwered already. However, *Cromwell* would not be over haſty in this Affair of ſo great Importance; he firſt calls an Aſſembly of Men, the beſt and moſt able, as he thought, to find out an Expedient to reſcue the Nation from the growing Confuſions that were like to ovewhelm it. But theſe Perſons, after they had for ſome time laid their Heads together, proved as arrant Bunglers, as the others were Fools and Knaves;

* P. 524. † P. 471.

Knaves; however, they had the Honesty to acknowledge it, and so, unwilling to go beyond their Last, resigned up their Power into his Hands who called them together. Now whether this were done out of Policy, for Form and Fashion Sake, or out of sincere Intention, is not here to be disputed; we are only to clear it from *Ludlow*'s Aspersion of Tyranny, as being a Method that looked with a much better Face of Moderation and Reason, and carried a fairer Pretence of Satisfaction to the Nation, than the lawless Violence of the *Rump*, in taking Possession of their several Thrones, and voting themselves into an arbitrary and despotic Domination, without the least Consent of the People, but imposing themselves upon them for their Representatives, without any Regard to the Laws and Constitutions of the Land.

On the other hand, *Cromwell* (and the Gentlemen before mentioned had resigned their Authority up to him) before he would intrude himself upon the Nation, draws up a certain Instrument, containing several Covenants and Compacts between him and the People, which he took an Oath in the Presence of God never to violate or infringe, but to govern the three Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs thereof, seeking Peace, and causing Justice to be equally administred.

This the *Rump* never did; they broke the Laws and Statutes of the Realm every Day in the Year; and required that all People should swear to them, but they swore to no Body: They gave no Reason of their Actions, but called themselves *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and as such they locked it up with their Great Seal, and would never part with it to the People: They were only ingenuous in one Thing, that they acknowledged what God they served, by their *Deus Nobiscum* upon their Coin. And this same *Mammonish* Deity seems to have had a great Influence upon the Conscience and Piety of our Lieutenant-General, by his Complaint for the Abatement of his Pay, and the Vial of his Wrath poured out upon *Cromwell*,* for distributing a Thousand Pounds a Year to the Members of his Council, when he himself was turned out of the Council of State, and his Lieutenant-Generalship in *Ireland*, and sent a grazeing into *Wiltshire*, after all his great Services at *Wardour-Castle*, and against the Bogtrotters, and his obstructing the proclaiming the Instrument of Government in *Ireland*, in Obedience to the Squeamishness of his crazy Conscience: Which put him into such a Heat every Time he thought of it in *Switzerland*, that he was resolved to be even with *Cromwell* for it; and therefore lays it as a heavy Charge upon him, his allowing 1000*l.* a Year to his Privy Council, to tell the World,† That he did it *as a public Robber, who had possessed himself of the Purse of the Nation, because nothing of Conscience or Honour* could be presumed would ever keep them steady in their Fidelity to him. Never considering that his spotless *Rumponians* were of the same Opinion, which made them carve the Wealth of the Nation so profusely one to another, to cement their mutual Union, that *Martin* was reported to have spent a Hundred Thousand Pounds of their Liberality upon his Concubines, of which the Donative of *Darby* House was a Part. And they who desire to see a farther List of the munificent Gratuities of their Fidelity to each other, may find it in the *History of Independency*, unless my Memory fail me.

* P. 479. † Ibid.

But to return to *Cromwell*, it is apparent that ſtill he gave Reaſons for what he did. He tells the World, That having had ſufficient Experience of the Inconveniences of a Republican Dominion, which was altogether diſſonant from the Temper of the Nation, he had reduced it to the ancient Form of a ſingle *Perſon* and a *Parliament*, as being moſt agreeable to the Senſe of the Nation, judging it to be the moſt likely Means to avoid the Extreams of Monarchy on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, yet not ſo neither as to found *Dominium in Gratia*. And to ſhew how far he was from intending a tyrannical and deſpotic Rule, he drew up an Inſtrument containing ſeveral Covenants and Agreements with the People, with the Form of an Oath to be taken by him for the Performance of the ſeveral Articles.

The chief of theſe Covenants were, That the Laws ſhould not be alter'd, ſuſpended, repealed, or abrogated, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax or Impoſition laid upon the People, but by common Conſent of Parliament.

That there ſhould be a triennial Parliament, not to be diſſolved before they had ſate five Months; which ſhould be ſummoned ſooner, if the Neceſſities of the State required it.

That the Office of the ſingle Perſon ſhould be Elective and not Hereditary.

That Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be allowed to all Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Faith: But the public and open Profeſſion of Popery and Prelacy not to be allowed.

That every ſucceſſive ſingle Perſon ſhould take and ſubſcribe a ſolemn Oath to ſeek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of the Nations, and to cauſe Law and Juſtice to be equally adminiſtred.

Now, with our Major-General's Leave, I would fain know what Tyranny there was in all this? More than this, as to the Sincerity of *Cromwell*'s Intentions, if we may believe him (as there is certainly much more Reaſon to believe him ſpeaking as it were in the Preſence of God, than to give Credit to an exaſperated Bigot jabbering to the Canton of *Bern*) he aſſures the Parliament which he had called, That he deſired not to keep the Government any longer than he might preſerve *England* in its juſt Rights, and the People in their juſt Liberty of Conſcience. To this we may add, that at another time in his Speech to his Parliament, ſpeaking of his Government, he has this Expreſſion, That let Men ſay what they would, he could ſpeak it with Comfort before a greater than any of them, as to his own Intentions, it was a Thing calculated for the Intereſt of the People alone, and for their Good, and without Reſpect had to any other Intereſt.

I do not find in all *Ludlow*'s Memoirs any ſuch League made for the Welfare of the Nation by the *Rump*, or any ſuch Tenderneſs ſo much as pretended by *Ludlow*'s Republican Patriots. *Ludlow* takes no notice of all this, but runs on, hunting after all the Riffraff of Defamation and Reproach which he can rake together, on purpoſe to pull down his Memory, and bury it under the Rubbiſh of his Memoirs. He ſcrapes together, with an implacable Malice, all the Bad, or will admit of bad Interpretation concerning him; but he omits every thing that might be juſtly ſaid in his Favour: Which, if we may believe *Cicero*, is the greateſt Proof of the Injuſtice of an Accuſation that can be.

Baxter, though no Friend to *Cromwell*, was in this Particular more ingenuous;

ous; he mixes what he thought bad, and what he esteemed good in *Cromwell*, both together; and his Words are worth reciting, as bearing a signal Testimony against the Virulency of *Ludlow*. *I did in open Conference*, says he,* *declare* Cromwell *and his Adherents to be guilty of Treason and Rebellion, yet I did not think it my Duty to rave against him in the Pulpit; the rather, because as he kept up his Approbation of a godly Life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the Interest of his sinful Cause engaged him to be against; so I perceived that it was his Design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel, and the Interest of Godliness, more than any had done before him; and it was the principal Means that he trusted to for his own Establishment, even by doing GOOD; that the People might love him, or at least be willing to have his Government for that Good.* And speaking of his Carriage after he had assumed the Protectorship, *He had the Policy*, says he,† *not to detect or exasperate the Ministers or others that consented not to his Government, having seen what a Stir the Engagement made before; but he let Men live quietly, without putting an Oath of Fidelity upon any but his Parliaments.*

From whence it is obvious, that it was a Piece of Tyranny in the Rump, that they would let no Body rest in quiet, who did not swallow their Engagement; which was a Tyranny not only over the Bodies, but the very Souls and Consciences of Men, of which *Ludlow* in the Height of his Partiality says nothing.

By the Way, there is one Accusation which *Baxter* and *Ludlow* both charge upon *Cromwell*, that he permitted many Things, to *necessitate the Nation* to take him for their Governor: Which *Cromwell* taking notice of, gives this solemn Answer, in his second Speech to his Parliament; *And I say this*, says he, *not only to this Assembly, but to all the World, That that Man lives not, who can come to me and charge me that I have in these great Revolutions created Necessities: I challenge even all that fear God.* After all this, I must leave it to Judgment, whether it be fair to favour the Suppositions and Conjectures of Bigotry, against so solemn a Challenge as this.

And now we are to compare the Benefit which the Nation received by the Rump, with the Advantages of the Protector's Government. As for the Actions of the Rump, the chiefest of Remark was their War with the *Dutch*. A War by which the Nation reaped no Benefit, and which the *Dutch* declined as much as possibly they could, disowning the rash Action of *Trump*, and taking God to witness, that his fighting the *English* Fleet was against the Knowledge and Will of the *States-General*. But the Rump, who then thought themselves the Lords of three Kingdoms, and were setting up for a Commonwealth, and flushed up with *Cromwell*'s Victories at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, resolved to let the *Dutch* know, that as they were the largest, so they would be the topping Republic in *Europe*, and would not have the Point of Precedency disputed with them. Which was the Reason that most People, because they could find no better, gave for their entering into a War impertinently expensive to the Nation, and altogether against the Protestant Interest, which ought to have been much more dear to those pretended Zealots, than a Punctilio of Honour. As for their War with *Portugal*, it had somewhat a better Pretence,

* *Baxter*'s Life, Part I. P. 71. † P. 74

becauſe that King protected Prince *Rupert*'s revolted Ships in his Harbours; but it cauſed a great Ceſſation of Trade.

On the other Side; *Cromwell* made Peace with the *Dutch*, and made them pay for it. He renewed the Leagues with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, by which he kept the *Sound* open to his Merchants, and ſtrengthened the Proteſtant Intereſt. He relieved the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *Savoy* with conſiderable Sums. And if he erred in cloſing with the *French* inſtead of the *Spaniard*, yet thereby he added *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* to the *Britiſh* Dominions; the Loſs of the laſt of which Places has been too ſadly lamented in theſe our laſt Wars with *France*. At Home he took care to fill the Seats of Juſtice with Men of known Integrity and Ability; and he went a great Way in reforming the Abuſes of the Law. Laſtly, he kept the Nation in Peace, Trade flouriſhed, and Money was plentiful under his Government.

But he was no ſooner laid in his Grave, but the Rump, which was enough to ſhew the Nature of the Beaſt, broke in upon his Son *Richard*, and put all into Confuſion again; and by that means made good the Truth of all the Remonſtrances and Declarations that the Army and *Cromwell* put forth in Juſtification of their Proceedings againſt him. This *Baxter* ſays, *as done by them, was as barbarous a Perfidiouſneſs as ever Hiſtory did declare; that they ſhould ſo ſuddenly, ſo ſcornfully, and proudly pull down him whom they had ſo lately ſet up and ſworn to, and that for nothing; they could ſcarce tell why themſelves; nor were ever able to give the World a fairer Reaſon for their Villainy, than the* Munſter Fanaticks *had for their* Bedlam *Outrages and Rebellion; as if Perjury and Rebellion had been newly put into the Commandments.*

And here it is Time to make a Stop, that I may not trouble the Reader with Repetitions and Impertinences, which would certainly be the Conſequence of any farther tracing the Remainder of his Memoirs, wherein he ſeems to be only in a pleaſing Trance, gratifying his own Humour, and talking of old Stories, like old weather-beaten Officers in the Chimney-corner of a lame Hoſpital.

From the whole, there is only this one Obſervation farther to be made, how great a Prejudice Poſterity receives from ſuch Mountebanks in Hiſtory as the Author of theſe Memoirs. For the ſupream Law of Hiſtory is, That there be no Suſpicion of Favour or Affection, none of Envy or Partiality, nor any thing of Oſtentation in the Writer; of all which Crimes theſe Memoirs are apparently guilty. And therefore ſuch Commentaries as theſe are better committed to the Flames, than tranſmitted to future Ages, which are thereby led into Error, and altogether deprived of making a right Judgment of preceding Times. Truth is darkened either *Libidine Aſſentandi*, or *Odio adverſus Dominantes*; and ſo between Folly and Knavery there is no Care of Poſterity. And therefore in regard that Men, for Scandals and Defamations of the Living, are many times puniſhed with ſevere Penalties, how much more do all paſſionate and miſguiding Hiſtories, that murder the Fame and Reputation of the Dead, deſerve the Condemnation of all the rational Part of Mankind?

A LIST of the Names of the Persons returned to serve in Parliament in the Year 1656, for the several Counties and Corporations within the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

BEDFORD.

William Butler, *Kt.*
John Harvey
Richard Wagstaff
Samuel Beford
Richard Edwards

BEDFORD TOWN.

Thomas Margets.

BERKS.

William Trumball
John Southby
Edmond Dunche
John Dunche
William Hide

ABINGTON.

Thomas Holt

READING.

Sir John Barkstead
Daniel Blagrave

BUCKINGHAM.

Lord Whitlock
Sir Richard Piggot
Richard Grenvile
Richard Ingoldsby
Richard Hamden

BUCKINGHAM TOWN.

Francis Ingoldsby

AILESBURY.

Thomas Scot

CHIPPING-WICOMB.

Major General Tobias Bridge

CAMBRIDGE & ELY.

Sir Francis Russel, *Bart.*
Robert Castle
Henry Pickering
Robert West

UNIVERSITY.

Lord Richard Cromwell

CAMDRIDGE TOWN.

Alderman Richard Tymbes.

ELY.

John Thurloe
William Fisher

CHESTER.

Sir George Booth, *Bart.*
Thomas Marbury
Richard Leigh. Peter Brook.

CHESTER CITY.

Edward Bradshaw

CORNWALL.

Francis Rous. John St. Aubin
Anthony Rous
Anthony Nichol
Richard Carter
Thomas Ceely
William Braddon
Walter Moyle
LAUNCESTON. Thomas Gewen
TRURO. Walter Vincent
PENRYN. John Fox
CASTLOW & WESTLOW. John Bulle

CUMBERLAND.

Major-General Charles Howard
William Briscee

CARLISLE.

Scoutmaster-General Downing

DERBY.

John Gell
Sir Samuel Sleight
Thomas Saunders
German Pole
DERBY TOWN. Gervase Bennet

DEVON.

DEVON.
Sir John Northcot, *Bart.*
Sir John Young
Robert Rolle
Arthur Upton
Thomas Reynel
William Morrice
Henry Hatſel
Edmond Fowell
John Hales
John Dodderidge
Thomas Saunders
EXCESTER.
Thomas Bampfield
Thomas Weſtlake
PLYMOUTH. John Maynard
Timothy Alſop
DARTMOUTH, CLIFTON, HARDNES.
Edward Hopkins
TOTNES. Chriſtopher Maynard
BARNSTABLE. *Sir* John Coppleſton
TIVERTON. Robert Shapcot
HONITON. Samuel Searle
DORSET.
Col. William Sydenham
John Bingham
Robert Coker
John Fitz-James
James Dewey
John Trenchard
DORCHESTER.
John Whiteway
WEYMOUTH & WELCOMB-REGIS.
Deanis Bond
LYME-REGIS. Edmond Prideaux
POOLE. Edward Butler
DURHAM.
Thomas Lithame
James Clavern
DURHAM CITY. Anthony Smith
YORK. EAST-RIDING.
Sir William Strickland
Hugh Bethel, *junior*
Richard Darley
Henry Darley
WEST RIDING.
Lord Lambert
Francis Thrope
Henry Tempeſt
Henry Arthington
Edward Gyll. John Stanhop
NORTH RIDING.
George *Lord* Evre
Col. Robert Lilburn
Luke Robinſon
Francis Laſſels
YORK CITY.
Lord Widdrington
Thomas Dickenſon
KINGSTON *upon* HULL.
William Lyſter
BEVERLEY. Francis Thrope
SCARBOROUGH.
Edward Salmon
RICHMOND. John Bathurſt
LEEDS.
Francis Alanſon, *ſenior*
Adam Baynes
HALLIFAX. Jeremy Bently
ESSEX.
Sir Thomas Honywood
Dionyſius Wakering
Henry Mildmay
Carew Mildmay
Sir Richard Everard, *Bart.*
Robert Barrington
Dudley Templer
Oliver Raymond
Edward Turner
Sir Thomas Bowes
Hezek. Hains. John Archer
Sir Harbottle Grimſtone
COLCHESTER.
Henry Laurence, *Lord Preſident*
John Maidſtone
MALDON. Joachim Matthews
GLOUCESTER.
George Berkeley
John Howe
John Corfts
Baynham Throckmorton
William Neaſt
GLOUCESTER CITY.
General John Diſbrow

Thomas

Thomas Pury, *junior*
TEWKSBURY. Francis White
CIRENCESTER. John Stone

HEREFORD.

Major-General James Berry
Edward Harloe
Bennet Hoſkins
Benjamin Maſon
HEREFORD CITY. Worth Rogers
LEOMSTER. John Birch

HERTFORD.

William *Earl of* Saliſbury
Sir Richard Lucy, *Bart.*
Sir John Wittronge
Sir John Gore
Rowland Litton
St. ALBANS. Albon Cox

HERTFORD BOROUGH.

Iſaac Puller

HUNTINGTON.

General Edward Mountague
Henry Cromwell
Nicholas Pedley
HUNTINGTON BOROUGH. J. Barnard

KENT.

John Dixwell
William James
Henry Oxinden
Sir Thomas Style, *Bart.*
John Boys
Lambert Godfrey
Richard Beale
John Seyliard
Ralph Welden
Richard Meredith
Daniel Shatterden

CANTERBURY CITY.

Thomas St. Nicholas
Vincent Denn
ROCHESTER CITY. John Parker
MAIDSTONE. John Banks
DOVER. *Major General* Kelſey
SANDWICH. *Mr.* Firberne
QUINBOROUGH. Gabriel Liveſey

LEICESTER.

Thomas Beaumont
Francis Hacker
William Quarles
Thomas Pochen

LEICESTER BOROUGH.

Sir Arthur Haſlerig
William Stanely

LINCOLN.

Thomas Hall
Thomas Liſter
Thomas Hatcher
Edward Roſſiter
Charles Hall
William Woolley
Francis Fiennes
William Savile
William Welby
Charles Huſſey

LINCOLN CITY.

Original Peart
Humphry Walcot
BOSTON. Sir Anthony Irby
GRANTHAM. William Ellis
STAMFORD. John Weaver

GREAT GRIMSBY.

William Wray

MIDDLESEX.

Sir John Barkſtead
Sir William Roberts
Challenor Chute
William Kiffen

WESTMINSTER.

Col. Edward Groſvener
Edward Cary

LONDON.

Thomas Foot, *Alderman*
Sir Chriſtopher Pack
Thomas Adams, *Alderman*
Richard Brown
Theophilus Biddolph
John Jones

MONMOUTH.

Major-General James Berry
John Nicholas
Edward Herbert

NORFOLK.

Charles Fleetwood
Sir John Horbart, *Bart.*
Sir William Doily

Sir

Sir Ralph Hare, *Bart.*
Sir Horatio Townſhend
Philip Woodhouſe
Robert Wilton
Robert Wood
John Buxton
Thomas Sotherton

LYN-REGIS.

General John Diſbrow
Major-General Skippon
Guibon Goddard

NORWICH CITY.

Bernard Church
John Horbart

GREAT YARMOUTH.

Charles George Cock
William Burton

NORTHAMPTON.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, *Bart.*
Lord Cleypool
Major-General William Boteler
James Langham
Thomas Crew
Alexander Blake

PETERBOURGE.

Francis St. John

NORTHAMPTON TOWN.

Francis Harvey

NOTTINGHAM.

Major-General Edward Whalley
Edward Clud
Edward Nevil
Peniſton Whalley

NOTTINGHAM TOWN.

Col. James Chadwick
William Drury, *Alderman*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

William Fenwick
Lord Widdrington
Robert Fenwick

NEWCASTLE *upon* TYNE.

Walter Strickland

BERWICK.

Col. George Fenwick

OXFORD.

Charles Fleetwood
William Lenthall
Robert Jenkinſon
Miles Fleetwood
Sir Francis Norris

UNIVERSITY. Nathaniel Fiennes
OXFORD CITY. Richard Croke
WOODSTOCK. *Maj. Gen.* W. Packer

RUTLAND.

William Shield
Abel Barker

SALOP.

Thomas Mackworth
Philip Young. Samuel More
Andrew Loyd

SHREWSBURY.

Col. Humphry Mackworth
Samuel Jones

BRIDGENORTH. Edward Waring
LUDLOW. John Aſton

STAFFORD.

Sir Charles Woſley
Thomas Crompton
Thomas Whitgreave

LITCHFIELD.

Thomas Minors

STAFFORD TOWN.

Martin Novel

NEWCASTLE *on the* LYNE.

John Bowyer

SOMERSET.

General Diſbrow
John Buckland
Alexander Popham
Robert Long. John George
Francis Luttrell. John Aſh
John Harrington
Liſlebone Long
William Whindham
Francis Roll

TAUNTON. Robert Blake
Thomas Georges
BATH. James Aſh
WELLS. John Jenkyn
BRIDGWATER. *General* Diſbrow
BRISTOL. Robert Aldworth
John Doddrige

SOUTHAMPTON.

Lord Richard Cromwell

Major-

Major-General William Goffe
Robert Wallop
Richard Norton
Thomas Cole
John Bulkley. Richard Cob
Edward Hooper, *ſenior*
WINCHESTER. John Hildeſley
SOUTHAMPTON TOWN.
John Liſle, *Lord Com.*
PORTSMOUTH. Thomas Smith
ISLE *of* WIGHT. William Sydenham
Thomas Bowreman
ANDOVER. Thomas Huſſey

SUFFOLK.

Sir Henry Felton
Sir Thomas Bernidſton
Henry North
Edmond Harvey
Edward Wineve
John Silkmore
William Bloys
William Gibbs
Robert Brewſter
Daniel Wall
IPSWICH. Nathanael Bacon
Francis Bacon
BURY ST. EDMONDS. Sam. Moody
John Clark
DUNWICH. Francis Brewſter
SUDBURY. John Fothergill

SURRY.

Sir Richard Onſlow
Arthur Onſlow
Francis Drake
Lewis Audley
George Duncomb
John Blackwel, *junior*
SOUTHWARK. Samuel Highland
Peter De la Noy
GUILDFORD. *Maj. Gen.* Tho. Kelſey
RYGATE. John Goodwin

SUSSEX.

Herbert Morley
Sir John Pelham
John Flagg
John Stapley
Anthony Sherley
George Courthope
Sir Thomas Rivers, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Parker
CHICHESTER. Henry Peckham
LEWES. Anthony Stapely
RYE. Mr. Hayes
ARUNDEL. *Sir* John Trevor

WARWICK.

Richard Lucy
Sir Roger Burgoyne
Edward Peyto
Joſeph Hawkſworth
COVENTRY CITY. William Purefoy
Robert Beake
WARWICK BOROUGH.
Clement Throckmorton, *junior*

WORCESTER.

Major-General James Berry
Sir Thomas Rous, *Bart.*
Edward Pitt
Nicholas Lechmore
John Nanfan
WORCESTER-CITY. Edmond Giles
William Collins

WILTS.

Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper
Sir Walter St. John, *Bart.*
Alexander Popham
Thomas Grove
Alexander Thiſtlewaite
John Bulkeley
Richard Grubham How
William Ludlow
Henry Hungerford
Gabriel Martyr
NEW SARUM. William Stone
James Heely
MARLBOROUGH. *L.G.* Ch. Fleetwood
DEVIZES. Edward Scotton

LANCASHIRE.

Sir Richard Houghton
Col. Standiſh
Col. Holland
WESTMORLAND. Chriſtopher Liſter
Thomas Burton

WALES.

George Twiſleton

Griffith Bedwrda
Col. Philip Jones
Evan Lewis
Col. John Clarke
James Philips
Lord Cleypole
Major-General Rowland Dakins
John Glyn
Robert Williams
Col. John Jones
Col. John Cartar
John Trevor
Edmond Thomas
John Price
Hugh Price
Charles Lloyd
John Upton
George Gwyn
Henry Williams

SCOTLAND.

Col. Mitchel
Col. David Barclay
Col. Winthrope
Sir John Wemys, *Lord of* Boghe
Sir Edward Rhodes
Godfrey Rhodes
Col. Talbot
John Lockhart
Lord Cockrum
Mr. Disbrowr
Judge Swyntoun
Mr. Kerr
Judge-Advocate Whalley
Judge Smith
Col. Salmon
Sir James Mac-dowel
The Earl of Tweedale
Robert Woosley
Sir Alexander Wedderburn
Col. Henry Markham
Col. Whetham
Lord Prefident Broghill
Lord Provoft Ramfey
Commiffary Lockhart
Scoutmafter-General Downing
Alexander Dowglas

IRELAND.

Lord Broghill
Major-General Jephfon
Vincent Gookin
Sir John Reynolds
Col. Abbot
Mr. Halfey
Col. Sadler
Major Redman
Major Owen
Sir Theophilus Jones
Sir Hardrefs Waller
Major Morgan
Mr. Biffe
Mr. Tigh
Col. Fowke
Major Aftor
Mr. Blagny
Lieutenant-Colonel Newborough
Lieutenant-Colonel Berisford
Ralph King
Col. Cooper
Lieutenant Colonel Tragle
Col. Ingoldfby
Walter Waller
Sir Robert King
Col. Bridges
John Davis
Major Potter
Major Ratlife
Col. Suttleworth

A REPLY to the New TEST of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty. 1687.

SUCH nauſeous Stuff have we of late been troubled with from a Fraternity, that one would ſwear by their *Vow of Poverty*, they chiefly vowed to be *poor in Underſtanding*. How have we bawl'd about a New Teſt, *&c.* And thus does that mighty Champion accoſt us: *What can be more ridiculous! That a Church which cannot pretend to be infallible in Matters of Faith, ſhould aſſume to themſelves an Inerrability in Point of Civil Obedience?* That is to ſay, Infallibility in Matters of Faith, and Inerrability in Civil Obedience, are inſeparable. Now inſtead of proving the Church of *England* cannot be Loyal, has he proved the Church of *Rome* cannot be Infallible? For thus the Argument will run: Whoever is infallible in Matters of Faith, is inerrable in Civil Obedience; but the *Romaniſts* are not inerrable in Civil Obedience: *Ergo*, the Major is your own; the Minor I ſhall fully prove as ſoon as I have removed a little Rubbiſh out of my Way.

You ſay, *our Church owns the ſupream Magiſtrate (by a Revelation peculiar to herſelf) both for her Temporal and Spiritual Head:* Well, then the Queſtion between us is, Whether the Church of *England*, who owns as well the King's Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Juriſdiction, be as loyal as the Church of *Rome*, who diſowns the firſt, and ſo deprives and robs the King of a moſt noble Part of his Prerogative. But, Sir, this is not a Revelation peculiar to our Church: 'Twas the Senſe of all the Churches in the World in the pureſt Ages, as is abundantly proved by the learned Dr. *Barrow*, in his *Pope's Supremacy:* And ever ſince this Kingdom was govern'd by a Monarch, it has been the ſtanding Law of the Nation, conſtantly the Opinion of *Popiſh* Parliaments and Judges, though not of Prieſts, that the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was in the King: See Lord *Cooke*, 5. *Rep.* and his 4. *Inſt.* 342.

We will allow them faithful to King Charles I. (a notable Proof of Diſloyalty;) *but it was the Ambition of that Church to force an univerſal Uniformity to her Liturgy*, &c. *occaſion'd that War:* An Ambition of Uniformity we are not aſhamed of. But are you ſure 'twas that occaſion'd the War? Give me leave to tell you a Story: There was one in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, generally called *Faithful Commin*, who pretended more than ordinary Sanctity, pray'd, and cry'd, and rail'd againſt the Whore of *Babylon*, and poſſeſs'd his ignorant Auditory, that the Church of *England* was not yet refined enough; by which Means he made the firſt Diviſion among *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and after him, divers others of the ſame kind; all which were *Papiſts* at the ſame Time, and for their Service well received at *Rome*; which beyond all Contradiction is proved true by a Book intuled *Foxes and Firebrands*. 'Tis ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that theſe Diviſions your honeſt Party made, were the Cauſe of that War you mention; and this I put down too for one Inſtance of your Civil Obedience.

Your other mighty Charges are, That *we endeavoured to exclude Queen* Mary, *and put up a Brat of our own.* You know, Friend, this is falſe, as well as I can tell you: Indeed the whole Kingdom was at a *Dilemma* where to find the Right to the Crown: Some for Queen *Mary*, and ſome for Lady *Jane*; and Proteſtants there were on both Sides: But what's this to their Loyalty, when 'twas dubious where the Title lay? I was afraid you would have informed us of a Gunpowder-Treaſon-Plot after Queen *Mary*'s Coronation, or that our Martyrs all died with their Swords in their Hands: But you decline to ſpeak any thing to the Purpoſe.

After Queen Mary's *Death*, Elizabeth, *a known Baſtard, raiſed this Church*, &c. A known Baſtard! Here's your old Popiſh Reverence to crowned Heads! I would, upon my Word, lay ſix to four of your Side, were you to meet Foreheads with the hardieſt Bull in *Europe:* However, for one Moment we will ſuppoſe Queen *Elizabeth* a Baſtard; and if ſo, 'tis certain they were great Villains, who brought a Baſtard to the Crown, and excluded the lawful Heir. Wherefore our next Inquiry will be, Who did this? You ſay indeed this Queen raiſed the Church of *England*; but that's an Argument that the Church of *England* could not raiſe her. And you yourſelf well know, that at the very Time of Q. *Mary*'s Death, it ſo fell out that a Popiſh Parliament was then ſitting; *Heath*, a Papiſt, Archbiſhop and Chancellor, by the unanimous Conſent of the Lords, ſends for the Lower Houſe, tells them that Queen *Mary* died that Morning, and required their Aſſent to join with the Lords in proclaiming Queen *Elizabeth*, which was accordingly done. If therefore it be granted, that Queen *Elizabeth* was a Baſtard, this is another Inſtance of your Loyalty to the right Heir.

The Church of England *was a Prop to ſupport the Weakneſs of her Title.* Alas! poor Gentleman, we know what it is that troubles you: The Truth of the Matter is thus—Your loyal Church ſet up Queen *Elizabeth*; which ſhe would not have done for the World, had ſhe not through her Inerrability in Matters of Civil Obedience ſeen the Queen's Title fair and juſt: But no ſooner did the Queen prove a known Heretick, but through the Inerrability of your loyal Church, ſhe found plainly that the Queen was a known Baſtard, and ought to reſign to one more fit for your Church's Purpoſe; and we were a Company of diſloyal Rogues to keep the Crown upon the Queen's Head: You did incomparably well to join together your Infallibility in Matters of Faith, and your Inerrability in Civil Obedience: They are in my Opinion extreamly alike. Here's a Lady is lawful Heir, and raiſed to the Crown, and not lawful Heir, and ought to be depoſed.

But our Church murder'd the Queen of Scots, *who was Heir of the Crown of* England. If you mean that ſhe of Right ought to be in Queen *Elizabeth*'s room, your own Parliament gives you the Lye: If you mean that ſhe was next Heir only, I don't ſee where the Diſloyalty of our Church was in executing her for Treaſon: So that after all this Noiſe, there is not the leaſt Appearance of Diſloyalty either in the Principles or Practices of our Church, though we have taken moſt things for granted, which you have weakly, yet confidently aſſerted. And the Reaſons which make me believe you cannot clear yourſelves from that Sin you unjuſtly charge us withal, are from theſe Conſiderations: When *Phocas* murdered his Maſter and Emperor *Mauritius* and all his Family, the then *Pope*

ſpoke

ſpoke as many fine Things upon the Action, as honeſt Mr. *D.* (who you know has a nicking Conſcience) did upon *Oliver Cromwell*'s; and upon that Score the *Pope*'s Reward was, That *nefandum illud nomen*; which honeſt Pope *Gregory* had ſo much exclaim'd againſt: Both *Gregory* II. and *Gregory* III. excommunicated the Emperor *Leo*, and null'd the Oath of Allegiance which the *Italians* had ſworn to him: *Zachary* did the ſame in Effect by *Childerick* King of *France*, and gave his Kingdom to *Pipin*. *Hildebrand* acts the ſame Part by the Emperor *Henry* IV. *Gregory* by the Emperor *Frederick*: *Paul* III. depoſes and damns *Henry* VIII. of *England*, abſolves his Subjects from their Allegiance, and commands them all upon Pain of Excommunication not to obey him; and *Pius* V. did the ſame by Q. *Elizabeth*. All theſe Things are extant upon Record in your own *Popiſh* Annals, and are notorious Examples of your Church's Loyalty.

When King *James*, in his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, had charged the Church of *Rome* with that Doctrine of depoſing Kings, and abſolving their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance; *Getzer* fairly anſwers, *We freely profeſs that the* Pope *upon juſt Cauſe may depoſe Princes, and abſolve Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance; and that the Subjects are bound in Conſcience to obey the* Pope*'s Sentence*. But beſides theſe public Acts of Loyalty, your Church ſhews private Favours to Kings, who do not pleaſe; witneſs the Death of *Henry* III. and *Henry* IV. of *France*, and the Gunpowder-Treaſon Plot in *England*. Theſe are the declared Opinions and frequent Practices of the Church of *Rome*; ſo that no Prince, be his Faith what it will, can aſſure himſelf Safety, who once oppoſes only the *Pope*'s Temporal Intereſt and unparallel'd Pride: And if you ſpare not Princes of your own Faith, we have little Reaſon to expect your Favour; eſpecially when we further conſider, *That you merit Heaven by the Deſtruction of Hereticks*, as was ſufficiently declared by Pope *Innocent* III. and the fourth *Lateran* Council: And thus ſays your Poet:

Utere jure tuo, Cæſar, ſectamque Lutheri
Enſe, Rota, Ponto, funibus, Igne neca.

And now after all this, is it not ſtrange that *the Prieſts of the living God* ſhould be ſubject to any Penal Laws, which may prevent them from playing the Devil? Yes, very ſtrange! Our Penal Laws are made for the Safety of the Kingdom, and to prevent Treaſon, not for Matters of mere Religion.

But the Primitive Chriſtians flouriſh'd under Perſecution. And you would very willingly have us try whether we could do ſo too. *Why ſhould not we truſt the ſame Providence without being guarded by Acts of Parliament?* Why ſhould not you, Sir, with a Mill-Stone about your Neck, leap into the middle of the Sea, and truſt to Providence? Does it argue a Diſtruſt of Providence, or Diſloyalty to the King, to endeavour by lawful Means to preſerve ourſelves?

The Loyal Church of England *muſt take Example by her Catholic Neighbours, how to behave herſelf towards a Prince:* (Right, moſt excellent Inſtructors in that Point!) *or muſt give his Majeſty Leave to withdraw his Protection* (Have you his Majeſty's Commiſſion to tell us ſo? I aſk your Pardon for ſuch an impertinent Queſtion; for 'tis your Way to make bold with Princes) *which was promiſed*

promised upon the Account of her constant Fidelity: We desire it upon no other Terms. But now observe the Clinch at last, *for it is an approved Axiom in Philosophy, Cessante Causa tollitur Effectus.* Good, almost the only true Thing in the Pamphlet, and learnedly brought in to shew, that Fidelity is the Physical Cause of Protection. Learning is a fine Thing.

An APOLOGY for *Roman Catholicks.* In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. 1703.

SIR,

HAVING lately received your Commands, to recollect and transmit to you the Substance of what pass'd between us when we were last together; I take this first Opportunity to obey your Commands: Making no Doubt but that you well remember the chief Points which I insisted upon; which were two.

I. That the only End and Design of Government is, to preserve the Rights and Liberties of a People; And,

II. That the Liberty of a People did not stand upon a true Foundation, unless all the Subjects were equally capacitated by Law to discharge the greatest Trusts, and enjoy the greatest Honours and Profits which belong to the Nation.

The first of these Propositions you were very free to come into. But the second Point you disputed, saying, That you were of Opinion, that none besides true Conformists to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, were fit to be held capable of Public Trusts: Though you would freely give into a Toleration for *Dissenters*. Now, on the contrary, I could not discern by what Means the *English* Common-Prayer Book did qualify any Man for a Public Trust, any more than the *Presbyterian* Directory, or the *Popish* Mass-Book; for there are both honest Men and Knaves of all Persuasions. But yet since all the Natives of *England* are *that People* for whose Behoof the *English* Government was constituted, it seemed to me to be a partial and arbitrary Proceeding, to put legal Incapacities upon any of the Subjects, without sufficient Reason in the Nature of the Thing to justify it. If I am a Native of *England*, and am both as able and willing to serve the Government as you are, I have thereby as much natural Right to serve the Public as you have: And therefore to make a Distinction between you and me upon this Account, is an arbitrary, and therefore an impolitic Use of Power; it was arbitrary, because not grounded upon Reason. But you alledged the contrary, saying, That the *Churchmen* were in their Principles more agreeable to Monarchy than *Dissenters*, though *Protestants*; and likewise, that *Papists* were by their Religion sworn Enemies to the Imperial Crown of *England*. Hereupon I brought first the *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* to the Ballance, to try how much the *Churchmen* outweigh'd them in their Agreeableness to the *English*

Engliſh Government; and I thought myſelf pretty well capacitated to weigh this Matter impartially, being myſelf belonging to neither of their Communions.

I can well remember, that for forty Years laſt paſt, the *Church-men* have not failed to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all other *Proteſtants*, by a great Pretence to *Loyalty*, which their Church teacheth her Sons in her authentic Writings, wherein Non-reſiſtance, and the Divine Right of Kings, is very zealouſly aſſerted. But that theſe Notions were friendly to our Kings, or ſo ſupportive of their Prerogative as was pretended, was what I always doubted of. I ſaw plainly how the preaching and encouraging of theſe Notions in the Reign of King *Charles* II. diſguſted a great Part of the Nation, and raiſed ſtrong Jealouſies, as if that King did intend to have ſtrain'd the Royal Prerogative to a higher Pitch than what the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution would allow of. Nothing was then more viſible, than that theſe Doctrines laid the Foundation of ſuch a Jealouſy between King and People, as was no Ways conducing to ſupport the Crown, or ſtrengthen the Monarchy; all the Effect which followed was a Government by Parties, wherein ſometimes the *Churchmen*, and at other Times the *Diſſenters*, were encouraged by the King, in order to ſerve ſome ſecret Deſign, which was beneficial to neither Party; as appeared by the Toleration which that King took upon him to grant forth by his own Authority, in the Year 1672.

Nor did you yourſelf doubt, but that the late King *James* II. drew Encouragement from theſe Church-Doctrines to overturn the legal limited Part of the Monarchy, as well as the national Religion, at one Effort. But ſuppoſing that theſe Prerogative Doctrines had been really uſeful to the Monarchy (as indeed they were not) how ſhall theſe Doctrines at this Time recommend the *Churchmen* to the Public Truſts of the Nation, ſince for ſome Years paſt they have both forſook and forſworn theſe Opinions, upon Occaſion of the late Revolution? It muſt be own'd that theſe *Churchmen* have endeavour'd to ſave their Credit by ſome amuſing Diſtinctions. Firſt they ſwear Allegiance to K. *William* as the Conqueror of *Great-Britain*, without ſo much as a Battle fought upon that Occaſion. Then they ſwear to him as a King Fact, by which they underſtood a legal Uſurper. What Man alive is able to comprehend theſe nice Diſtinctions? And what Security will they give, that they will not break through them as another Occaſion ſhall offer?

On the other Side, the *Diſſenters* have been accuſtomed to keep a ſtrict Hand upon the King's Royal Power, which is the likelieſt Way to preſerve both King and Monarchy, which were never drawn into Danger ſo frequently, as by attempting to enlarge the Prerogative: As is evinced by the Hiſtories of King *Edward*, King *Richard*, and King *James* II. not to mention King *Charles* I. All that the *Diſſenters* deſire is, That the King may be made incapable of doing any Harm; and that is the beſt Way to ſecure him from receiving Harm: Which is all one as to ſay, *O King, live for ever.*

As to the other Opinion of your *Churchmen*, That Kings have a Divine Right to their Thrones: It is as unlucky a Doctrine as can be taught in any Monarchy, becauſe it unſettles all the Thrones in the World: Since no King can ſhew any Patent from God Almighty to that Purpoſe; nor can any King prove himſelf to be the Deſcendant, in a right Line, from the eldeſt, or from

any

any of the Sons of *Noah*. So that no Body can tell who is the King by Divine Right; but every Body knows who is the King by Law eſtabliſhed. And ſince all Diſſenters own this King, and have no Principle which engageth them otherwiſe, I cannot ſee any Thing of Diſloyalty in them, which ſhould exclude them from being admitted (if the Legiſlative Power ſhould think fit) into the Truſts of the Nation.

I remember that I inſiſted upon this Excluſion of Diſſenters from public Truſts, to be impolitic as well as arbitrary. I confeſs I know but one Policy whereby to eſtabliſh any Government, of what Sort ſoever it be: Which is to take away all Cauſes of Complaint, and make all the Subjects eaſy under it; for then the Government will have the whole Strength of the People in its Defence, whenever it ſhall want it. This you looked upon to be a plain Sort of Reaſoning, but you hoped the Church-men were ſufficient to defend the Government, ſo that we ſhould not want the Aſſiſtance of Diſſenters. You alſo aſked why the Diſſenters ſhould not give their Aſſiſtance if there were Occaſion for it, though they were excluded from Places of Truſt? Hereupon I told you, that all thoſe who will found the Government of a great People upon one Party, ought to feed themſelves with Hopes, that their narrow Foundation will bear the Weight which is laid upon it: But yet Time has ſhewn us that theſe Hopes are vain. Few Years paſs over our Heads, without convincing us that we may be in danger, eſpecially in ſuch an active Age as this: For has not that growing Power of *France*, for any Time theſe thirty Years laſt paſt, warned us to provide for ourſelves the beſt Security? And at this Time, ſuppoſe that the *Scots* Nation, upon the Demiſe of the Crown, ſhould chuſe them a King of their own, diſtinct from our Sovereign Prince; and what if they ſhould be inclined to try their Fortune in *England*, as has heretofore been done! might it not be apprehended, that ſuppoſing a numerous diſcontented Party in *England* ſhould join with the *Scots*, they may enable the King of *Scotland* to take the City of *London* into his Protection? All People, who are uneaſy, will join in any Revolution.

As to your ſecond Queſtion, I made no Doubt but that the Diſſenters will be always ready to aſſiſt their Country againſt the *French*, or any Foreign Enemy; but yet you cannot expect the ſame Vigour, but from thoſe who have the ſame Encouragement. The Lawyers will adviſe you not to ſtarve a Cauſe; and the Soldiers will tell you, that an Army cannot be too well united againſt the Enemy.

But yet you could not endure the Thoughts of having Baptiſts and Quakers to be made Juſtices of the Peace, Parliament-men, and Judges in *Weſtminſter-hall*; this (ſaid you) would be ridiculous beyond all Patience of enduring. But I thought that this was no ways to be feared; for ſuppoſing theſe People lay under no legal Incapacity, I cannot think that any of them would be choſen into theſe Truſts, for want of ſufficient Abilities to diſcharge them. But yet I argued with you thus: Suppoſing that Quakers were indeed fitted with Abilities to be Judges and Privy-Counſellors, I did not apprehend that their ſhort Cravats, and plain Speech, would do any Harm to the Nation. *Able Men fearing God and hating Covetouſneſs*, was all the Character by which *Moſes* directed the *Iſraelites* to chuſe their Rulers, without mentioning the Dialect of their Speech,

or

or Fashion of their Cloaths. But if Baptists and Quakers were not able Men in the Law, the Benches of *Westminster-hall* would be as soon fill'd with Carmen as with Quakers, although they were laid under no legal Incapacity.

At last, though you should yield that Protestants of all Denominations might be freed from this Incapacity, yet you would never allow that Papists should be made capable of Public Trusts. How many horrid Plots did they form against Queen *Elizabeth!* Did they not secretly assist to take away the Life of King *Charles* I. What a deviliſh Plot of theirs was discovered in *Charles* the Second's Time! Besides an Assassination, an Invasion in the last King's Reign! And Popery is Treason in *England*, and every Papist a Traitor.

This I confess was a severe home Charge, and had some Appearance of Reason and Experience to back it; and I wished for a *Mahometan* or *Pagan* to judge impartially of the Answer which I designed to return: For though I am conscious how heartily I desire to be impartial in my Answer, yet having been always bred a *Roman Catholic*, I cannot forbear to suspect, lest the Prejudices of my Education may render me partial to those of my own Profession; however, I was willing to try whether a *Papist* could be an honest Man or no.

You must remember that I did freely own to you, that you had need be very cautious in admitting *Roman Catholics* into the Trusts of this Nation, because the Power which the Popes and Court of *Rome* have long laid Claim to, is indeed an implacable Enemy to all Protestant States whatever. So far is *Rome* an Enemy to us, that I cannot think any Man, who adheres to the Claims of the *Roman* Court, has a Right to live in *England*, though a Native thereof; for if an *English* Man, upon any Principle whatsoever, becomes an Enemy to his Country, his Fault is past all Excuse. But God forbid that all *Roman Catholics* should be concluded under the same Sentence, since manifest Experience has made it out, that the *English Roman Catholics*, when the whole Power of the Nation was lodged in their Hands, did defend the Rights of their Kings, and Liberties of their Country, against the Usurpations of the Bishop and Court of *Rome*, as strenuously as any Protestants ever have done.

It is not doubted but that all *England* was *Roman Catholic* in the Days of King *Edward* I. And what the Sense of the Nation was then, doth appear by a fair Record, *viz.* the Statute of Provisors, made in the Reign of his Grandson King *Edward* III. The Preamble of the Statute is this: *Whereas late in the Parliament of good Memory of* Edward *King of* England, *Grandfather to our Lord the King that now is, in the 25th Year of his Reign, holden at* Carlisle, *the Petition heard put before the said Grandfather, and his Council in his said Parliament, by the Commonalty of the said Realm, containing, That whereas the Holy Church of* England *was founded in the Estate of Prelacy within the Realm of* England, *by the said Grandfather and his Progenitors, and the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of his said Realm, and their Ancestors.* After this Preamble followeth the Complaint of the Commons against the Pope, for *providing Clerks, both Foreigners and Denizens, for our Church Preferments, and presenting them thereunto, whereby many Inconveniences* (which are there reckoned up) *ensued.* And hereupon it is enacted, That *these Provisors* (for so the Pope's Presentees are called) *their Procurators, Executors, and Notaries, shall be attached by their Bodies, and brought in to answer. And if convict, they shall make Fine*

and Ranſom to the King at his Will, and gree to the Party who ſhall find himſelf grieved. 25 Edw. III. Statute of Proviſors.

From the Tenour of this Statute it appears, *1ſt*, That the Church of *England* was originally founded in Epiſcopacy, by the King, Peers, and Commons; for Barons in thoſe early Days were a degree below Peerage. *2dly*, That the Pope's intermeddling in the Affairs of the Church of *England* was adjudged by the Eſtates of the Realm no leſs than an unwarrantable Intruſion; and all who any ways abetted the Pope's Intruſions, were made liable to ſevere Puniſhments. *3dly*, That the Pope and the *Presbyterians* are obliged to make out their pretended Titles to rule over the Church of *England*, by a clearer and ſtronger Evidence than this Statute of Proviſors, or elſe all *Engliſh* Men ought to eſteem them no other than impudent Intruders: Foraſmuch as what is declared by the Statute of Proviſors, was according to the known Laws of this Land, which were long before King *Edward* I.'s Days; it being very evident that the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Juriſdiction in *England*, either in the Time of the *Britons* or *Saxons*; as appears in that *Elutherius* the Pope wrote to *Lucius* the *Britiſh* King, within two hundred Years after Chriſt, and ſtiles him *the Vicar of God* within his Kingdom. *Pelagius* the Monk, about the Year 400, being cited to *Rome* by the Pope, refuſed to appear, alledging, that *Britain* was neither within his Dioceſe nor his Province. So when Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auſtin* the Monk into *Britain*, we read that the *Britiſh* Biſhops would not regard his Commiſſion, nor own any Dependency upon the Pope. The like hereunto doth *Bede* report concerning the *Iriſh* as well as *Britiſh* Biſhops, who in a Convocation of the Clergy, called by King *Oſwif*, affirmed, That both the *Iriſh* and *Britiſh* Churches celebrated *Eaſter* according to the Uſage of the Eaſtern Churches, who were inſtructed by the Apoſtle St. *John*, and not according to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*. As for the *Saxons*; although King *Ina* gave *Peter-pence* to the Pope, partly as Alms, and partly in Recompence for an Houſe erected in *Rome* for *Britiſh* Pilgrims; yet it is certain that *Alfred* and *Athelſtan*, *Edgar* and *Edmund Canutus*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor, did give all the Biſhopricks of *England* by a Ring and a Staff.

The firſt Footing which the Pope gained in *England*, was by the Aſſiſtance of *William* the Conqueror (as he is called) who admitted a Legate, and followed his Advice in eccleſiaſtical Matters. *Gregory* VII. who was then Pope, had the Impudence by his Legate to demand an Oath of Fealty from the King, who had more Prudence than to grant his Deſire, as appears by the Letter of that King to the Pope, in theſe Words:

Excellentiſſimo Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Paſtori Gregorio, gratia Dei Anglorum Rex & Dux Normannorum Willielmus ſalutem cum amicitia. Hubertus Legatus tuus, ad me veniens ex tua parte, me admonuit ut tibi & ſucceſſoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, fidelitatem tibi facere nolim nec volo, &c.

The Subſtance of the Letter is to tell the Pope, that he would not ſwear Fealty to him, becauſe he had never promiſed any ſuch Thing, nor could he find that any of his Predeceſſors did ſo. Yet the Popes, by the Help of their Clergy in *England*, were conſtantly attempting to gain ſome or other Prerogative from the King's Crown, ſuch as the Privilege of Appeals to the Court of *Rome*, the Diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical Preferments; as alſo the Liberty to ſend

Bulls

Bulls and Excommunications into *England*. And this was the Reaſon why the Statute of Proviſors before cited was made, as alſo the Statute of Præmunire in the 27*th* of *Edward* III. againſt thoſe who ſhould implead their Fellow-Subjects in any Foreign Court. As likewiſe the Statute 16 of *Richard* II. ch. 5. wherein it is declared, That *the Crown of* England *hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in ſubjection to no Realm; but immediately ſubject to God, and no other: And that the Statutes of this Realm cannot be fruſtrated by the Pope.* In this Statute it is alſo declared, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as well as the Commons, do reſolve to ſtand with the King againſt the Pope's Intruſions, and do aſſociate to uphold all thoſe Royalties which had been enjoyed by his Royal Progenitors and Predeceſſors.

Now that a full and direct eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was anciently enjoyed by the Kings of *Britain*, doth appear from an undoubted Record of a Charter in which *Kenulphus* (who reigned *A. D.* 755.) granted to the Abbot and Monks of *Abingdon*, an Exemption from all epiſcopal Juriſdiction; but at the ſame Time granting epiſcopal Power to the Abbot. This Charter was pleaded 1 *Henry* VII. and is cited by *Stamford*, *L.* 3. *C.* 38. *Fol.* 111. The Subſtance of it is this, *Kenulphus* the King, by the Advice and Conſent of the Biſhops and Senators of his Nation, doth grant to *Ruchnius*, the Abbot of *Abingdon* in *Berkſhire*, a perpetual Freedom to himſelf, and all who cohabit with him, from all epiſcopal Juriſdictions; conferring alſo upon the Abbot and his Succeſſors, a Power to determine all Cauſes within his own Abby ariſeing. It is certain that at this Time all the Nation was Catholic. It is as plain that this Charter was paſſed in Parliament. And from hence it is very likely (if it may not be certainly concluded) that neither King nor Parliament at that Time thought of the *Pope*'s eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction (much leſs the Supremacy) in *England*. This very Charter was afterwards confirmed *per Edwynum Britanniæ Anglorum regem & monarcham.*

In St. *Edward*'s Laws, *Cap.* 19. it is declared, That *the King, who is the Vicar of the higheſt King, is ordained to this End, that he ſhould govern and rule the People of the Land, and above all Things the Holy Church.* And this I take to be the Sum of that Part of *Common Law* which is mentioned in the Reign of King *Edward* I. when *one of his Subjects* (as the Lord *Coke* ſaith in *Cawdrey*'s Caſe) *brought in a Bull of Excommunication againſt his Fellow Subjects, and publiſhed it to the Lord-Treaſurer of* England. *And this was, by the* ANCIENT COMMON LAW OF ENGLAND, *adjudged Treaſon againſt the King, his Crown and Dignity, for which he ſhould have been drawn and hanged; but at the great Inſtance of the Chancellor and Treaſurer he was forced only to abjure the Realm.* It ſeems that the greateſt Favour which could then be granted to one who owned the Pope's Juriſdiction in *England*, was perpetual Baniſhment: For then not only the Laity but Clergy were forbid to own any popiſh Juriſdiction; as appears by what my Lord *Coke* reports in the ſame Caſe, *viz. King* Edward III. *preſented a Clerk to a Benefice within the Province of* York: *Who was refuſed by the Archbiſhop, becauſe the Pope by way of Proviſion had confirmed it upon another. The King thereupon brought a* QUARE NON ADMISIT. *The Arch-biſhop pleaded, That the Biſhop of* Rome *had long time before provided to the ſame Church, as one having ſupreme Authority in that Caſe;*

and that he durſt not, nor had Power to put him out who was by the Pope's Bull in Poſſeſſion. For which his high Contempt againſt his Crown and Dignity, in refuſing to execute his Sovereign's Commandment, fearing to do it, againſt the King's Proviſion, by Judgment of the COMMON LAW the Lands of his whole Biſhoprick were ſeized into the King's Hands, and loſt during his Life. Which Judgment was (ſaith Coke) before any Statute or Act of Parliament was made in that Caſe. I ſuppoſe he meaneth before the Statute of *Proviſors* was made.

To prevent ſuch-like Incroachments of the Court of *Rome*, the Statute of *Præmunire* was made, 16 *Richard* II. ch. 5. to forewarn, and alſo forearm the Land againſt the Incroachments which the Popes were then by the Court-Prieſts introducing upon it. In this Statute the Commons complain, that by Bulls and Proceſſes from *Rome*, the King is deprived of that Juriſdiction which belongs of Right to his Imperial Crown; that the King doth loſe the Service and Counſel of his Prelates and learned Men, by Tranſlations made by the Biſhop of *Rome:* That the King's Laws are defeated at his Will; the Treaſure of the Realm exhauſted to enrich his Court: And that by theſe Means the Crown of *England*, which hath ever been free, and ſubject unto none, but immediately unto God, ſhould be ſubmitted unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, to the utter Deſtruction of the King and the whole Realm; which God defend, ſay they. And thereupon, out of their exceeding Zeal and Fervency, they offer to live and die with the King, in Defence of the Liberties of the Crown And laſtly, they pray and require the King to examine all the Lords in Parliament what they thought of theſe manifeſt Wrongs and Uſurpations; and whether they would ſtand with the King in Defence of his Royal Liberties, or no? Which the King did according to their Petition. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal did all anſwer, that theſe Uſurpations of the Biſhop of *Rome* were againſt the Liberties of the Crown; and that they were all bound by their Allegiance to ſtand with the King, and to maintain his Honour and Prerogative. And thereupon it was enacted, with a full Conſent of the three Eſtates, that ſuch as ſhould purchaſe in the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, any Bulls or Proceſſes, or other Things which might touch the King in his Crown and Dignity Royal; and ſuch as ſhould bring them into the Realm, and ſuch as ſhould receive them, publiſh them, or execute them, they, their Notaries, Proctors, Maintainers and Counſellors, ſhould be all out of the King's Protection, their Lands and Goods forfeited to the King; their Bodies attached if they might be found; or elſe Proceſs of *Præmunire facias* to be awarded againſt them.

The Reaſon why I have been ſo particular in giving you an Account of theſe Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire* is, becauſe hereupon I lay the Foundation of a Diſtinction, which you Proteſtants are unwilling to admit; I mean, the Diſtinction between the Church and Court of *Rome*. Thoſe who adhere to the Church of *Rome*, I hold to be good Catholics; and thoſe who adhere to the Court of *Rome*, I hold to be Papiſts, Enemies and Traitors to the Realm of *England*, and totally unfit for any Truſt in this or any other Proteſtant Country.

Whilſt we were upon this Head of Diſcourſe, in came Parſon *T——n*, and would by no Means allow, that any *Roman Catholic* ſhould receive Encouragement in *England*, becauſe (forſooth) we believe the monſtrous Doctrine of Tran-

Tranſubſtantiation. One would be apt to think, that ſome ſtrange Charm was couched in the very Word Tranſubſtantiation, it has ſuch a Power to raiſe the Spleen in *Proteſtants*. *I confeſs, that I do love a Wench upon ſome Occaſions*, ſaid *Harry Martin* in the late Republican Times: *But what is that to the Government?* I do likewiſe confeſs, that I do believe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, becauſe I have received it by Tradition from the Church, as you believe the Trinity, though there be no Mention of a Trinity of Perſons in the Bible; yet, I ſay, you receive this Doctrine as an ancient *Catholic* Interpretation of ſome Places in the Bible, though by your Reaſon you cannot fully comprehend the Meaning thereof. But what is this to the Government? The People of *England* were in this, and all other Points, *Roman Catholic*, when they made the foregoing Laws againſt the Court of *Rome*, whereby they maintain'd the King's Prerogative, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the People's Liberty. I ſuppoſe our Anceſtors went to Heaven in thoſe Days; nor can I believe that a Propenſity to betray a Man's Country to the Court of *Rome* is at any Time a neceſſary Means of Salvation. 'Tis true, that Tranſubſtantiation is a proper Teſt whereby to find out a *Roman Catholic*: But in my Opinion it will not be a ſufficient Teſt whereby to diſcover, whether that *Roman Catholic* be a Lover of his Country, or not. So that I think the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is ſhut out of the Queſtion in Hand.

But I muſt not forget the Objection you were pleaſed to make againſt what I contend for. Said you, What if a *Papiſt* ſhould be made a principal Secretary of State, in ſuch a critical Time as this is, when a War is proclaim'd againſt *France*; which requires (as the Hon. Houſe of Commons has voted) a vigorous Proſecution? And what though the Queen ſhould be in earneſt for proſecuting the War, and the Secretary would be in jeſt, for the *French* King is (ſaid you) the very Idol of all bigotted *Papiſts?* Suppoſing then (continued you) that the Queen ſhould be willing to lay hold upon that Handle which God, by an extraordinary Providence, has reached out to her Majeſty, and offer her Aſſiſtance to the *Sevennois*, as being thereunto bound both by Religion and Policy; this Secretary would adviſe her Majeſty to deſiſt: He would call the riſing of the poor oppreſſed *Proteſtants*, in their own neceſſary Defence, by the foul Name of *a Rebellion*; and would no more ſuffer the Queen to aſſiſt them, than he himſelf would have aſſiſted the *Engliſh Proteſtants*, when they of late defended themſelves againſt King *James*. Beſides, he would find Means to give ſuch cruiſing or ſailing Orders, either public or private, to our Fleets at Sea, that the *French* Squadrons ſhould paſs by them ſecurely: He would ſend ſuch tatter'd Regiments into *Portugal* (if he could not hinder our Deſcent that Way upon *Spain*) as ſhould be the Laughing-ſtock of the *Confederates*. And who can tell how many Ways and Means ſuch a one may find out to prolong an unfortunate tedious pick-purſe War, to the End that it may at laſt end in a treacherous and dangerous, if not a deſtructive Peace?

But all this is only a fantaſtical Fear, ariſing from a mere chimerical Notion: For though *Roman Catholics* were qualified by Law for the Truſts of the Nation, there is no Shadow of a Probability, that in ſuch a Juncture as this is, the Queen would make ſuch a one her principal Secretary of State, unleſs there were not an honeſt *Proteſtant* to be found in the Land. Nor do I believe that a *Roman Catholic*

tholic would, in such a Time as this, undertake such an Office, unless he knew himself both able and willing to discharge it faithfully for his Queen and Country. For my Part I would sooner say my Prayers at *Tyburn*, than accept of an Office which I should only serve with half a Heart, for the Sake of getting Money merely, or else for the Sake of some wretched By-ends which are inconsistent with the Public Good. Besides, a *Papist* must be a Madman, to take such an Office upon him to serve a *French* Turn; for he must know that *Protestants* will be sure to keep a narrow Watch upon *Popish* Ministers, and will soon discover any of their indirect Designs. 'Twas plain, that King *Charles* II. might have made much bolder Advantages towards the Court of *Rome*, than King *James* II. And suppose that a *Popish* Secretary should have called that Defence which the *Sevennois* are now making, by the Stile of *a Rebellion*, some *Protestant* Lord or other would have told him, even in the Queen's Presence (if there had been Occasion for it) that he spoke the Language of a Traitor; for none but a Traitor to the Queen's Power and Dignity could say, that there was any Rebellion in the Kingdom of *France*, sith that the rightful Sovereignty over *France* is lodged in the Queen's Majesty, whose Protestant *French* Subjects arose in their own Defence against the lawless Usurpation and Tyranny of *Lewis* XIV. Can you think that a *Popish* Secretary would be suffered to ridicule the Laws of *England*, which declare her Majesty's Title to *France* to be rightful and lawful; and to turn into Jest the pious Devotions of all the Reverend Clergy of the Church of *England*, who, according to the Canons of their Church, do constantly recognize her gracious Majesty's Title to *France* as well as *England* in their solemn Prayers? Or if such a Secretary should have given ill private Orders, or procured faulty public Orders to our Seamen to favour the *French* Squadrons at Sea, do you not think that this Matter would be looked narrowly into? Do you not think that sufficient Opportunity at least, if not Encouragement, would be given to those who had executed such private Orders, to confess from whence they received the same? Should a *Popish* Secretary be suffered to do such Things as these, every one would say, that the Court was a Nursery of Traitors: The Clergy would be in Pain for *Magdalen-College*, and the Commonwealths-Men with their usual Assurance would tells us, that either there must be no Monarchy or no Morality left in *England*.

But after all, how can you suppose that a *Papist* can be made a Secretary to a *Protestant* Queen, who claims the Crown of *England* from the same Authority by which King *William* III. wore it? Did not most *Papists* declare themselves Enemies to the late Revolution; and can any *Papist*, whose Principle is averse to that Revolution, gain upon the Queen's Favour? Can a Secretary of this Stamp gain the Queen her Subjects Affections? Or would he not be to her Majesty the most dangerous Person in all her Dominions? Would not Men be apt to suspect that this Man was prefer'd for the Sake of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, to assist him to finish what K. *James* II. began? Thus, Sir, supposing the worst of this Matter, a *Popish* Secretary would not be so dangerous a Person as you supposed.

But after all; it is surely possible for a *Roman Catholic* to be an honest Man, and a Lover of his Country: The whole Nation has been fill'd with such heretofore, and why may not such Men live in Credit with their Neighbours? Is it contrary

trary to the *Roman Catholic* Faith to bear true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lady Q. *Anne!* whom God preſerve to be a Scourge to Tyranny, and a Protectreſs to injured Princes and States. 'Tis poſſible for a good *Catholic* now, as well as heretofore, to defend her Majeſty's Crown and Dignity againſt all Attempts of Foreign or Domeſtic Enemies. I would not ſerve the Queen in ſo much as a Conſtable's Office, without this Reſolution. What though I believe Tranſubſtantiation! is there any Tendency in it to make me either the worſe Man, or the worſe Subject! Will not you truſt me with an hundred Pounds upon my own Bond, notwithſtanding that Point of my Belief? And though I know that you do not pretend to have any plain Ideas of ſome Doctrines which you believe to be true, yet I ſhould not ſcruple to truſt you with five hundred Pounds upon your own Note, if you wanted ſuch a Sum. But that which I ſtill plead for is this, *viz.* That no Native of *England* ſhould be diſcouraged from making himſelf fit for the greateſt Truſts of his Country; ſtill owning, that whoſoever is not well qualified for a Truſt, ought not to have it committed to him. Nor has he any Right to complain, who is not fitted well for an Employment, becauſe he is not accepted when he petitions for it; but ſtill where there is a political Community, all Places ought to be free to the Deſerver. Suppoſing that in all the Markets of *London* no body could be permitted to buy Proviſions, before my Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, and Common-Council had provided for their Families; would not all other Citizens look upon themſelves to be uſed like Aliens and Foreigners in their own City? where the pooreſt Inhabitant would have Reaſon of Complaint. But now, ſince any Man has Liberty to buy as good Meat as my Lord-Mayor, there is no Complaint upon this Occaſion. And if all Truſts ſhould be confined to any one Sort of Men in the Land, all other People will think themſelves abdicated by the Government; at leaſt, not look'd upon as Children of the ſame political Family. But if all are equally privileged, no Man will complain becauſe he is not qualified for a Place: Nor can he complain againſt the Government, becauſe he wants Friends to recommend him, any more than a poor Citizen will complain againſt the Markets, becauſe he wants Money to buy Proviſions. My old Aunt *B———d* made it a ſtanding Ordinance in her Family, That only thoſe Children who waſhed their Faces and Hands clean in a Morning, ſhould have white Bread to Breakfaſt: If any one of the Children neglected to comply with theſe Terms, he had no Reaſon to complain againſt his Mother for want of Affection to him. I know ſeveral *Roman Catholics*, who love their Country as well as I do; and believe that the Popes of *Rome* have no more Authority in *England*, than the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* has in *Italy*. Muſt we be abdicated by our Country, becauſe ſome flattering Lawyers and Divines of the Court of *Rome* have exalted the *Pope*'s Power above all the Kings upon the Earth? Make us therefore a Teſt, whereby an honeſt *Catholic* may diſtinguiſh himſelf, by owning the Queen's rightful Title to the Crown of *England*, and all its Dependencies, and by diſowning the *Pope*'s pretended Authority upon any Account in this Realm; the Crown whereof is Sovereign, Imperial, and Independent upon any Foreign Juriſdiction whatſoever. I have now finiſhed my Recollection of our Diſcourſe, and am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

REASONS for Taxing the Public Funds. 1716.

A TAX upon the Funds, in Proportion to that on Land, will bring in about 700,000 *l. per Annum*, and be raiſed without any manner of Charge to the Government, by ſtopping it in the reſpective Paymaſters Hands.—Such a Tax, added to that on Land and Malt, will bring in about 3,200,000 *l. per Ann.* a Sum ſufficient for a Year's Expence; even in a Time of War, with frugal Management, and our Allies keeping up to ſuch Stipulations as are, or ſhall be made with them.—If our Troubles were at an End, our Expences would be ſo much leſſen'd, that half the ſame Taxes on the Funds and Land, with that on the Malt, will ſerve our ordinary Occaſions.—This being granted, we may maintain a Foreign War for ever, without loading the People with any new Taxes; and as the Time ſhall expire, for which the preſent Funds are already granted, ſo ſhall the Burthen be leſſened that we now labour under.—If we go on to create new Taxes, for Terms of Years, the Nation will be undone, and we muſt ſink under the Burthen of them.—Let me aſk any conſiderate Perſon, If in Time of War, he had not better pay 20 *l.* out of 100 *l.* and, in Time of Peace, only 10 *l.* than run the Riſque of loſing his whole?—The Monied Intereſt will make near 5 *l. per Cent.* of their Money, in Time of War; and, in Time of Peace, near 5 *l.* 10 *s.* by purchaſing in the Funds, though the above Taxes ſhould be laid; which is much more than the Landed Intereſt can make, even if their Lands were Tax free.—The Landed Intereſt hath paid, in thirty Years paſt, almoſt half as much again as their Eſtates are worth, for the Support of the War; in which Time, the Monied Intereſt hath paid nothing at all.—One great Reaſon of the Decay of Trade is, the Merchants can make ſo large Intereſt of their Money in the Funds, that they do not think it worth while to run the Hazards of the Seas, when they make ſo much of their Money at home, without any Hazard.—As to the common Objections, that they were granted Tax-free, and it would be the Ruin of Public Credit, to break in upon Acts of Parliament; 'tis eaſily anſwered:—The Power, that made thoſe Acts are ſtill the ſame, and may, on the preſſing Occaſions of the State, make any Alterations in ſuch Acts: Or elſe, all Acts of Parliament that ever were made, from the Beginning of Parliaments, would be ſtill in Force.—And inſtead of ruining Public Credit, it will be a very great Addition to it; for when the Government can raiſe in the Year, the Money neceſſary for the Service of the Year; all Perſons having any Dealings with them, will ſerve them ſo much the cheaper for ready Money; and a great deal will be ſaved in unneceſſary Intereſt, now paid.—Let the Monied Intereſt now, like the Landed Gentlemen, chearfully concur to part with a little, for the Preſervation of the whole.—Thus ſhall they for ever put an End to all invidious Diſtinctions: When the Monied and Landed Intereſt, with united Force, and in equal Proportions, aſſiſt and ſupport our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.—When the Nation ſhall be no more mortgaged, and our Income ſhall anſwer our Expence, then ſhall our Eſtates in the Funds be of equal (if not ſuperior) Value, to thoſe in the Land.—Thus doth it undeniably appear, That it is the Intereſt of every Perſon, howſoever largely concerned in the Funds, readily to conſent to the Taxing of them, rather than burthen the Nation with any new Taxes.

A *French Conqueſt* neither Deſirable nor Practicable. Dedicated to the KING of ENGLAND.

To the KING.

SIR,

NOtwithſtanding You *have been traduced by Your Enemies for having ill Deſigns upon the* Nation, *and that thoſe Enemies have had too fatal a Succeſs in ſpreading ſuch improbable Suggeſtions (too fatal for their* Native Country *as well as for* You, *who are the* Monarch *of it ;) yet I am ſo aſſur'd that Your* Majeſty *jealously watches over the* Glory, *and Aims at the* True Intereſt *of Your* Kingdoms, *that I am confident a Diſcourſe that proves a* French Conqueſt *of this* Iſland, *to be neither the* Intention *of Your* Friends, *nor* Your Own, *nor* Practicable *in it ſelf, will not be an unacceptable Preſent.*

CONQUEST *is a harſh Word, and it frightens weak Minds. And that* YOU Your Self *ſhould* Conquer, *can be only wiſh'd for by ſuch, as intend* their own Intereſt *more than* Yours, *in Your* Reſtauration; *who intend to live upon* Prey, *and would deſtroy half the* Nation *that* They *might have the better ſhare of the* Confiſcations. *But if that ſhould be, yet the moſt remote ſurviving* Relations *of thoſe that are* Killed, *or* Executed, *when that* horrid Trial of Skill *ſhall be over, will have a mind to the Eſtates of their* Anceſtors: *And the Baniſhed* Out-Laws *will be ready to ſtir up any* enterprizing Prince abroad, *or ſuch as are diſcontented at* home, *to give future Diſturbances; So that theſe* Kingdoms *will be ſtill continued under* Convulſive Agonies. *And, after all, I beg leave to ſay, That no* Prince *by* Conquering, *or, to ſpeak more properly,* Reducing, *his* Rebellious Subjects, *can have any* Title *to take away the* Laws, *and* Liberties *of thoſe that remained Faithful.*

I muſt confeſs, I am one of thoſe that can never (as well for His, as Our ſake) aſſiſt any King *that has the* Glorious Title of SUCCESSION, *to debaſe it into the* mean, hated, *and* precarious one *of* Conqueſt. *But I think our own* Hereditary *and* Equal Monarchy *to be ſo much the moſt happy ſort of* Government, *both for* Prince *and* People, *that I can very willingly run any hazard to ſettle things upon* that Foundation.

Come Home, Great Sir, *to Restore our* Trade, *to Repair our* Naval Reputation *and* Strength, *to make* Us *the* Umpires *of* Europe, *to Deliver* Us *from* DUTCH *Delusions, to Preserve Our* Church *as Established by* Law *from being* Debauched *by* Comprehension, *to Settle* Liberty *of* Conscience *in a* duly Elected PARLIAMENT, *and to Establish all the* Liberties *of the* English *Subject.*

It is because I am confident these are Your Royal Resolutions, *that I Wrote this short Discourse, and now Dedicate it to* Your Majesty. *The Subject is of that Importance to* Your Affairs, *that it deserved to have been better handled; and I desired some abler Pens to have undertaken it, but* Their *Thoughts were otherwise employed: Yet though I am sensible I have not done it all the Justice* They *would, I think I may without Vanity say, I have made it plain beyond the* Cavils, *or at least reasonable* Objections, *of Your* Adversaries, *and I hope it may have some effect upon* them.

That God would Restore Your Majesty *to Your* Throne, *and to the* Hearts *of all Your* Subjects, *is the unfeigned Prayer of*,

May it please Your *Majesty*,

Your *Majesty*'s most Obedient,

Loyal Subject,

N. N.

A *French Conqueſt* Neither Deſirable nor Practicable.

SINCE our Enemies, in ſome of their *Pamphlets*, and many of their *Diſcourſes*, amongſt ſeveral other things wherewith they falſly charge thoſe whoſe *ſole* Deſign is to reſtore the *Ancient* and *Hereditary Monarchy*, together with all thoſe Securities we ever had, or are neceſſary for the Preſervation of the *Engliſh Liberties* and *Proteſtant Religion*; I ſay, Since our Enemies, amongſt other things, unjuſtly charge us with deſigning, or, at leaſt, unwarily helping forward, a *French Conqueſt*, I have determined to ſhew that ſuch a *Conqueſt* is neither *Deſirable* nor *Practicable*; that we are neither ſuch *Fools* nor *Knaves* as to think of ſuch fatal Projects againſt our *Native Country*. I ſhall endeavour to make out both the One and the Other plainly, but not elaborately, ſince Brevity and Perſpicuity is more proper to diſabuſe the honeſt and plain-hearted (for whoſe Information I particularly write, and who are moſt miſled by theſe Inſinuations) than long and artificial Harrangues, wherein the Authors refine too much, or interlard too much Learning.

I begin with the firſt Head of my Diſcourſe, *viz. That a* French Conqueſt *is not deſirable.*

There is no ſort of Men deſire it. I know no body that would ſubject our *Fortunes*, our *Liberties* and *Lives* to the Power of *France*: They that urge it, don't believe we would. We lament the *Taxes*, the *Impriſonments*, the *Plunderings*, and the Pillaging of *England*; the *Torturing* againſt Law, and the *Glenco-Maſſacre* in SCOTLAND, together with all the other Miſeries that infeſt this *Iſland*; We would not bring more upon it; we would not depopulate it; we would not make it a *Golgotha:* And that the World may be convinced that none of the *Jacobites* deſire a *French Conqueſt*, I ſhall ſhew it contrary to the *Intereſts* and *Inclinations* of every Denomination of them to let the *French* have any footing here.

It is almoſt a Jeſt to go about to prove the *Whiggiſh Jacobites* would not find their Account in a *French Conqueſt*. Can it be imagined, that Men who have been always ſtruggling with their *own* Kings for *more Liberty*, and to have their *Properties* better guarded, who have been hitherto ſo jealous of the loweſt Imitations of *French Monarchy*, ſhould expect greater Securities under a PROVINCIAL *French Government*, or deſire to become Subjects to a *King* whoſe own *Natural Subjects* they think are very hardly dealt with?

As to the *Jacobites* of the Church of *England*, nothing can lie more croſs to their Notions and Intereſt, than a *French Conqueſt*. Can it be believed that thoſe who venture *All* to preſerve every Gradation of the *Royal Line*, would convey over the Tenure of the Crown to one that has *no* Pretence of Right to it? Did they not oppoſe the *Bill of Excluſion* upon this Principle, That it is not in the Power of *King and Parliament* too to alter the *Succeſſion?* Can they then give up the Intereſt of our *Engliſh Monarchs* all at once? No, their

Conſciences will bid them oppoſe a *French Conqueſt* with the hazard and expence of the laſt Drop of their Blood: And their Intereſt will bid them do ſo too; for a *French Conqueſt* cannot be maintained here without ſo many *Outlandiſh Roman Catholicks*, as will be a very *indifferent Guard* to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND; and if the *French King* ſhould be King of *England*, he muſt in meer Policy ſet up his own Religion here, if he did not think himſelf obliged in Conſcience to do it.

I come in the laſt place to the *Roman Catholicks*, (of whom our Adverſaries expect the World ſhould believe any Figment, tho' never ſo monſtrous and abſurd;) and I muſt ſay, That thoſe among them who, by reaſon of their Eſtates and Sence, will always govern the reſt, are not ſo little read in our *Hiſtories*, as to ſuppoſe, that, tho' ſuch a *Conqueſt* did at preſent make for them, (as it really will not) it would be laſting. They are now convinced, that it is by becoming *Engliſhmen*, and not by running counter to the *Engliſh Intereſt*, that they muſt be happy; and they profeſs, that if we will once give them opportunity to ſhew how well they love our *Liberties*, we ſhall ſee they place their Hopes in the *Indulgence*, they ſhall gain by the moderate and inoffenſive Carriage of their own *Party*, and not on *Foreign Dependencies*. They know that the Revulſe of all ſuch Projects muſt extirpate *Them* and their *Poſterity* together with the *Foreigners*; and they know we muſt be entirely rooted out, or we ſhall root out all Foreigners at laſt.

I muſt do that *Party* ſtill more Juſtice. I thought always they were neither Wiſely nor Religiouſly uſed by us; that we ought not to puniſh any Man for meer Opinions, and that we ought not in good Senſe to irritate Men into *Treaſons* at *Home*, or *Dependencies* on *Foreign Princes*: This I always thought; but ſince the Misfortunes of *His Majeſty* I have had Occaſion to converſe more freely with the *Roman Catholicks*, and I muſt ſay, I have found amongſt many of that Perſuaſion the ſame Senſe of *Liberty* their *Anceſtors* had, and our *Old Papiſts* who have tranſmitted to us our *Magna Charta*, *Charta de Forreſta*, &c. I have found amongſt ſo many of that Perſuaſion not only all the good Impreſſions of that Happineſs we enjoy by our *Conſtitution*, but ſo particular a Deteſtation of all Thoughts of a *French Conqueſt*, that as I think no Death too cruel for any body that would promote it, ſo I am confident whoever can be proved deſigning it, would be found Guilty even by any *Jury of Papiſts* that can be ſummoned.

There are poſſibly ſome *Rom. Prieſts*, that may endeavour to blow up the *Laity* to ſome unreaſonable Hopes and Deſigns; but I am well ſatisfied a *French Conqueſt* is none of them, and beſides the *Laity* of that *Church* begin to reflect upon the Folly of the *Prieſts*, when the *King* was here; and they now ſee, that the *Prieſts* are *light* Gentlemen, *without Families or Fortunes* and ſo can better ſhift in a Storm than the Laity can, which makes *Ghoſtly Politicks* much out of faſhion even with the *Roman Catholicks*, that have Senſe, Quality and Eſtates; and they will always govern the reſt, in what concerns the ſecurity of their Perſons and Eſtates.

Cambden, though in many reſpects an excellent Hiſtorian, whether out of Bigotry to his own Church, or that he may enhaunce the Character of Queen *Elizabeth*,

Elizabeth, who made and promoted ſuch ſevere Laws againſt both, never ſpeaks favourably either of *Puritan* or *Papiſt*, and yet there drop from him Expreſſions, which ſhew, although the *Reformation* was then ſo newly ſetled, and though the *Papiſts* were then more numerous than they are now; nay, though they were not many of them ſatisfied of the Legitimacy of Queen *Elizabeth*, yet the generallity, and the moſt conſiderable Papiſts would not joyn in the *Spaniſh Deſigns*; and they blamed the hot-headedneſs of *Parſons* the Jeſuit, *&c.* Read *Cambden*'s Annals in Engliſh, Page 113, 114, and 115. and you will find that in the *Rebellion of the North*, (which was the firſt in her Reign,) though *Chapine Vitelli*, Marqueſs of *Cotona*, was ſent over to Head Forces, which the Duke of *Alva* had promiſed the Rebels; and *Nicholas Morton*, a Prieſt, was ſent at the ſame time by the Pope to denounce Queen *Elizabeth* a Heretick; yet moſt of the *Papiſts* ſent the Letters they received from the Rebels, together with the Bearers of them, to the Queen. Page 125, 126. you may read Pope *Pius*'s Bull againſt the *Queen*, and that the modeſter *Papiſts* miſlik'd it, and were unwilling to bring Miſchief upon themſelves; nay, the beginning of the next Page tells you, *they contemned it as a vain crack of Words.* Page 218. the Papiſts expreſs ſuch diſlike of *Parſons*'s fiery zeal againſt the *Queen*, that they thought themſelves to have delivered him into the *Magiſtrate*'s hands. Page 248. the *Romans Catholicks* miſlike the Notions, in *Politicks*, of their *Prieſts*; and *J. Biſhop*, a Man devoted to the *Romiſh Church*, writes againſt them, and againſt the *Depoſing Doctrine*. Other paſſages might be quoted out of that Hiſtory; but here are enough, and perhaps ſome will think too many, for whoſe purpoſe it makes more to render the *Papiſts errant Monſters.*

Though, by reaſon that our Adverſaries are likelieſt to be believed againſt the *Roman Catholicks*, and prejudice *Our Cauſe* by the general Prejudice that is againſt them, I have been the more particular about that Party; yet I thank God no Man is leſs liable to be proſelyted to their Opinions in matters of Church-worſhip, than I am, or more loves, or will venture farther in all Times for the CHARACTERISTICK LIBERTIES of the Engliſh Subject; LIBERTIES that I will defend, as far as in me lies, not only from all *Forcign Powers*, but from all Encroachments of our own *Monarchs* too; though I muſt ſay at the ſame time, that I can diſtinguiſh between *Liberty* and *Licentiouſneſs*, and like our own true and ancient *Hereditary* and *equal Monarchy* the beſt of all the ſeveral ſorts of *Government*; and know alſo that there are many *Prerogatives* that are as neceſſary for the Protection of the *People*, as for the Safety and Grandeur of the *Prince*.

The World is much miſtaken in our *Notions*; I wiſh they would hear 'em from our ſelves, who can beſt tell the Reaſons of our *Diſſent* from the *preſent Government*, and with what Deſigns, and how far we do, and will ſerve *K. James*; and they will find even the *Non-Swearers of the Church of* England have in their *Loyalty* to *Him* a due regard to their *Country* likewiſe. By this frankneſs all Parties might come to underſtand one another better, and the late Experiments have made all thoſe of the ſeveral Parties, that are for *K. James* wiſer and more temperate than formerly; the *Jacobites* wiſh their own

Diſappointments.

Diſappointments had made the *Williamites* as much ſo; we know indeed they have made many of them wiſer.

We are ſo far from wiſhing the King of *France* ſhould Conquer us, that we don't wiſh King *James* ſhould. We will receive Him, we will help Him, as our *Father*, as our *King*; but *Conqueror* is not in the Language of our Loyalty. The *Church of England* have been ever thought to carry the Notions of *Prerogative* the higheſt; but I believe amongſt the *Non Swearing Clergy*, there will not be found one St. *Aſaph*, one *Burnet*; and we are heartily glad, that thoſe who ſit in the Two *Houſes* ordered ſuch a *Stigma* for ſuch *nauſeous Flattery:* And ſhould the King be forced to reduce theſe Kingdoms by a high Hand, which many of the *Jacobites* are ſure he is very unwilling to do, and we hope the *Nation* will be wiſer than to put him to it; yet even then all the wiſe and influencing *Jacobites* will interpoſe, will keep him (if he ſhould be inclined to do otherwiſe) from purſuing Revenge, and will tell him, that the end of *Civil War* muſt be attended with Moderation in the *Conqueror*; or otherwiſe he that is one day *Victor* by the *Sword*, may be vanquiſhed the next by *Jealouſies*. If he ſhould unmercifully devour even his *Rebellious Subjects*, we our ſelves ſhould ſtand affrighted at him, as at a *Polyphemus*, and conclude he would feaſt upon us at laſt. Our *Henry* the Third had like to have loſt himſelf by an intemperate uſe of his Victory over the *Barons:* And *Edward* the Second did loſe himſelf by uſing extream Rigours after his Victory at *Burton* upon *Trent:* Other inſtances of this ſort may be found in our own Hiſtories; and if we rightly conſider the preſent State of Affairs, the *Defection* was very general, and upon the Account of *Male-Adminiſtration*, and therefore the *Pardon* ought to be without Exceptions; and a *Rectification* of thoſe Errors will reſtore the *King* to the Hearts of all his People, as well as his Kingdoms, without Effuſion of Blood. They are *State-Quacks*, who only underſtand *Chlebotomy*. A *good Phyſician* will ſweeten and compoſe the Maſs of Humors, and by proper *Lenitives* quiet all our boyling Spirits, and correct the Temperament of the *State* into *Obedience*, without creating Faintneſſes, or deſtroying our Vitals. This all the conſiderable *Jacobites* are now ſatisfied of, this is their Opinion. It is not the *Title* of the King that is the Diſpute; then indeed Wiſe Kings have after Victories, been ſevere, as our *Henry* VII. was; but the ſame *Henry* VII. was as Merciful in *Flammock*'s *Rebellion*, tho' it was occaſion'd by collecting Taxes that were granted by *Parliament*. His Son alſo, *Henry* VIII. (who was a Prince of a high mind) when 30000 were in Arms in the *Yorkſhire Rebellion*, which was upon account of what they thought *Male-adminiſtration*, pardoned every Man, and after quieted their minds by ſending down a Book amongſt them to explain his Intentions. It is by Mercy and letting us ſee clearly in his Royal Heart, that our King, King *JAMES*, muſt eſtabliſh his Throne; and even they who believe *Paſſive Obedience*, would not be *active* in the Deſtruction of their Country; and tho' they think the *Church of England* ſupports the *Monarchy*, yet now they are ſatisfied nothing leſs will ſecure their *Church*, than what makes our *Liberties* ſafe. You know there are others in his Intereſt, who will claim their Rights in a bolder manner yet; I bleſs God

God there are many of them, ſome of whom never touched with this Government, and others who have been ſo diſappointed by its *Miniſters* and *Adminiſtration*, that they no longer expect a Cure from the Prince of *Orange*'s hands; you cannot think either the One or the Other of theſe deſire to be a *Conquered People*, nor do I know any one Man that deſires it.

Indeed this Government has taken all Methods by *Harraſſing* and *Impriſonments*, and ſuch *Taxes* as muſt undo us, to make the *Jacobites* do ſome deſperate thing: and if any thing would, ſuch Uſage would make us wiſh for a *French Conqueſt*, or any other Change of Torments; but nothing can make us wiſh for a *French Conqueſt*. They have not yet made us Riſe, that they might have the Confiſcation of our Fortunes, and dub King *William Conquerour without controul*: I hope we ſhall never *Riſe*, till we do it to the purpoſe, till the Nation riſes with us; I hope we ſhall diſappoint that Deſign of parcelling out our Inheritances amongſt the ſworn Vaſſals of the Prince of *Orange*, as *Ireland* (which could eaſily have been made to follow the Fortune of *England* at the beginning of this *Revolution*, had not this Project been in their Head) has been ſhared amongſt them. I hope we ſhall diſappoint them here by a wiſe and temperate Conduct. They care not what *Slaughters*, what *Diſtreſſes*, they bring upon the Nation: but We would reſtore *Peace* and *Plenty* to it; and whatever our Enemies ſay (who have all along had a great Faculty of contriving Lies, and forming *Hobgoblins*) we love our Country, our *Native* Country too well to let any Uneaſineſs make us have one Thought, one Wiſh for a *French Conqueſt*.

The Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration ſays, One of the Ends of his coming was to cover all Men from *Perſecution*. He has kept that as well as the other parts; for he cannot but know that many of thoſe who refuſe the *Oaths*, do it out of *Conſcience*, and how many (againſt whom no other Crime has been proved, but the refuſal of thoſe *Oaths*, and therefore in the ſight of the Law guilty of none elſe) have had their *Arms* and *Horſes ſeized*, have been hindred from following their *Lawful Buſineſs*, put to find *unreaſonable Bail*, been laid up in *loathſom Priſons*, and been forced to pay moſt part, if not all their *Incomes?* If this is not *Perſecution*, I know not what is; and I think he cannot but believe it is generally for Conſcience-ſake. Is not that Venerable Old Man Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and ſeveral other *Biſhops* and *dignify'd Perſons*, who have ſhewn a ſufficient Concern for the *Proteſtant Religion*, and whoſe *Loyalty* was not ſtupid (to uſe Dr. *Sherlock*'s Epithete) but that they ſtood up for the *Laws*. Are not many of theſe *Excellent Perſons* reduc'd to great *Straights* and *Poverty*, becauſe they have not *ſupple time ſerving-Providential Conſciences?* How many of the *Inferiour Clergy* are ſent to beg their Bread, who made it a point of Conſcience to oppoſe the *Irregularities of King James's Miniſters*, who, tho' they would have been, and are now willing to conſent to *Liberty of Conſcience*, Parliamentarily ſettled, were not flexible to the *Tricks* ſet on foot by thoſe *deſigning Miniſters?* There has been already, I think a ſufficient *Perſecution* of the *Jacobites*; but the *Judges* are commanded to ſet a greater forward ſtill: however, that ſhall not provoke us to a raſh Attempt, neither to hurt our *ſelves* nor our *Country*, neither to make King *William*'s Hotchpotch Title a *Conqueſt*, nor to think of a *French Conqueſt*.

We

We cannot swear away our *Allegiance*, which we owe to King *James*, as his Birth-right, and which most of us have sworn to him; but if it had been thought fit to contrive an Oath, which should have expressed our *Love of England*, and our *Abhorrence* of a *French Conquest*, whatever Mulct had been laid upon the Refusal of it, whoever had refused it would have been by us unpity'd, tho' you had exacted the Mulct never so severely, for we are all satisfied a *French Conquest* is not desirable.

That a *French Conquest* is contrary to the Inclinations and Interests of the several sorts of *Jacobites*, is a good Argument that it is not *practicable*. But now I fall upon my second Head, I presume I shall directly and irrefragably make out, That a *French Conquest* is not *Practicable*; and that, by shewing,

I. *That a* French Conquest *is as little King* James's Inclination *as his* Interest.

II. *That such a* Conquest *is palpably opposite to the Interest of all the* Princes *and* States *of* Europe.

And lastly, *That to attempt a* French Conquest *of* England, *either for Himself or* King James, *is not the Interest of the King of* France *himself.*

I omit shewing a *French Conquest* is against the Interest of King *James*, for I don't think it worth my while to prove that it is against a Man's *Interest* to have his *Estate* taken from him, and his *Posterity* destroy'd. King *James* has a *Child*, that He believes, and *you* believe too (notwithstanding all the pains you take to be thought to believe that useful Flam of your pretended *Imposture*, which was at first taken up, and industriously promoted (like that of the *Irish* cutting the Throats of all the People of *England* and *Scotland*) to help forward this *Revolution* (to be a *True* PRINCE OF WALES; and at least, this innocent Child has not disoblig'd the *King*; and this is enough to make him take pity of the *Nation*, however Rebellious and Ungrateful we have been to him: But besides, he has several times since his *Exile* expressed himself in so pathetick and extenuating a Style concerning those Subjects that have used him so ill, that it would be almost incredible, if related; And tho' the *Prince of Wales* was dead, he retains even for the Princess of *Orange* such a Fatherly Affection, as plainly supersedes Royal Resentment; and I have heard one that was by say, That upon a Gentleman's mentioning, even upon occasion of Business, the Fault of the Princess of *Orange*, and that with all the Modesty imaginable, (and he must touch very tenderly upon that String who will make his Court to the King, tho' such virulent Pamphlets are Licensed here against Him), the King reply'd "That the Princess of *Orange* had Natural "Foundations of Goodness that DR. BURNET and the BISHOP OF LONDON "can never destroy. And further, they who have been at St. *Germains* know with what Indignation the *King* treats all thoughts of Restoring him by any other Method than by *a great Concurrence of his own People*. The *King* knows how obstinate the People of *Britain*, nay, many that are *now* his own Friends, would resist any other method; and he knows what the *Riches* of a Country are the *People* of it: He would be *Himself*, and he would have his

Son,

Son, the *King of Great Britain*; and he does not think it worth his while to be King of *Trees*, of *Beasts*, and a *desolated Land*, or to leave such a ruin'd Kingdom to his Son. When I weigh the good Inclinations of the King, and the barbarous Persecution and Misrepresentation he has met with, I am shook with a double Agony: I compassionate *His Wrongs*, and am astonished at our *Ingratitude*, and that we would not once try whether the things we complain'd of, proceeded from *His own Nature*, or from *those about him*, whom the Prince of *Oramge* had corrupted. The Scene of *His* and *our* Miseries, is abundantly and admirably laid open in an excellent Book printed last Summer, called, *Great Britain's Just Complaint*; and if I would entertain the World upon that Subject, I must either transcribe what may be found in that Book, or relate the *History* of the same Matter of Fact, without doing the same Justice to the Cause of the King. That Great and Judicious Author has discover'd the whole *Mystery of Iniquity*; How such Snares were laid for the King, as an honest-minded Man could scarce escape; How willing the King was to redress our Grievances, when he found he had been in Mistakes, and this before he went away; How he continued in the *same Mind* when he was addressed to by some of his Subjects of *Scotland*, who had *appeared most vigorously to resent those Mistakes*, and this when he was under no Pressure in his Affairs. I will add no more to justifie the Inclinations of the King, but beseech every body who reads this, to read *Great Britain's Just Complaint*, which puts the Nation upon the best Method for us to know the Inclinations of our King. He advises, page 48. " to resume that Treaty we so foolishly broke off and refused, and thereby " to secure Religion and Property by those *Concessions* which our Sovereign is " still ready to grant us. He goes on, " Let us put it home to him, and " lay it at his own Door; Let him have it in his choice to return by his Peo- " ple, if he pleases. Convince him, that his Protestant Subjects, upon secur- " ing their Religion and Liberties, will repair their former Errors, by con- " tributing heartily towards his Restauration. And, as that Author says, If " he declines to return upon a Protestant and English Foot, there is an end " of the Controversie, and of all Disputes amongst Protestants; for Religion " and Liberty will never be sacrificed by true English-men. And I will add to what he says. If no true *English-man* joyn with him, whatever Forces they can transport upon us, neither can King *James* come home, nor can the *French* conquer us: But God be praised, a great many true *English-men* will joyn to bring home the King, tho' I know not one so bad an *English-man* as would join in a *French Conquest*.

But I come in the second place to shew, That it is not the *Interest* of any of the Princes or States of *Europe*, that the *French* should make us a *Conquest*. The excellent Author of the abovenamed *Great Britain's Just Complaint* has proved, that whether this *Confederate War* ends successfully or unsuccessfully, in all likelihood, and according to all the Rules of *Policy*, the *Restauration of King James* must in a short time follow upon the Determination of it: But it is my business to make it plain, That tho' it may be, and is the *Interest* of all Countries to have King *James* Restored at the conclusion of this War, yet it is not the *Interest* of any of them, that the *French* should conquer us, have

our Kings their Vaſſals, or be Maſters of our Ports. Would the *Spaniard* have the Chanel ſhut up on both ſides to *Flanders*? Would the *Dutch* have the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Ports* managed by ſuch *ſelect Committees*, as the *French* would infallibly ſet up for Trade? And how long would the *Dutch* reſiſt *Ours* and the *French* Power, united under one *Abſolute Monarch*? Would not the *Northern Crowns*, and all the Princes of *Germany*, ſoon feel the Weight of ſuch a Confluence of Strength? The Influence that ſuch a *Conqueſt* would have upon all the States of *Europe*, be they never ſo remote, is at firſt ſight ſo evident, that there is not one of them who would be an idle Spectator of our Ruine. Every body now knows the Danger their own Houſe is in, when their Neighbour's is on fire. Every little *Politician* knows how much Greatneſs depends upon *Naval Preparations and Trade*; therefore every body would be allarm'd, every body in an Uproar, when they ſaw ſuch *Maritime Kingdoms* as ours, like to be made an Acceſſion to the numerous *Land-Forces* of *France*. They are idle Brains, that dream of *Univerſal Monarchies* at this day; and tho' whole Kingdoms heretofore would not join in a Common Defence, whole *Europe* would now. However Ambitious the King of *France* may be, he can never think of ſo unweildy a Project, in which he muſt not only encounter all *England*, all this Iſland, all theſe Three Kingdoms, but all *Europe* too.

I come in the laſt place to ſhew, That it is not the *Intereſt* of the K. of *France* to attempt to make us a *Conqueſt*, either for *Himſelf* or K. *James*. I would aſk but two things to be granted me, which I think will be granted by moſt Men: The one is, That the King of *France* tolerably underſtands his own *Intereſt*; The other is, That he will follow it where he finds it. And now I ſhall proceed to prove, That it is not the Intereſt of *France* to attempt to make us a *Conqueſt*. The Unweildineſs of the Project is one very good Reaſon againſt it. Leſs than One hundred thouſand of his beſt Men cannot make us a *Conqueſt*, and keep us ſo; and he muſt only take Poſſeſſion of the *Land*, and not expect to be Maſter of the *People*, by reaſon of our *Religion*; and whoever he ſends to be his *Lieutenant* here, will be under great Temptation to revolt from him, and ſet up for himſelf, or become the Firſt Subject of theſe Kingdoms, which we ſhall be willing to make him, and a greater Subject than *France* has, rather than not get rid of the Miſeries of a PROVINCIAL, and be reſtored to our own Government. Conſider how much danger the *Abſolute Power of France* will run by a too free intercourſe with the few ſurviving *Britains*, who will acquaint ſo many of his Soldiers what were the *Freedoms* of our Land. Conſider whether *France* can bear ſuch an Evacuation as is neceſſary to Make and People us a *Province*. We believe that the Expulſion of the *Hugonots* let out too much of his People, too much of the Vital Blood of *France*: It did ſo doubtleſs, and a Plantation of our *Iſland* would endanger all he has upon the *Continent*. What Neighbour that envies him, would not be glad to ſee him make ſuch an Experiment, would not nick the lucky Opportunity, and pull back all thoſe Towns and Provinces, which he may now much more eaſily *keep*, than he can *gain* us? Would any *Peace*, any *Leagues* they can have with him, be Proof againſt ſuch a promiſing

promiſing Temptation? To attempt the *Conqueſt* of theſe Kingdoms would indeed be graſping at a prodigious *Shadow*, but he would not fail to loſe a great deal of real *Subſtance*. The King of *France* is not ſuch a *Knight-Errant*, he does not love to venture over much: He, like *Julius Cæſar*, when he had attain'd the Empire, loves to make good what he gets, and is not like the *Macedonian Rambler*, greedy of difficult and bloody Travels. Let the Deſigns of *France* be as vaſt as they will, their *King* is no Madman. *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* (who were both ſkilful in Government) are thought by very ſenſible Men to have neglected *Britain* out of this wholſom State-Maxim, *That it was neceſſary to bound and moderate the* Roman *Empire*. It is certain thoſe two Emperors often thought of bounding the *Roman Empire*, and of bringing it into a tenable Compaſs; and it is plain, that mighty Empire was at laſt overthrown by its own Weight and Largeneſs. The *Juriſdiction* of *France* is of a prodigious growth for this Age, and if the King of *France* thinks of ſubduing ſuch a brave and populous Countrey as we are, ſo united as we ſhall be, when we find only the *French King's* Intereſt at the bottom of the *Plot*, and ſo aſſiſted as we ſhall be by all the *Potentates of Europe* for their own ſakes, he will miſcarry in the Enterprize, and *France* it ſelf will tumble from its Highth. It is a bolder Undertaking, than was recorded of *Alexander the Great*; and tho' the King of *France* ſhould overrun us, he would, like that *Alexander*, never be able to ſettle a Government amongſt us, but his very Victories would ſhake his own.

Let it be farther conſidered, That though the *French* have been ſucceſsful in Wars near home, yet they have been unſucceſsful in remote Undertakings, where either the tranſporting by Sea, or the uneaſineſs of the paſſage by Land have rendred Succours hard and difficult to be ſent. What rendred all their Attempts upon the Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan* ineffectual, but the difficulties they found in ſending Supplies to *Naples* by Sea and to *Milan* over the rough *Alpes*? In our King *John's* time, *Lewis*, the then *Dauphine* of *France*, was invited over and ſworn to by many of the *Barons*; But did not the difficulty of getting Supplies to maintain his footing at laſt utterly defeat all his Hopes? Would not our preſent *Sailors* carry their Ships to any part of the World, rather than to let them be carried into *France*? Is there not, think you, *one Great Man left*, whoſe Fidelity to our own *right Line*, and whoſe Courage and Vigilance is equal to *Hubert de Burgh's*? Think you there is no Gallant Man, who would by a Sea-fight hinder the pouring in of freſh *French* Succours, when we ſaw they aimed at the Deſtruction of the *Right* of our *Royal Family*, and our own *Rights*? I am not over fond of the preſent Age, yet there are many Brave and Loyal Men in it, that would defeat any *French Deſign*, that were injurious to our own *legal Monarchy*. But to come to our own Days; What enabled *Spain* to recover *Catalonia* in a great meaſure, and to pluck *Meſſina* in *Sicily* out of the preſent King of *France's* hands, when they were loſing Ground in the confining *Provinces*, but the difficulty of ſending Supplies to the one, over the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and to the other, by *Sea*? And it is remarkable, That the uncertainties alone of *Wind* and *Weather* rendred the ſupplying of *Meſſina*

impracticable, even when the *French* were Masters of the *Seas*, and had routed the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Fleets, and killed the famous *de Ruyter*; How much more will the same uncertainties of Wind and Weather, joyn'd with our *brave Ships*, and *braver Sea-men*, render us safe, and all such Designs as a *French Conquest* impracticable? Did not also this present King of *France* in our own Memories, over-run, like a violent Torrent, the *United Provinces*, and possess himself of a great part of their Country, and yet was obliged to throw up all his *Conquests?* And for what Reason? Because there was the interposition of fifty or sixty Miles that was not his own, which might have hinder'd the sending Supplies. And will not the interposition of more Miles of a tempestuous and uncertain Sea, joyned with the Rebuffs which will be given him by our Fleet, lay greater Rubs in his way, and oblige him at last to disgorge, tho' he should by surprize gain Ground upon us? What was it induced the *Romans* to maintain Fourscore thousand Men in *Britain*, and to secure their Frontiers in this Island, by the famous Walls of *Adrian* and *Severus*, as well as with such numerous Troops, against the Incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were confin'd within the little Country now called *Scotland*; when at the same time they were able to protect their Frontiers, with less numerous Troops, from the Insults of the *Parthians* and of the *Germans* (which then including all modern *Germany* to the *North* and *East* of the *Danube* and *Rhine*, the *Northern Crowns*, *Poland*, and better part of *Muscovy*) each of which Nations taken separately did possess Countries six times bigger than *France* at this day? Was it not because of the difficulty of sending Troops into *Britain*, occasion'd by the uncertainty of Wind and Weather, tho' they were Masters of the Seas, and their Enemies had no Fleet to oppose them? What Reason then have the *French* to dream of the Conquest of our Island, when all its inhabitants are united in one *Monarchy* and *Government*: when all Nations are now equalised as to Arms and Discipline of War, and when our Fleet, modestly speaking, is *equal* to any of our Neighbours? Would it be reasonable for them, with Forces less considerable than those of the *Romans*, with fewer Incouragements from the Advantage of Military Discipline and Arms (in which the *Romans* did far surpass their Enemies) and under many more Discouragements from our Fleet and otherwise, to attempt the *Conquest* of a People much more Great, Rich and Numerous, than the ancient *Scots* and *Picts*, who have the sense of *Religion* as well as *Liberty*, of all that is dear and valuable, to rouze and influence their Courages; especially when from all Histories, Foreigners may learn this Lesson: That nothing less than an *Annihilation*, can extinguish the sense of *Religion*, *Honour*, and *Liberty* in *English Breasts*?

I think I have already shewn, That it is not the Interest of *France* to attempt to make us a *Conquest* for themselves: And it is as easie to shew, It is as little their Interest to make us *Slaves* to King *James*.

I am resolv'd I will advance, what will be thought a *Paradox*, viz. That there is no one Country so much concerned as *France*, that we should have good Securities for our *Liberties*, under the *Restauration*; and if I am challenged on this Head, I can make this Paradox plain to every body's Understanding.

ing. I ſhall touch upon it briefly here. *France* is concern'd to keep us from an *Abſolute Monarchy* and *Popery* too, and that by reaſon of our *Pretences* upon that Kingdom. It would be the greateſt *Solæciſm* in the French *Politicks* to make a King, that has ſuch a Claim, entire Maſter of a People, who have ſuch natural Courage, and that love *Glory* rather too immoderately, or to remove ſuch a *Shiboleth*, as are our different *Creeds*. It is the Intereſt of *France* to promote and head our Diſcontents, and not to lay the People at the *King's* Mercy. They thought ſo formerly, and of late years. Did not *Lewis*, mention'd in my laſt Paragraph, before he departed this Realm, take care that *Hen.* 3. ſhould give his Oath, nay made him give it; That he would reſtore to the *Barons* of the Realm, and other his Subjects all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the Diſcord began between King *John* and his People; *Baker*'s Chronicle, P. 114? Did not their great *Richelieu* at the beginning of our late *Civil Wars*, ſend *Emiſſaries* into *Scotland* to ſtir up the *Male-Contents*, and that though we had ſo lately married a Daughter of *France*, and ſo lately had had a Quarrel with the *Spaniard*? Their Kings muſt be ready to aſſiſt the People, if their Rights are in real Danger; , when we have loſt *our Rights*, they may loſe *their Crowns*. " The Friendſhips of Neighbour-" ing Princes ſeldom laſt long, ſeldom during their own Lives, and are more " ſeldom tranſmitted to their Poſterities. Many Reaſons and Jeaſouſies of " State are falling in, which occaſion frequent and unavoidable Breaches, and " a King of *England* who is Abſolute, and Maſter of his Subjects, may be trou-" bleſome and dangerous to *France*, and may revive our Old *Engliſh* Pretences " to the moſt conſiderable Provinces, *nay to the Crown of* France *its ſelf*. So that it will be prudent in the *French* King to let us alone with our old Quarrels, between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, and let our Eaſe be a check upon the Ambition of our Princes, when a daring and enterpriſing Spirit may be upon the Throne, one who may be willing to court Difficulties and Dangers, and try for what his Forefathers have poſſeſſed. The King of *France* is ſo far from *deſigning a Conqueſt for himſelf*, that he *deſires no Retribution for what King* James *his Misfortunes have coſt him*. And this I ſay from *good Authority* And as for *Conquering for King* James, he too well knows his own Intereſt to think it ſo, to make us *Slaves* or *Papiſts*, or *either* of them. Of this you may read more in *Great Britain's Juſt Complaint*.

I know how artful and undefatigable our Adverſaries are, and that tho' a Man beats them out of all their ſtrong holds, yet they will at laſt retire and betake themſelves to thoſe Arguments that they in their own minds know have no real weight; and I therefore foreſee they will ſtill endeavour to ſcare Men with the remembrance of all our former *pretended Conqueſts*; and for that reaſon, and that there may remain no umbrage, not even the leaſt to imagin a *French Conqueſt* practicable, I will take every one of thoſe *Conqueſts* into conſideration, and handle them apart, that I may treat of them more diſtinctly: and I preſume the Reflections I ſhall make upon them will ſhew not only a vaſt difference between the Condition and Circumſtances of thoſe that are ſaid to be our *Conquerors*, and the preſent *French Power*, and between the State of the *Britiſh* Affairs *then*, and what they are *now*, but alſo ſhew a great diſpar-

ity;

ity between the *Intereſts* that thoſe *Invaders* propoſed to themſelves, and what the King of *France* can have at this day: So that whether in a genuine and ſtrict ſenſe they were *Conqueſts* or no, I hope to make it plain that they will in no wiſe overthrow the Poſitions I have been Advancing.

If any man has a mind to examin whether they were properly *Conqueſts*, he muſt conſult our *Antiquities*, and thoſe *Treatiſes* that are expreſly written on that Subject, wherein he will find the Point warmly debated on both ſides, and perhaps with more *Heat* than *Judgment*; I will refer this *Enquirer* to thoſe *Authors*, and fall directly to conſider our ſeveral *Invaders*.

I will begin with *Cæſar*'s Invaſion, which was the firſt of which we have any certain knowledge.

Julius Cæſar, who was then only an Officer of the *Roman* State, but had laid in his own Breaſt the Deſign of ſeizing upon that Empire, when he had ſubdued moſt part of the ancient *Gallia*, (which comprehends the modern *France*, *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Germany* on this ſide the *Rhine*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*,) and by a Potent Faction at *Rome* had obtained it of the Senate as his Province for many years, thought it neceſſary to add to the Glory of his Name ſome Attempt upon Countries beyond the end of the World, (for ſo was *Britain* in thoſe days thought at *Rome*,) that ſo his *dazling Achievements* might make his long-intended purpoſe more eaſie: I mean, his Deſign of raiſing himſelf from a *Servant* to be *Maſter of his Country*. As to the *Romans* themſelves, when they came firſt amongſt us, their Power was united, entire, and ſo much too big for all our Neighboring Countries, that they had given Law to every one of them, before they had attempted Us, and we were divided into ſeveral petty Governments, who would not joyn in a common Defence.

Give me leave now to ſet down, That the King of *France* is already at the Head of a *Government*, and needs not riſque what he has, to make him Superior to thoſe amongſt whom he dwells. We are united under one *Monarchy*. There are many Princes confederate againſt *France*, that are very Powerful; and Neutral Princes enough to turn at any time the Scale: Nor is there, as I ſaid, amongſt all the *Jacobites* that I know, one Man who ſo little loves his own *King* and his own *Country*, as that he would not hazard his Life againſt the *French*, if they deſigned any thing in prejudice of our *Rightful Monarch*, or *his Poſterity*, or our *Conſtitution* it ſelf. Can any Man think we have leſs ſenſe of *Liberty* than the *Iriſh*, who yet had not a different *Religion* to caution them, as the *Proteſtant Jacobites* have here? Indeed ſome of us are (like them) ſometimes wheedl'd into too early and undue Suſpicions of the *French*, even by the *Emiſſaries* of the *Prince of Orange*; and if any body talks of governing *England* by *French Power*, I am ſure they muſt be the *Prince of Orange*'s *Penſioners*; and tho' the Prince of *Orange* himſelf is not good at MUCH, his Agents have the Art to foment *Jealouſies*.

Beſides all this, there is a great diſparity between the *Times* in which the *Romans* came hither, and *now*, by reaſon of our Skill in Military Affairs. I ſuppoſe few *Engliſh*-men will allow the *French* ſo much ſuperior to us in the Art of War, as the *Romans* were to the naked *Britains*. Our late Taxes have been

been very ill bestow'd, if our Fleet does not hold the same Disproportion; and yet in those days, tho' the *Romans* were so long amongst us, and tho' they govern'd us in great part by our own Laws, and many of their *Lieutenants* rather taught us the exercise of, than took away our *Liberttes*, nevertheless they never had (if our best Historians may be credited) the whole Land at any one time in Subjection; and tho' such Multitudes of the *Britains* were slain, the Tribute the *Romans* got here cost them, in *Massacres* and *Battels*, more Men than *France* will ever be able to spend upon the Project of *Conquering these Kingdoms.*

Most of what is recorded of the manner of the coming, and being here of the *Romans*, is handed down to us by their own Writers, with a naked and sedate Narration: but *Cloyster'd Clergy-men* (who used themselves to write *Hyperboles* rather than precise *Truths*) being those from whom we have most of our Accounts of the *Saxon* Times, we must expect swelling and *Legendary* Reports; but that wherein I shall consider, to shew the disparity between *them* and the *French*, and *ours* and *those days*, lies in a small Compass, and will be granted on all hands.

The Quarrels of the *Roman* Empire had carry'd into *France*, under the Banners of *Maximus* (one of the Competitors for it) the Flower & Strength of *Britain*; and with the overthrow of *Maximus* by *Theodosius*, they either all perished, or seated themselves in *Armorica*. There was likewise another great Transplantation of the *British* Youth under *Constantine*; and at this time the *Saxons* were a very Warlike People, and so over-charg'd with Numbers, that they sent Multitudes abroad to fight for a Habitation. The Frame of their Government agreed very well with the *British*, and was very near what are at this day the *Fundamentals* of our *Government*: They were invited in, to preserve us from being over-run by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were our *Fellow-Islanders*; and tho' I don't doubt the *Saxons* carried the Merit of their Successes against our Enemies further than became our *Friends*, yet I cannot imagin but that there was a more equal *Incorporation* of the *British* Stock, than we can discover at this distance of time, and from such passionate Writers as are the Relators of what pass'd then. And, after all, it was want of *Ships*, and great *Divisions* amongst the *Britains*, occasion'd their Overthrow, (for our *Monarchy* was not perfected, and, as *Milton* says very well, *Vortigern* was rather *Chief*, than *sole King*) These were the Reasons why the *Saxons* so far mastered the *Britains*; and yet the *Saxons* often ran a Risque of a final Extirpation.

From this Account of the *Saxon Invasion*, the disparity is very obvious. I heartily lament the Loss of so much *English* Blood as has been spilt *unnecessarily* and *unlawfully* too, in these our deplorable Distractions, into which we have brought our selves, by inviting over a *Forcigner* to rescue those *Liberties*, which he has (as we might well suppose he would) more *trampled upon*, than all the *Evil Councellors* of King *James*. We would invite a *Foreign Prince* to do our own proper Work, instead of endeavouring *Parliamentarily* to redress our *Greivances*, or rescuing our selves, and our *Liberties* by an *English Insurrection*, such a one as those whereby our Ancestors obtained the Confirmations of their *Charters*, and which

which often ended (as all Insurrections ought to do) without any real Prejudice to the *Succeſſive Monarchy*, and which (let it be call'd now as *Whiggiſh* as they will, and thoſe that were formerly were *Popiſh*) is more juſtifiable either to *Prudence* or *Religion*, than the *Nobility*, *Gentlemen*, and * *Clergy*, (who call themſelves of the Church of *England*) their Invitation of a *Foreign Prince*, which (with all the Charity and Pity in the World for thoſe who were inconſiderately miſled, and are not ſo obſtinate as to think with *Catiline*, " That " *ill* Deeds muſt be made ſafe with *worſe*) I beg leave to ſay was Unnatural, and in deſpight of *His Relative*, and *their Civil Duty*. I ſay I heartily lament the Loſs of ſo much *Engliſh* Blood as has been unwarrantably thrown away in *Ireland*, at *Sea*, and in *Flanders*; and yet, God be praiſed, we have ſtill left *generous Youth* enough to make us the Terrour of all *Ambitious Princes*, if we would once again unite to take away all *Diſputes of Title* by reſtoring our *rightful* and *lawful King*, and betake our ſelves to negotiate in the *Arbitration* of *Europe*, rather than over haſtily engage in *Wars abroad*, which *Wars* might be evidently proved *deſtructive* to this Nation; and, would it not too much lengthen this *Diſcourſe*, would be no unuſeful digreſſion here, ſince our own *woful experience*, from the time we have been *hook'd* into this preſent *Quarrel* of *Europe*, which is more the *Confederates* than *Ours*, has made it ſo proper a Subject to be well conſidered of. I hope *ſome Perſon* or other will handle it in a *Paper* apart.

But I muſt return to ſhew the diſparity between the *Britiſh* Affairs *now*, and when the *Saxons* came amongſt us, and that with a reſpect to the *French* Nation; and I again bleſs God we are not yet drain'd by this *Confederate Quarrel*, we have hand over head ingaged in, of all thoſe *Gallant Men*, that ſhould defend our *Iſland*. But farther, Have not the *French* a Land to live in? Is *France* ſo overſtocked with *People*? Has *their* Government any Affinity with *ours*? Have we any *Fellow-Iſlanders*, who are of a *diſtinct Government* that endeavour to deſtroy us? And laſtly, Is not our Government reſolved into a natural Monarchy, though, prais'd be God, it is a *limited one*?

As for the *Danes*, though their Original is diſputed, it is plain by all the Hiſtories of thoſe Times that they were *Rovers* and *Robbers*, that were to ſeek a Countrey to live in, and poſſibly might be another ſwarm of the *Saxons*; and it is obſervable that they were above Two hundred Years before they maſtered this Land; and that the Reaſon they maſtered us at laſt, was our want of *Ships*; and after they had been attacking us about Two hundred Years, they were entirely Maſſacred, *Man*, *Woman*, and *Child*, all in leſs than Four and twenty Hours; and when *Swain* the *Daniſh* King (which was Two hundred twenty and four Years from the firſt entrances of the *Danes*) had forced King *Ethelred* into *Normandy*; *Swain* dying the next Year, and the *Daniſh* Army ſetting up *Canute*

* Tho' the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration mentions *Lords Spiritual*, and ſome have raiſed a Scandal upon Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, as if his hand was to the Invitation of him; I am well aſſured that neither *that Right Reverend Prelate*, nor his *Fellow Sufferers*, ever engaged in that deſign of calling over the P. of *Orange*.

Canute or *Knute* his Son, the *Saxon Nobility* and *States* were in such Heart and Power, that they sent *Messengers* to *Ethelred*, Declaring *they preferred none before their own Native Sovereign*, IF HE WOULD PROMISE TO GOVERN BETTER THAN HE HAD DONE; and accordingly upon his Promise to redress their *Grievances*, they *repossessed* him of his *Throne*, and continued it to his Son *Edmond Ironside*. I wish our *English Nobility* and *Gentry* would now send *Messengers* to lay before the *King* all the *Male-Administrations* of his *Ministers*, and what are the proper *Securities* against all such *Male-Administrations* for the future; and I am confident the *King* will receive such a Message very kindly, nay I know from very good Authority he would, and that he is willing to give *mankind* all reasonable Satisfaction. Here I must observe also, That there still remained amongst us distinct and quarrelling petty Governments, (for the *Saxon Heptarchy* was not entirely wrought up into a *Natural Monarchy*,) and yet *Edmond Ironside* had totally routed *Canute*, had it not been for that Traytor *Edrick*, who at the Battle of *Alford* by some Wiles detained *Edmond* from pursuing him, which *Edrick* (as an Example to *Traytors*) was afterward put to Death by *Canute*. I have another Remark that I would set down concerning the *Danish* Matters, which is, That the *Citizens* and *Nobility* of *London* stuck by *Edmond Ironside*, but the *Sherlockian-Providential-Archbishops*, *Abbots*, and some of the *Noble-men* elected the *Conqueror Canute*; as some *Bishops* and too many of our *Nobles* have done the Prince of *Orange*. I am sorry that the *Citizens* of *London* have not more unanimously stuck to their *Natural* and *Rightful Monarch*; but I hope they will yet have an Opportunity to redeem their Reputation, and that they will then unanimously call back their *King*, that they may blot out the Guilt of their too *general Defection*; and tho' too many have joyned with the present *Usurpation*, yet there are many worthy *Citizens* that have retained their *Ancient Loyalty* during all this *Revolution*; and the Number of those who now see their Error daily encreaseth.

I have digressed a little by repeating some Things, which are not altogether so pertinent to my main Design; and since I am turn'd *Story-Teller*, I will put down the Reason why *Canute* put *Edrick* to Death, which was for slaying the *Lord's Anointed*, *Edmond Ironside*; and that, though *Edmond* was *Canute*'s Enemy, and yet *Canute* himself made away the *Brother* and *Children* of *Edmond*, either of which had a better Right to be the *Lord's Anointed* in *England*, than *Canute* had himself. This was such a piece of *Justice*, as it is now of *Religion* for our CONQUERORS, *William* and *Mary*, to keep with Solemnity the *30th.* of Jan. and *29th.* of May. But though he was guilty of this Mockery in point of *private Justice*, yet in relation to the *Constitution* of *England* he commanded the Observation of the Ancient *Saxon Laws* (which were afterwards called the *Laws of Edward the* Confessor) and at a *Convention* of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on between both Parties to revive and keep *those Laws*. I think our present Conquerors have not revived many of our *good Old*, or made many *New* advantageous *Laws* for us. It is by *Unreasonable Fines*, *Arbitrary Imprisonments*, *Pressing men contrary to Law*, &c. (against all which Things the P. of *O.* his own *Declaration* inveighed, and our *Bill of Rights* provided) that they maintain their Conquest. These are their

Methods, instead of granting the *Judges Bill*, the Bill for * *Triennial Parliaments*, and the Bill for *Mines*; these are their Methods, instead of courting the Love of those they call *their Subjects*.

I will add no more about the *Danish Invasion*, but that their Empire here lasted not many Years, and that their *Kings* who ruled us made this the Seat of their *Dominions*.

Let us now compare things with respect to the *Danish Invasion*, and the present posture of Affairs. I must again say, the *French* are not a *roving* People, that live by Pillage, and that are destitute of a Dwelling; nor would they be willing to engage in a War of such Continuance; nor would their *Monarch* change the Situation of his *Palace*; nor can he spare from guarding his *Frontiers* such an *Army* as would be necessary to keep us in quiet, tho' we were subdu'd by a sudden Fight; nor are we unprovided with Ships, tho' I must confess I fear the Prince of *Orange* has not taken so much care of our Fleet, as Mr. *Pepys*'s *Memoires* lately put forth has proved King JAMES did; which shews King JAMES understood and prosecuted the *True English Interest*, and is a sufficient Confutation of that scandalous Aspersion their celebrated Dr. *King* casts upon His Majesty. His expressions bespeak the King's Inclinations to let the Fleet of *England* sink, and the Ships rot: But Mr. *Pepys* has proved the contrary with a Witness, and appeals to the *Books* and *Men* that are now in the *Admiralty* and *Navy Offices*. By this you may guess at the Sincerity of Dr. *King* in other Particulars. King *JAMES*, WITHOUT TAXES repaired and added to our *Navy*, and augmented its *Stores*: But the Vote which declares the Sense of the *House of Commons* to be, "That the "Commission of the Admiralty should not be filled with Men experienced "in Sea-Affairs, (*tho' it looks like a Jest*) was well enough calculated for the Humour of *this Prince*, who is willing to put the Nation under an absolute Necessity of maintaining a vast standing *Army*; though a Pamphlet written and dispersed at the beginning of the last Sessions, by the wiser *Williamites* themselves, called, *The Interest or State of Parties*, had so evidently made it out, That the Natural and only *Defence* of *England* depended upon its *Wooden Walls*; and spake broadly of the Insufficiency of the present *Lords of the Admiralty*. I suppose too, that they who occasion'd our not making use last Summer of our Victory at Sea (which even those who would fright us with the *French* Power, say was gain'd by a part only of our Fleet inferior in Number and Quality to the French, who attack'd them) and since have got *Russel* discharg'd from being *Admiral*, instead of being rewarded with an *Earldom* and *Garter* for that Victory; which did indeed destroy many of the *French* Ships, tho' it was not *the greatest Victory that ever the Sun saw*, (as Dr. *Tillotson* phrased it) and yet it is the only time that we have not (by reason of our preposterous Management) come off with loss and shame: I say, These Men know how much better King *William* is pleased with *Land Forces* than *Tarpawlins*; but how little Care soever has been taken of our Ships, whatever Dangers

* I have it from a good hand, That the Prince of *Orange*, a little before he refused the *Triennial Bill*, had in some Discourse this Expression, *I hear they think I would pass the* Triennial Bill; *but I promise them, the Crown shall be ne'er the worse for my swearing it.*

Dangers the Prince of *Orange* would expose us to hereafter, that he may rule us more arbitrarily during his own Time, yet the Nation will find out *his Designs*, feel *their own Strength*, know whereon their own *Safety* depends, time enough to hinder *his*, or a *French Conquest*, tho' they will at the same time perceive it necessary to call home that *Prince* whose Claim is *indisputed*, and whose coming home upon such *Concessions* as we *want*, and He is ready to *grant*, will swallow up all *Factions*. They will e'er long perceive it necessary to call him home upon such *Securities*, even to secure their own *Interests*. All Remains of our petty Governments are at an end; and since *Printing* has been in the World, the *French* and all Nations so well know how vindicative of their *Liberties* the *English* have always been, that they will have but little mind to make us a *Province*.

I have already intimated how unsafe it would be for the Absolute Power of *France* at home, to let their Soldiers hear from the *surviving Britains* what were our *Freedoms*; and it would be yet much more unsafe for the *French Lieutenants* to agree to the Observation of our Laws. But I will hasten to the *Norman Conquest*.

Before any body takes it for granted that *William* the First was a *Conqueror*, I wish they would read the First Part of the *Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of* England, written by Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon*, and the latter-end of the third Part of Mr. *Will. Prynne*'s *Historical Vindication of the Fundamental Liberties of English Freemen*, together with all those *Authors* these two Writers refer to. But I resolv'd at first to wave examining whether we have ever in a proper and strict sense been conquer'd or no; and therefore must fall directly upon comparing *those* and *our Times*, and the Pretences of the Duke of *Normandy*, and what the *French* can have upon us.

I can find but one thing that has any shew of likeness with our present *Circumstances*; and that is, *Harold* was an *Usurper*, and had broke the *Protestation* he had formerly made to Duke *William*, as much as the P. of *Orange* has his *Declaration* to the *People of England*; and truly if any thing can facilitate a *French Conquest*, and if the Times did not exceedingly differ in other respects, the Breaches we have made upon the *Lineal Succession*, and the *Impotencies*, *Irregularities*, and *Exactions* of the present Government might make Way for it: But those things that made a *Conquest* feasible then, and are not in our present Case, are very many.

The *Normans* came from *Norway* and *Denmark*, which Places were surcharged with People; and there was no Project so improbable, in which their Leaders could not easily engage them. The *Religion* of the *Normans*, and the Inhabitants of *Britain*, was the same. The *Conqueror* had many *Pretences* of Title: *Edward* the Confessor's Will, the Donation of the Pope, who also gave him a Consecrated Banner, an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the Hairs of St. *Peter*. Besides his *Titles*, here were several *Normans* within this Land, who helped him; he had been here himself to view our Land, and make a Party, as his own Speech intimates; the then King of *France* helped him in his Acquest: So did the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth; he likewise came and lived among us, and *stipulated at his own Coronation to defend the Holy Church of*

God, and the Rectors of the same; to govern the universal People subject to him justly; to establish equal Laws, and see them duly executed. " Nor did he (as " the Judicious *Samuel Daniel* well observes) ever claim any Power by Con- " queſt, but as a regular Prince ſubmitted himſelf to the Orders of the " Kingdom, deſirous rather to have his *Teſtamentary Title* (however weak) " to make good his Succeſſion, than his *Sword*; and tho' the Stile of *Con-* " *queror* by the flattery of the Times was after given him, he ſhew'd by all " the Courſe of his Government he aſſumed it not, introducing none of " thoſe Alterations (which followed) by Violence, but by a mild gathering " upon the diſpoſition of the State, and the Occaſions offer'd, and that by " way of Reformation." Theſe are the Words of *Daniel*, page 36.

Now I come to compare, I muſt once more repeat, That *France* has no occaſion to ſend forth Droves of People; and the Religion of *France* will make the People of *England* reſiſt a *French Conqueſt* to all Extremity: And if King *James* would ſell his Kingdoms (as ſome ridiculouſly have ſuggeſted) the People of *England* would hardly be brought to make good the Bargain; and the Pope's Gift would as little influence our Minds, tho' he ſhould ſend with the Arms of *France* all the Reliques of *Rome*. We have, indeed, many *French* amongſt us; but I think no one Man fears they will aſſiſt their own King in ſuch an Adventure; They are ſo far from that, that they have not been (which I am ſorry to ſay) GRATEFUL to King *James*, who gave them *Protection* and *Relief*, when they came hither in *Diſtreſs*. And I have already proved, That it is not the Intereſt of any *Prince* abroad to joyn our *Three Kingdoms* to the *French Territories*; And I believe, if the King of *France* ſhould promiſe *to protect the* Proteſtant *Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame*; *to govern the univerſal People ſubject to him juſtly, to eſtabliſh equal Laws, and to ſee them duly executed*; we ſhould not take his Word; nor would his own Subjects be well pleaſed. It is King *William* only, that is allowed to have A RELIGION FOR HIS SEVERAL DOMINIONS; that may be a *Synod-of-Dort-Presbyterian* in *Holland*, an *Epiſcopalian* in *England*, of the *Kirk* in *Scotland*, and *a downright Favourer of Popery* in *Ireland*, as is apparent by the *Limerick* Treaty, and the *Pamphlet* put out by the *Iriſh* Gentlemen, *concerning the Proceedings of their late Parliament*, and the *Depoſitions* that are before the *Houſe of Lords*.

I have told over our *former Conqueſts* ſomewhat tediouſly, and will add very little about them; however, I deſire the *Reader* will reflect, That the *Neighbouring Princes*, becauſe they did not animadvert how much *Greatneſs* conſiſted in *Naval Preparations* and *Trade*, and becauſe we had not begun to make a Figure in either, never thought themſelves ſo much concern'd, as all the *Potentates* of *Europe* will now, what becomes of us. None of our *Neighbours* ever help'd *Us* formerly, ſome of 'em did our *Invaders*. Let the Reader farther reflect, that it was not neceſſary for any of our former *Invaders* to make ſuch a *total Subverſion* of all our *Laws*, as it will now be for the *French King*, and conſequently *Compoſition and Treaties more eaſily ſucceeded Battles.* " The former Alterations rather meliorated, than overthrew our Conſtitution. " They bundled up and refin'd our By-Laws into National Statutes, and in-

" troduced

" troduced Forms, where the Methods of Juſtice ſeem'd leſs articulate." And laſtly, Let it be conſider'd, though there are great *Diviſions* amongſt us; *ſome few* for keeping the Prince of *Orange*; others for reſtoring the *King*, and ſeveral for ſomething that they have not yet *licked into Form*; yet all Perſons that make the reſpective *Parties* of theſe *Diviſions*, will all of 'em joyn together to obſtruct a *French Conqueſt*.

There will be ſuch *Diviſions*, whenever Men will commit Violence upon the *natural* and *ancient Conſtitution*, and I muſt confeſs theſe *Diviſions* are the moſt *fatal Symptoms* that attend our *diſtemper'd State*, and may, and will certainly ſubject us (though not to a *French Conqueſt*) to great *Calamities* and *Devaſtations*, unleſs we reſtore the *King*. I ſuppoſe I have ſufficiently prov'd a *French Conqueſt* to be neither *Deſirable* nor *Practicable*, yet God knows what infinite Miſchiefs we may have brought upon ourſelves by reviving a ſort of Quarrel which, by the Mercy of God, has been ſo long extinguiſh'd. A *Diſpute for Title*, which has in the days of our *Forefathers* had ſo fatal an *Effect*, which has ſo *diſmally wounded* our State, and is left bleeding in the *Hiſtories* of ſo many *Reigns*. Becauſe you ſhall not think I aggravate the Calamities, that were occaſion'd by the Contention of the *Two Roſes*, I will only tranſcribe ſome Paſſages out of *Truſſel*, and it cannot be ſuppoſed his Hiſtory was written to ſerve a *Jacobite-Turn*. Page 257, he ſays, " There were in the Quar- " rel of the Two Roſes, Fourſcore Princes of the Blood deſtroy'd, and " twice as many Natives ſlain, as were loſt in the Two Conqueſts of *France*. Page 260, he ſays, " In the Battle of *Townton* there were killed Thirty five " thouſand ninety and one Engliſh-men, and of Strangers One thouſand " ſeven hundred forty five, beſides Two hundred and thirty ſlain the Day " before at *Ferry-bridge*. In his laſt Page his Words are theſe: " The to- " tal of private Soldiers that periſh'd in theſe Civil Wars, and ſuffer'd Pu- " niſhment of immature Death for taking part of the one ſide or the other, " was Fourſcore thouſand nine hundred ninety and eight Perſons, beſides

Kings	2.	Lords	27.
Prince	1.	Lord Prior	1.
Dukes	10.	Judge	1.
Marqueſſes	2.	Knights	139.
Earls	21.	Eſquires	441.
Viſcounts	2.		

The Number of the Gentry is uncertainly reported, and therefore *Truſſel* omits them, but ſays, " That for the moſt part they are included in the " Number of private Soldiers ſet down to be ſlain, to which he ſays you " muſt add the Number of Six hundred and thirty and eight, (the total of " all the Perſons not therein accounted,) and then there appeareth in all to " be ſlain Fourſcore five thouſand ſix hundred twenty eight Chriſtians, and " moſt of this Nation, not to be repeated (ſays the Hiſtorian) without " *grief*, nor remember'd without Deprecation, that the like may never happen " more." He concludes his Hiſtory with this Saying,

Pax

Pax una Triumphis innumeris potior.

The whole History of that Quarrel sets before us such apposite Lessons for our Times, that I wish all who love *England* would seriously read and ponder it.

It is Time to draw to a Conclusion: I am not willing to prophecy the Destruction of my *Country*, and I beseech God Almighty to incline our Hearts to the Things that belong unto our *Peace*; to our Peace in this World, and to our *everlasting Peace* in the World to come. I beseech God to incline the Prince of *Orange* not to forfeit an eternal weight of Glory for a momentary Crown, which has nothing of good in it, if it is not got by the Acts of Goodness. God grant that he may consider it as a more valuable Character to be a *Virtuous* and a *Christian Prince*, than a *Romantick Heroe*; and God grant that he may be so Wise, that his Days may not end in *Tragedy*. I wish he would review his own *Declaration* and the *Memorial* of the States, and that he would pursue those excellent Ends, for which he came, for which the States said they lent their Ships, and which King *James would have comply'd with, and is ready to comply with still*. The *King* is willing to secure the *Liberties* of *England* and the *Protestant Religion*, and had not the *Confederates* made their Quarrel unjust by giving way to an unnatural Ambition in the Prince of *Orange*, and dispossessing King *James* (whilst they pretended they formed this Confederacy to repair the Injuries done to them by the *French*)— K. *JAMES*, the injured King *JAMES*, would have checked the Growth of *France*, and kept *Namur* and *Mons*. He was far from a *French League*, and would have perform'd the part of a true *Guarrantee*; for either the *King* would have prevented *France* coming before them, by reminding their King of the Treaty of *Nimiguen*, or our Arms would have had, doubtless, success when we had *Justice* on our side, and the *Wishes* and *Prayers* of all *English-men* joyn'd with the undertaking of our *rightful undisputed King*. How far he was from a *French League*, how unwilling to think ill of the Pr. of *Orange*, and how unwilling to be *too much* beholden to *France*, his disbelief of all the Advices of *a'Avaux*, and of many of his Friends, his Answer to *Bonrepos*, and his refusal to the last of any *French Assistance*, sufficiently witness; and as much as he has been beholden to *France* during his Troubles, I am satisfied that even in his *exil'd State* he thinks himself (as King of *England*) so naturally the *Arbiter of Europe*, that he will mediate, as soon as his Affairs a little more recover his *Figure*, a reasonable Peace for it. But the KING need not much solicite it, for I am satisfy'd the King of *France* is willing to come into such a Peace, upon *Condition* that the KING'S RESTAURATION may be one of the Terms of it, and that he will not be brought to make Peace upon any other Terms; so that the *Restauration of King JAMES* would give a happy Issue to the Troubles of *Europe*, and *our own*, which our Experience (after all the Blood and Treasure spilt and spent to humble *France*) may shew us will be the only Expedient to save us from the *Power* we have so much envy'd; and this we may learn from King *William*'s own

Speeches

Speeches to these two last Sessions of Parliament; for he does not only make the obtaining an *Honourable Peace* from *France* to the *Confederates* (instead of our *Conquest of France*) the Bounds of his Hopes in this War, but allows the Growth of *France* during this War so much, as to increase his Stile from the GREAT *Power of France*, (which were the words of his Speech *Michaelmas* was Twelve-months) to the EXCESSIVE *Power of France*, in his Speech of the last Sessions. This very Consideration should move us But further.

Into what Shambles are all the Parts of *Flanders*, the *Rhine*, *Catalonia*, and *Piedmont* turn'd? What *Slaughter-Houses* may be erected in the unhappy Isle of *Britain?* Unhappy, because she will blind herself against her own *true Interest* and *only Cure*. Our *Taxes* grow heavy, but we have pay'd our Blood, but we must pour it out yet more plentifully, before this Reckoning is over; if we will not return to our *Wits* and our *Duty*, *Civil Distractions* will overtake us; *Foreigners* both on the one and the other side will be poured in upon us, and we shall become the *Cock-Pit* of the World; and though all the *Jacobites* abhor a *French Conquest*, and so does the *King* too, yet if the Nation will not come to such a Temper as to restore him without *their Help*, the KING's Friends cannot be blamed for being willing to admit of such a moderate Number of *French*, or any other Forces, as may be necessary to cover *Them*, when they come to him, till they get together, and as may give them *Opportunity* to rise. We had rather the Nation looked so directly towards *Him*, as that there should be no occasion for *One Man* in Arms to come with Him. *We* had rather, *He* had much rather, nay the *King of France* declares, HE had rather his *Restauration* should be wholly owing to his own *Subjects*. We will never agree that he should bring such a Force as may give any the least just Jealousie, that either *He* or *France* design to Conquer; and he is perfectly resolv'd to come in that manner that shall be agreed to by such Friends of his, as the World must allow to be Men of Honour, regardful of the *British* Rights, and of the Protestant Religion. With such Men he will adjust the *Manner* and *Time* of his coming. They will see, that his coming shall be safe to all those *dear Concerns* for which we have so often struggled; and the *Measures* and *Condescentions* such, as that they may answer to God and Men their engaging in his Quarrel.

Can any Man of Sense believe that the Earl of *Middleton*, who could never during his whole Ministry be drawn into any one irregular step, would go over upon any other Errand? That Great Man is known to understand his Duty to his *Country* as well as his *Prince*, and thinks he ought at the same time to be the *Minister* of *both*, and his Affection and Firmness to *Protestancy* was never once suspected: He will neither betray *our* Laws, nor his *own* Religion; nor will he, to do the King *but Justice*, be tempted to either; for all that we have misliked in the *King's Measures* abroad, has proceeded from *Misrepresentations* from hence; and my Lord *Middleton* is so furnished with the genuine Interest as well as Sense of those Nations, that the most inveterate of our Enemies will have hereafter no Opportunities to clamor and exaggerate. This is a Truth which in a short time will want no *Vouchers*. The future Acts of *State* that come from that Court, will prove he has discovered

many

many of the *Leading Men*, and compromiſed the *Grievances of all Parties*. And whereas ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Miniſters have declared what great Expectations they have from the Quarrels at St. *Germains*, I can aſſure them they will be deceived in their Hopes; for there is ſo good an Underſtanding between my Lord *Middleton* and thoſe who had before entire Credit with the King, that they don't only perſonally agree, but concur in Sentiments relating to the *Britiſh* Affairs; which is a full Evidence that what we miſliked there cannot be charged upon the Diſpoſition of the King, nor upon the depraved Tempers of thoſe about him (as even ſome of his Friends were apt to ſuſpect) but proceeded meerly from their want of a True State of theſe Nations, and the knowledge of what would ſatisfie us, till the Earl of *Middleton* went thither. Every day will make this Truth plainer than other.

I cannot but wiſh, that all Men would ſo avowedly own their Miſtake, would ſo willingly ſit down under our Ancient, Legal, Limited, and Hereditary *Monarchy*, would ſo openly tell their Diſſatisfactions, and what they think Proportionate Securities, ſo fairly ſtate the Differences between the *Crown* and *People*, ſo unanimouſly expreſs their Willingneſs to Re-eſtabliſh the *Old* and *Natural Frame* of our *Government*, that it might be adviſable that we might adviſe him wholly to depend upon his *Britiſh* Subjects. I like neither *French*, nor *Dutch*, nor *Iriſh* upon our Iſland, though I cannot be afraid of any ſuch Numbers of either, or all, as will be much out-numbred by thoſe of our *Fellow-Subjects*, and *Fellow-Iſlanders*, who reſolve to repair to the *King* as ſoon as he is landed. Oh! that we would recant our *Miſtakes*! that we would repent of our *Folly*! that we would yet let our *Moderation*, our Civil and Chriſtian Moderation, be known unto all Men! Oh! that a nice Security for the Church of *England*, as the *National Church* (and *beſt Church* too, as I think) as nice a Security for our *Engliſh Liberties*, and *Liberty of Conſcience*, were our only Aims! that *Party* and *Picque*, *Faction* and *Friendſhip*, *Fears* and *Fancies*, did not predominate neither in the One nor the Other Party! that the *Ends*, and not the *Forms* of Things were what we ſtrove for! that our Afflictions would make us Wiſe! then the King would as little *need* as he *wiſhes* to bring any *Foreign Force*. See you an end of your Troubles? Is your DELIVERER a fit Inſtrument for ſo great a Work? Do his *Meaſures* hold any reſemblance with *his* and *your Pretences?* Are his miniſters, *Caer--n*, and *Not*———*m*, *Tr*———*r*, *Roch*——*r*, and *Sey---r*, *Ren*———*aubg*, *G----y*, *Bla*——*t*, and Convert-reconverted *Sund*——*d*, (behind the Curtain;) together with his Creature *Br*——*n*, (that indefatigable Secretary to all Turns, and to the *High Commiſſion Court*, that Aſſiſtant to the four *Popiſh Biſhops*, *ready Evidence*, and *induſtrious Informer*;) and *Con*——*by*, of whoſe Merits in *Ireland* the Parliament here took ſo much notice, that he is ſince taken into the Privy-Council of *England*, for his undoubted Integrity, and unheard-of Abilities; with the long Roll of ſuch ſort of Men, (though his ſinking Game has forc'd him to call ſome lately into his Councils, who have not *yet* loſt their Reputation with the People) fit *Guardians* for that *Liberty* and *Property* which you ſo juſtly value? Think ſeriouſly, Ought the People of *England* to truſt theſe Men, or have they reaſon to truſt one another, even

in

in the buſineſs of that *Maſter* they pretend to ſerve? Awaken out of your Dreams; Get rid of your Phantaſms; Conſider as Men; Act as Lovers of your Country; Reſcue your Rights; Reſtore your KING, who will confirm thoſe Rights with ſolid Securities; Do your own Work, that After-Ages may pity your Miſtakes, and give Allowance for your Reſentment; and that You and your Childrens Children may be happy: I beſeech the God of *Order*, That He will produce it out of our *Confuſions*; That the *King* may have what is due to *Him*, and that *we* may have what is *as much* due to *us*; and that the *King* and *People* may both praiſe the Almighty for his Mercies to this Land, this miſerable and ſinful Land.

Let the Senſe of our Miſeries, our Faults, and our Duty, ſtir us up. Let the ſad Example of former Times exhort us. Let us, I ſay, CALL HOME THE KING, with an exact Security to the Church of *England*, as the *National Church*, and with ſuch ſolid Securities for our Liberties, as may make all other *Religions* HARMLESS OPINIONS, tho' we allow them a fair and impartial *Liberty*; And yet let us not ſo hamper the Crown, that it will not be able to protect us from our Enemies and one another; Let us not ſay, That the hands of the Nation are bound, and that it *cannot* call home the King; For if all thoſe who plainly ſee that we ſhall be *undone* under this *Uſurpation*; and likewiſe that it is impoſſible *this Government* ſhould ſtand, (though it ſhifts about now it is in an ill taking) would upon theſe Terms joyn with thoſe who are for the *Reſtauration of King James*, as well in the *Engliſh* Army, as all over the Nation, from the ſad proſpect they have of the Ruin of that *Liberty*, (the miſtaken *Jealouſie* and *Care* of which, was the *only Motive* that hurry'd them into what they did) all the Force the Prince of *Orange* has would ſoon diſſolve, and he muſt be glad to return again, and ſpend all his time at the *Loo* (which our *Engliſh Money* is making ſo fine a Retreat) and at the *Hague*; which is the very worſt, I call God to witneſs, that I ever wiſhed him.

I am conſcious I have not, in all the parts of this Diſcourſe, written with that brevity, which I deſign'd at the beginning of it, and may poſſibly be guilty of ſome *Redundancies*, *Tautologies*, and *Repetitions*, as well in other places, as I have in my *Remarks* upon our *former Invaſions* inſerted ſome paſſages, which croſſed my way, though they were rather applicable to our preſent times, than ſuitable to the Thread of my Diſcourſe. When a Man writes Things of this Nature, he is willing to be rid of them as faſt as they are finiſhed, though they may not be ſo correct; and notwithſtanding the Criticks (for whoſe either *praiſe* or *diverſion* I never ſcribble) may find many Faults with them, I have ſet down Things, as I am perſwaded in my own Mind, and as I have heard them diſcourſed by the conſiderable and influencing *Jacobites* of the ſeveral Denominations; though I muſt Anſwer for my unſkilful and careleſs clothing and ranging their Thoughts; I hope I have generally kept in ſight of my Text; and I ſuppoſe alſo have upon the whole made good what I undertook to prove, *viz.* That a *French Conqueſt is neither deſirable nor practicable*. If it is unſuitable to the *Intereſts* and *Inclinations* of the ſeveral ſorts of *Jacobites*, and contrary to the *King's Inclinations*, and the

Intereſts of all our Neighbours; and the very *Attempt* of it, either for himſelf, or King *James*, contrary to the King of *France*'s Intereſt; if the Condition and Circumſtances of the *French Power* to make a *Conqueſt* and Intereſt in ſuch an Experiment, and that of our former *Invaders*, and the State of the *Britiſh* Affairs *now* and what they were *then*, ſo very much differ; I think we may infer, That a *French Conqueſt is neither deſirable nor practicable*; and that it is as weak to ſuppoſe *France* can or will *conquer* us, as it is to believe *we ſhall ſack Paris*, and *conquer France*, with the Prince of *Orange* at the Head of the *Britiſh Forces*, who we ſee, with *Them*, and all the *Confederate-ſtrength*, has ſo indifferently paſs'd his Campaigns in *Flanders*.

GREAT BRITAIN'S *Juſt Complaint* for her Late *Meaſures*, Preſent *Sufferings*, and the Future *Miſeries* She is Expoſed to.

THE laſt great Revolution in *Britain* (which doth ſo much exerciſe the Heads, Hands, Purſes and Pens, of the Inhabitants of this Iſland) is not to be parallel'd by any Inſtance from ancient or modern Hiſtory. When we have ranſackt the Annals of all the Nations of *Europe*, and travell'd as far as the *Indies* to find an Example, we ſhall at laſt be forced to acknowledge, after all Circumſtances are exactly weigh'd, That we have been blindly following the Dictates of our own perſonal Prejudices and intoxicated Judgments, rather than tracing the Footſteps of our Predeceſſors, or of the moſt zealous Aſſertors of publick Liberties in other Nations. I do not deny, that in every Province and Kingdom of the Univerſe we may find Inſtances, where Subjects have been at laſt neceſſitated by force of Arms to ſecure themſelves, their Religion and Liberties, againſt ſuch violent and repeated Acts of Tyranny in their Princes, as did viſibly endanger the Frame of the Government itſelf, as well as the Safety of every Individual: And many Princes have loſt their Crowns by a tract of Cruelties and Exorbitances in Government, and an incorrigible Obſtinacy and Deafneſs to all the humble Petitions and repeated Complaints of their Subjects.

But we ſcorned to be confin'd within ſuch antient Rules, to be regulated by the Practices of our Forefathers, or be taught at the Expence or by the Experience of others. We have walked without Guides, amidſt dark and dangerous Precipices: Our Fears have over-run our Reaſon; we have taken things upon Truſt, without ſearching them to the bottom; and we have been impos'd upon, by the cunning and artificial Diſguiſes of ſelf-deſigning and ambitious Men, to overlook a moſt infallible way of ſecuring Liberty and Property

Property to all future Ages; which the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, and the hard Circumſtances of our own King, had put into our hands. We have vacated a Throne, for the pretended Deſertion of a Prince, violently forced away by a ſurprizing Defection of his Children, Servants, Subjects and Soldiers; and under the terror of Dangers threatning his Life and Liberty. We have juſtified this Severity, by enumerating Miſcarriages in Government; which, though Errors and Miſtakes, were very far from overturning Foundations; and which the King was put upon by the artifice and cunning of his Son-in-law, who was graſping at his Crown: And we have obſtinately refus'd all Treaties, when offer'd; whereby Grievances might have been redreſſed, and provided againſt for the future; and we have ventur'd upon ſuch Steps as have no Precedent, and furniſh'd an Example for Hiſtory, which will be found too deſperate and expenſive for Imitation.

Yet ſo far hath this Poyſon ſpread and diffuſed itſelf, that though the pretended Reaſons of our Proceedings appear at laſt to be empty, falſe and forged; though the principal Actors are aſhamed of their former grounds, and love the ſound of *Conqueſt* better than that of a *Deliverance*, and are countenanced in it by the Practiſes as well as Inclination and Maxims of our preſent Monarch; there are ſome People who would gladly continue the Cheat, and amuſe us ſtill with a Hodge-podge of *Right of Succeſſion*, *Election*, and *Conqueſt*, and the lofty and agreeable ſound of *Religion*, *Liberty*, and *Property*; which appears to be as little the care as it was the deſign of our principal Reformers.

Hence it is, That we have of late been entertain'd with two famous Pamphlets, the one entitled, *The pretentions of the French Invaſion examined*; Licenſed, or rather written, by the E. of *Nottingham*: The other is, *A Letter to a Friend, concerning the French Invaſion*; which muſt be the Offspring of a Perſon of equal Quality with the former, ſince his Character ſtamps it legitimate, without a Licenſe. Theſe two Pieces do not in the leaſt anſwer the Figure which the Authors, who are aſſign'd them, make in the World: For all along, they falſifie, diſguiſe, or abſolutely conceal Matter of Fact; they labour to impoſe Falſhoods for Truths, and their baſe Alloy as good Coin upon us: They advance Poſitions for undoubted Maxims, which have been controverted all the World over, and upon this Sandy Foundation they raiſe their Building; and their Reaſonings are either falſe, ſophiſticated, or moſt concluſive on the other ſide.

To make good this Charge, and acquit myſelf of the Duty I owe my Country and fellow Subjects, in contributing my Mite towards the rectifying their Judgments in ſuch a nice and important Affair, wherein our own Peace and Happineſs, as well as that of our Poſterity, is ſo much wrapt up. I ſhall endeavour to make a full and diſtinct Anſwer to theſe Two Pamphlets, by a true unbyaſſed and impartial Deduction of Matter of Fact, by ſetting out the publick Councils, Deſigns, and Conduct of particular Perſons, in their true Light, without thoſe Diſguiſes which were artfully thrown over them; and by their own Reaſons and Maxims, concluding a great deal more forcibly againſt themſelves: And to deal fairly by them, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe

very Arguments, which are assign'd by the Author of *The French Invasion examin'd*, as the Motives upon which the Restauration of King *James* is desir'd and endeavour'd, *viz. The repairing the Injury done to the King, the settling the Government upon its old Basis, the delivering us from the Oppressions we suffer under the present King, and the securing the Protestant Religion for the future.*

There is no English-man but must allow these Considerations to be Grave, Weighty and Important; and if as True as Considerable, sufficiently conclusive and persuasive for a speedy Restauration. I will then enter upon a particular Enquiry; and I do not despair, before I have done, to establish the Truth, as well as the Importance of those Reasons, against the Cavils of those Authors: I joyn them together, because their Reasonings are much the same, equally levell'd against the aforesaid Motives, and must stand or fall together.

As to the first Motive, *Of the repairing the Injury done to King* James. If it can be made appear, That he was unjustly, upon false Pretences, depriv'd of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in it; then must it be acknowledged a Duty by all, as well as those Authors, to repair that Injury done him, by restoring his Right again. I shall apply myself particularly to the clearing of the Injustice done him, since upon that a great part of the Controversie depends, and most of the Reasons assign'd by these Authors against his Restauration will fall to the ground: In doing of which, I must look higher than the beginning of King *James*'s Reign; the early and unnatural Ambition of the Pr. of *Orange*, as well as the necessary connection and series of Affairs, oblige me unto it.

It was not the danger which our Religion and Liberties were threatned with, from the Designs and bad Administration of King *James*, and a tender regard to the *British* Subjects, for their Love and Respect to his dearest Consort, and Himself, with the Interest which his Birth and Marriage gave him in us, first induced the Prince of *Orange* to look towards these Kingdoms and our Affairs. The late King *Charles* (notwithstanding of all the tenderness he had discover'd for that Prince's Education, and care for his Interests, in espousing them so vigorously upon all occasions against the States of *Holland*, who would gladly have secur'd themselves, by depressing him and his Family, against those prophetick Fears they lay under, for their beloved Rights and Liberties) was the first that felt the Effects of his Nephew's towring and boundless Ambition. No sooner did the Prince of *Orange* find himself re-instated, by the Authority and Interest of his Uncle, in the Posts of Grandeur possessed by his Father and Predecessors, and so put into a Condition to appear upon the Stage, and mingle in the greatest Affairs of *Europe*, but he gave loose Reins to his Ambition, to range wherever it could perch and fix; without being restrain'd or frightned by those common Rules or Barriers, which Morality and Religion had placed as Spoaks too mean, in his Opinion, to stop the Career of a bold and daring Spirit.

Britain was the Place he fix'd his Eye upon; neither could Relation, or Gratitude, place any rubs in his way. The lazy Temper of that Monarch, addicted to his Pleasures, and his being without Children, the Religion of his

his Brother, and want of Male Iſſue, together with his own Alliance with the Royal Blood, and ſome Diſcontents of the People, which were begotten and heightned by the Addreſſes and Malice of a few Grandees, promiſed him a plentiful Harveſt in return to his Cabals, and Cajoling Inſinuations; upon which thoſe Grandees were applied unto; and as quick and hearty returns made by them, with aſſurance of Zeal, Dependance and Fidelity, being glad of ſo conſiderable a Support. Hence ſprang all thoſe fatal Diviſions which ſo long time exerciſed that Prince, his Councils, and Parliaments.

To ſpirit this Party in *England*, and to fix himſelf one Degree nearer the Crown, which he ſo much long'd for, the Prince made his Addreſſes, and was Married to the Lady *Mary*, much againſt the Inclination both of the King and Duke, who did very well foreſee the Conſequence, and were afraid of ſo near a Conjunction with ſo reſtleſs a Spirit. But it is well known who diſpoſed the King to agree to the Match; for which, and other good Services then in betraying his Maſter, he is well rewarded now, rather than for any Merits he had to plead upon this Revolution.

After this Match, our Diviſions and Diſcontents paſt all Bounds; nothing leſs than the interruption of the Royal Line, by a Bill of Excluſion, would ſatisfie. I know the danger of our Religion, from a Popiſh Succeſſor, was pretended; but the Prince of *Orange*'s immediate Succeſſion to the Crown, in the Right of his Princeſs, was the thing truly intended by the Prince's Agents, and Privadoes: Nothing elſe, but ſuch a hidden ſecret Deſign, could have inclined ſo many Men of Senſe and Reaſon, to refuſe the great Conceſſions were offered 'em; which without Danger, or the bad Conſequences of neglecting a juſt Title, did equally ſecure Religion and Liberty. To this Project were Sacrificed all thoſe great and mighty Securities, which K. *Charles* would willingly have Granted in favour of our Religion and Liberties, to be rid of that troubleſome Bill of Excluſion; and thus we loſt the greateſt, and beſt Eſtabliſhment we ever had in our view; and which would legally, peaceably, and willingly, have been ſetled upon us, without any farther trouble, danger or expence: So early did this Prince's Ambition become fatal to our Liberties and Properties.

Hence ſprang all thoſe Councils and Meaſures, which did ſo much Diſcontent the People; and put that King upon the *Quo Warranto* Project, thereby to temper and qualifie Parliaments, which the Cabals and Machinations of the Prince had render'd ſo warm and uneaſie to him. Hence ſprang that Ferment, and thoſe bad Humors, which gave Life and Motion to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion and Pretences, who all a long had been made a Stale by ſome; though the Prince lay cloſe at the bottom, and ſeemed to favour the Man; until at laſt he perceived that the Duke did in earneſt catch at that he ſo much longed for himſelf. With what regret, yea indignation, muſt every Engliſh Breaſt be filled upon a review of that bleſſed occaſion we loſt, which might have prevented our preſent Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and all thoſe Fears and Miſeries we are now groaning under, and know not when we ſhall be at an end of? It is with unſpeakable Grief I am obliged to name ſo great a Loſs; nor do I mention any thing, but what is very well [illegible]

a Truth to ſome Perſons yet alive, and which I have ſeen clearly verified by ſome convincing Diſpatches which are yet extant, and which ſhall be carefully preſerved, until they may be with ſafety produced. Doth not Sir *W. Temple*, in his *Memoirs* licenced and publiſhed of late, acknowledge the greateſt part of what is here aſſerted? as if, in this reforming Age, People were to make their Court by publiſhing of Services, for which their Poſterity may have reaſon to curſe their Aſhes. Thus we ſee what fatal Influences the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition had ſcattered upon our Councels and Meaſures, during the latter end of K. *Charles* his Reign: Neither will he be found leſs active and ſucceſsful, by himſelf and Agents, during K. *James*'s Adminiſtration, as will appear from a particular Enquiry into the pretended *Abdication*.

This ſtrange and myſterious word, which to this day is not well underſtood, neither can be explained, nor rightly fitted to what was intended by it, either by the Authors of it, or by any body elſe, was firſt made uſe of in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſome Ages ago; and begot that fatal Struggle between the *Anjouin* and *Arragonian* Factions, which at laſt quite ruined that flouriſhing Kingdom, and brought it under a foreign Yoke, under which it continues to this day. I ſhall not criticize upon it, nor examin how improperly it is applied in the Caſe of King *James*, (though that be obvious enough to any Man who underſtands the Civil Law, or the proper and genuine ſignification of the Word) but ſhall only enquire into the ſubject matter, which, according to the Senſe of our Reformers, amounted to *Abdication* and a *Vacancy*; and that is, King *James*'s *Deſertion* and *Invaſion* of the fundamental Laws and Liberties of *England*.

As to the firſt, how properly his being forced away may be called a *Deſertion*, will beſt appear from a true Narrative of Matter of fact; which I ſhall give the Reader: And though it may contain ſeveral things which are not generally known, and yet contribute exceedingly to the clearing of this point, I ſhall deliver nothing but Truths, which can be made evident, either by Letters, or Evidence above all exception. No ſooner was the Prince of *Orange* landed, but it quickly appeared to the World, how ſtrangely ſucceſsful his Agents had been in their Negotiations. The Poyſon was univerſally ſpread, and the Pretences of his *Declaration* greedily ſwallowed down without Examination; though I ſhall make it appear, before I have done, That it was partly forged, and nothing of it ever intended to be performed. There was nothing found or untainted in the whole Kingdom: His Children run away from him; the Clergy juggle with him; his domeſtick and menial Servants betray him; his Subjects flock in to the P. of *Orange*; his Army deſert; and the very Creatures which he had raiſed from the Duſt, form Deſigns to deliver up his Perſon.

Was not this a Scene, the moſt wonderful and aſtoniſhing that was ever preſented upon the Stage of human Affairs? What ground had the King to think that his Perſon could be with any manner of Safety, amongſt a People who had thrown off all Tyes and Duties, which could rationally be depended upon in the like caſe? When that natural Affection which was due from Children to their Parents was quite forgotten; when the Love, Reſpect, Service, and Gratitude, which is due from Servants to their Maſter and Benefactor,

Benefactor, was entirely thrown off, and unheard of Treachery cherished in their places? When that Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Prince was debauched, and running into another Channel? When that Fidelity, which was due from Soldiers, (both as Subjects, and Men who make a particular Profession of Honour) to their Prince, General and Nursing Father, was so generally corrupted, that he was advertised by his General Officers, *That the Army was quite poisoned, and would not fight?* When his own Ministers and Counsellors were in Pay and Correspondence with the Invader, and pushing him into Councils and Measures, which might encrease the present Ferment, and facilitate the Prince's Designs? What hopes of Accommodation, or Assurance of Safety, could remain, without renouncing all Reason, Sense, and Discretion? especially if we consider, that as soon as the account came that *Oxford*'s, and *St. Alban*'s Regiment of Horse commanded by *Langston*, and *Cornbury* and *Heyfort* with their Dragoons, were deserted and gone into the Prince, he called his General Officers and Colonels together at *London*; amongst which were *Churchil*, *Kirk*, *Trelauny*, *Grafton* and others; and acquainted them, he had called a free Parliament, that he was resolved to secure Religion, Liberty and Property, at their Sitting. He obtested these Officers to let him know if there was any thing farther which they desired for the Security of their Religion and Liberties, and he would most willingly grant it; and withal desired, That if there was any amongst them who could not be satisfied, to let him know it, and he would frankly grant them Passes for themselves and Equipage, to go in to the Prince. Upon which, they all answer'd chearfully and unanimously *That they were fully satisfied, and would hazard their Blood, to the last drop, in his Service:* And yet how basely and ungratefully some of them afterwards dealt by him, is too well known, and was enough to give that Prince just Jealousies of his own Safety amongst Men so lost as to all sense of Honour and Integrity.

And yet so loth was this Monarch to part from a People who had forsaken him first, though surrounded with Fears and Distractions, under which any other Person would have sunck, that he made offers of a Treaty; which the Prince accepted, not that he designed to come to any Settlement upon it, but because he durst not unmask himself so far as to refuse it; and was in hopes to find some Pretext or other to break it off. Upon this, the Commissioners met on both sides, but with so little Inclination, on the Prince's side, to come to an Accommodation, which would have bereaved him of that sweet Morsel he had been so long labouring for; nay, he discovered so firm a Resolution to attain his ends, without scrupling any thing, how severe soever, which could compass them; that those noble Lords, who were empower'd by the King to treat for him, did acquaint his Majesty with the insuperable Difficulties they met with in their Negotiation; and that they thought themselves bound in Duty to let him know that his Person was not in Safety under the *Power* of a Prince, who by the haughty and rigid Conditions he proposed, or rather imposed, and his still marching on, notwithstanding the Treaty, did visibly enough discover some farther hidden Design. This must certainly be thought Warning enough from Persons who were

even

even then leaning to the ſtrongeſt ſide, and ſo would not have hazarded ſuch advice, unleſs forced to it by Truth and Horror of the Deſign; or put upon it by the Prince himſelf, to frighten the King away, who was ſenſible his Stay did check his Deſigns, and ſo was reſolved to be rid of his Perſon ſome way or other.

Upon this the King thought fit to withdraw; and afterwards ſent the E. of *Feverſham*, from that place, with ſuch ample Conceſſions, and ſuch real diſcoveries of a ſincere Intention, to ſatisfie his People to the full, that the Prince was extreamly alarmed upon it, and did plainly ſee the miſcarriage and ruin of all his Deſigns, if *Feverſham*'s Meſſage ſhould be imparted to the Engliſh that were about him; for though there were ſome, who upon all occaſions were forward enough to adviſe the utmoſt Severities againſt the King's Perſon, yet by far the greateſt part for Number, Intereſt and Quality, were at the bottom for an Accommodation with the K. which would have ſetled and bettered the Nation; but at the ſame time would have quite daſhed the Prince's Hopes and Expectations; and therefore ſome bold Stroke muſt be given, that ſo much Patience, ſo great Labour, and ſo many Crimes might not be loſt; the Publick Faith muſt be broken, and *Feverſham* muſt be ſecured, without ſo much as acquainting the Perſons of Quality of the Engliſh Nation who were about him with it, though all a long he had pretended to act by their Advice. But in ſo nice a Conjuncture he was afraid to truſt to their Affection, as knowing very well they would have pry'd more than was fitting, for his Intereſt, into the pretended Cauſe of the Earl's Confinement, and his Meſſage; the Goodneſs of which would certainly have preſerved the Publick Faith inviolable in the Earl's Perſon, notwithſtanding of the Crime alleg'd againſt him, and continued the Treaty; whereas by this Method the Meſſage was concealed, the Treaty was quite broken off, and the King would moſt certainly be frightned to ſteal away. After ſuch a ſeries of Defection amongſt all ſorts of People, after ſuch an Advice ſent by Perſons whom he had truſted with the moſt important Concerns of his Crown and Kingdom, after ſuch an open Breach of the publick Faith, and after ſuch viſible and open diſcoveries of the Prince's ſecret Deſigns and unlimited Ambition, a Paſſion which never ſcruples to ſacrifice every *Remora* to its Eſtabliſhment, where it Predominates; Is there any cool and rational Man will cenſure the King's Conduct in diſbanding that Army, which had for the moſt part made a Defection from him; and in taking care of his Perſon by a ſpeedy Retreat from amongſt ſuch wavering Subjects, dangerous and diſingenuous Enemies. But in farther Evidence of the King's unwillingneſs to part from his People, and of the Prince's fixed and determinate Reſolutions to force him to as great a diſtance as he could, being always jealous of a Reconcilement, which would have quite buried his ambitious Thoughts and Deſigns; I ſhall give the World a particular account of the moſt important Steps taken by either Relative to their ſeveral Deſigns.

The King, when he came to *London*, ſent a Meſſage to Sir *Thomas Stamp*, now Mayor, and to Sir *Simon Lewis*, two eminent Aldermen of that City; deſiring them to acquaint their Brethren, and others of the Common Council,

That

That he was resolved to put himself into the hands of the City, there to remain until by a free Parliament he had given all Satisfaction to his People, by securing their Religion, Liberties and Properties, to the full; hoping, that in the mean time, they would take care to guard and secure his Person. The foresaid Persons communicated this Message, as they were desired; but by the influence and interest of Sir *Robert Clayton* the offer was refused, and the security of his Person would not be assured to him. Here is plain demonstration, both of the King's willingness to piece up with his People, and of the Danger which threatned his Person. When the King came from *Feversham* to *Whitehall*, Monsieur *Zuylestein* delivered him, at *Somerset house*, a Letter from the Prince, which was designed to have reached him before he came from *Feversham*; wherein he was desired, but in the Style of a Command, not to come any nearer *London* than *Rochester*: To which the King very meekly returned an Answer, *That he would have complied with the Letter, had it come sooner to his hands.* Can there be any more doubt, after this, of the Prince's unjust and ambitious Designs, to put such a Restraint upon a Monarch in his own Dominions, whose undoubted Title he had acknowledg'd, both by his Declaration and a Treaty: This was a piece of Haughtiness and Insolence above all Example, except what his own future Practices hath furnished us with.

As soon as the King came to *Whitehall*, he wrote to the Prince, inviting him to St. *James*'s, allowing him his own Dutch Guards to secure his Person, and assuring him, That upon their Interview he would fully satisfie the intent of his Declaration. But this was no satisfaction to the Prince: He had a secret and conceal'd aim at the Crown; and provided he could gain that point, he liked it the better that it were Vested with all the Power he so much complain'd of in his Declaration: His Conduct since hath sufficiently cleared this to these Nations: An Interview, which was so much desir'd by the King, did not suit with this darling Project; he could neither well ask it, nor expect to have it granted. Besides, he found the Torrent of the Peoples Affections, which had run so swiftly towards himself, was then at a Stand, and in danger to be turned into another Channel, if the King remain'd at *Whitehall*, and at liberty to apply himself to the regaining of his Subjects Hearts; which he was sincerely resolved to court and acquire at any rate, being free from the bad Influences and Advices of those Ministers which were in Confederacy with the Prince. Upon all which, it was resolv'd that Count *Solmes* should possess the several Posts at *Whitehall* with Dutch Guards, and make the King a Prisoner: And about two o'Clock in the Morning he receiv'd Orders from the Prince, by the Mouths of three noble Lords, to be gone immediately from his own Palace; and accordingly he was sent Prisoner to *Rochester*, attended by Dutch Guards, and all this perform'd with unspeakable Rudeness and Indignities done to his Person.

He was disturbed at an unseasonable hour, with a Sentence of Banishment from his own Palace, passed upon him by his Son-in-law, who pretended only to settle and fix his Crown by redressing of Grievances, and that Sentence pronounced unto him by three of his own Subjects, who accompanied it with

ſome unmannerly Severities, which their fears of a coarſer Treatment, if he ſtaid, put them upon. He was refuſed his own Guards to attend him, and his own Coach to carry him to *Rocheſter*, though he declar'd, That he could not travel by Water in ſo cold a Seaſon, againſt Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health. Good God! that ſuch Barbarities ſhould be practiſed, and afterwards juſtified, by Chriſtians, which Pagans and Infidels would be aſham'd of.

Whilſt the King ſtaid at *Rocheſter*, and during the Seſſions of thoſe Lords and Commons, who firſt put the Adminiſtration of Affairs into the Prince's Hand, and mov'd for calling of the Convention, he ſent a Meſſage to the preſent B. of *Wincheſter*, which he deſir'd might be communicated to the reſt of the Biſhops; acquainting him with his Reſolutions to come either publickly or privately, and put himſelf into the Hands of my Lords the Biſhops, to be under their Protection, until at their Sight, and by their Advice, he had fully ſettled and ſecured every thing in a free Parliament. This Meſſage the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did impart to the reſt; and their return to it was, That they could not receive him, either publickly or privately, under their Protection; for in that caſe they would be reſponſible for his Safety, and they were not in a Condition to ſecure him againſt the Ambition of the Prince, who was reſolv'd to accompliſh his Deſigns; and ſurrounded with ſo many Troops, to ſupport him in it, after ſo many Advertiſements given him of the danger his Perſon was in, by People who might know it, and whoſe Teſtimony was not to be ſuſpected; and thoſe Advertiſements fortified and confirm'd, by the Prince's ſtrange and unaccountable Carriage, in breaking the publick Treaty, in impriſoning my Lord *Feverſham* contrary to the publick Faith, thereby to elude the Effects of his Meſſage, in refuſing a perſonal Treaty, depriving him of his Liberty, putting him under Guards, and in baniſhing him imperiouſly and unmannerly from his own Houſes. After ſo many fruitleſs Applications to the Prince, to the City, and to the Biſhops, only to be ſecur'd as to his Perſon, until by a free Parliament he had given full Satisfaction to his People: Can there be any Perſon who is not become Bankrupt, as to common Senſe and Reaſon, who will blame the King for withdrawing, and thereby endeavouring to put himſelf in Safety? And it is evident, notwithſtanding all thoſe ineffectual Applications, he was reſolv'd upon every occaſion to court his Subjects to return to their Duty: Witneſs his Letters addreſſed to ſeveral Members of his Privy Council; and alſo that Letter written from St *Germains*, and deſign'd for the Convention of Eſtates, which they would not ſo much as receive or read.

I would now gladly know after what manner, and upon what account, in what ſenſe, and for what reaſon the King can be ſaid to have deſerted. *Deſertion*, according to common ſenſe and acceptation, is a voluntary Neglect and Withdrawing his Perſon, Care and Influences, from attending that Adminiſtration, Protection and Exerciſe of the Government, which is due from him to the People committed to his Charge; when no Force compell'd him, no Danger threatned him, and the People were willing to retain him. Is this applicable to the King's Caſe? May not the Invading his Dominions with foreign

foreign Troops and an arm'd Power, the Impriſonment of his Perſon, putting him under Guards of Foreigners, and baniſhing him from his own Houſes, be properly enough called a Force? May not thoſe extraordinary Indignities done him by the Prince, and thoſe Advertiſements given him by ſeveral Perſons of Quality, Knowledge, and Intereſt, of his hard and difficult Circumſtances, be very well call'd Dangers, according to the common Rules of Prudence and Diſcretion? With what Senſe can the univerſal Defection of his Children, Servants, Soldiers and Subjects, the rejecting all Treaties, whether perſonal or by Proxie, the Refuſal of all Applications made by him to the City, Biſhops, and Convention of Eſtates, be underſtood an unwillingneſs in his Subjects to part with him, or a voluntary Withdrawing or Neglect on his ſide? We muſt renounce common Senſe, and quite invert the Nature of things, before a Withdrawing ſo circumſtantiated will paſs upon the ſober part of Mankind for a Deſertion.

Beſides, it is a Maxim laid down by the Author of the *Pretences of the French Invaſion examined*, p. 4. l. 3 and downwards, *That where a King or Queen is ſubmitted to, and own'd by Oaths, and other Methods requir'd in ſuch Caſes, the King himſelf is not at Liberty to give up his own Power, and conſequently cannot Deſert; much leſs can the People wreſt it from him. A Man hath himſelf much more Right to lay down that Power which is legally veſted in him, than any other Perſon or Perſons can have to take it from him.* I hope this learned Gentleman will allow us the Benefit of his own Maxim, which we are willing to admit of. It cannot be denied, King *James* was ſubmitted unto, and own'd by Oaths and all other Methods requir'd in ſuch Caſes; and ſo not at Liberty to give up his own Power, tho' never ſo willing: And conſequently this pretended Deſertion muſt march off the Stage, according to the Author's own Rules.

But the Diſbanding of the Army, in the Senſe of this Author and others, was ſo illegal a Step, that it muſt paſs for his diſſolving of the Government. Why, truly, common Prudence adviſed the Diſcarding of an Army, which had dealt ſo treacherouſly with their Prince and Benefactor: And I would gladly know, what Statute this Meaſure of the King's treſpaſſed upon. I challenge the Author to point it out to us. I have heard it alledged, That the King could not raiſe and maintain an Army without the Conſent of Parliament: But his power of Diſbanding was never yet queſtion'd, much leſs made a Crime: If the firſt be juſtifiable, the laſt muſt be much more ſo. From what has been ſaid, I hope the *Deſertion* is quite ſhut out of doors: The Reaſons adduced make unanſwerably againſt it; and the Pamphleteer's own Maxims knock it dead without Mercy; by which the greateſt part of the Author's Pamphlet and Reaſonings falls to the ground, ſince he goeth all along upon the Suppoſition that the People were ſtill willing to have acknowledged his Rights and ſecured their own, to have treated and come to an Accommodation with him; as alſo that the Prince never propoſed any thing, but to have Grievances fairly redreſſed, which was ſtill inſiſted on by the Prince and People in the moſt humble and uſual Methods: But that the King wilfully deſerted, threw up the Government, refuſed all Treaties, and left them

in a perfect Anarchy, to shift for themselves. The Falsity of all which is already plainly enough demonstrated, and the *Abdication* must halt, having lost the better half of its Foundation.

I come next to examine the Male-Administration, which makes up the other part of this Structure; in prosecution of which, I do not intend to play the Advocate, to defend and justifie any Breaches made upon the Laws and Liberties of my Country: I am as tender of those great Concerns as any Man can be; I love them as well; I value them as high, and shall be always ready to hazard as far for their Establishment, as a good *Englishman*, who knows their Worth, ought to do. And perhaps I have given better Evidences of this, than the Authors of these Pamphlets can bring for themselves, notwithstanding their Fustian Words and high Pretences.

But Mistakes in Government will be slipping in under the best Reigns; and it is not every Error can furnish a good Reason for such important Revolutions, such general Defections, such deviations from that Duty which is due to Princes from the Obligation of Oaths, the Tyes of Nature, and the Laws of the Land; and for dethroning of Kings, inverting the nature of the Monarchy, and the interrupting the Royal Line and Succession. Such Alterations have been accompanied in all Ages with such Confusions, Convulsions, Blood, Ruin and Desolation, that nothing but the necessary Rescue of the Government itself, and of all the publick and private Rights which are wrapt up in it, from a clear, plain, visible, undeniable, and otherwise unavoidable Ruin and Destruction, with a Certainty and Conviction that the Remedy proposed will prove feasible and successful, without running us into the same dangers and difficulties; can furnish the least shadow or pretence for Experiments which are to be attended with such Dangers, founded upon the Breach of so many sacred Tyes and Obligations, and Supported with such Expence of Blood and Treasure.

We ought to be very sure, That the Errors complain'd of would certainly have overturn'd all Foundations, and entirely robbed us of our Rights; That those Errors did certainly arise from the natural Disposition of the Prince himself, obstinately and incorrigibly bent to pursue them to the utmost, whatever the Consequence might be, and not rather from the Impulse of corrupted Ministers, from a Design to ruin him, and make a Property of us, in serving the ambitious but guilded Pretences of some other Person; before we run head-long into such Measures. But alas! I am afraid we are not able to stand this Tryal, which every cool and thinking Man must allow to be very reasonable; and upon an exact and impartial Enquiry, it will be found, That with all this Bustle, Noise, Blood, Treasure, and Pretence for publick Good and Liberty; we have been destroying what we have built up; grasping unsuccessfully at that amidst the Dangers, Cruelties, and Expences of a War, and with the Breach of so many sacred Tyes and Engagements, which we might have Insured to ourselves and Posterity with much ease and innocence; and wreathing a Yoke about our Necks, which will gaul and pinch us more severely than what we endeavour'd to throw off.

The

The Male-Administrations charged upon King *James* by those Pamphletteers, are shortly summ'd up by them in the *Western Severities, the High Commission, the turning out of Office all good Protestants, the attempting to reverse all the Penal Laws, the putting unqualified Men into Places of Trust, Profit and Power; the exercise of the Dispensing Power, the excluding the Fellows of* Magdalen College, *and putting in Papists; with the Imprisonment and Tryal of the Bishops.* It seems these Authors are of Opinion that any Reasons, how weak and unconclusive soever they be, should pass as good Coin upon us, since they come from such Magisterial and Florid Pens. But if they designed that their Authority alone should pass for Reason amongst us, they ought to have subjoin'd their Names, to add thereby some Value and Weight to Arguments and Grounds, by far too weak in themselves to support so lofty a Building as is founded upon them. Some of the Misgovernments here enumerated, which I have exactly Copied from p. 6. l. 8. and downwards, of *The Pretences of the French Invasion examined*, are false, others maliciously aggravated, and the rest the King was forced upon by the Importunity of Ministers who were gained by the Prince, and offer'd such Advices only with a Design to render him odious to the People, and thereby to dispose them for this happy Revolution, which hath since fallen out. But to examine them severally;

As to the *Western* Severities, I believe it will not be denied, even by this Government, that the Duke of *Monmouth* his Invasion was a Rebellion; and that the Lives and Fortunes of all engaged in it, were by the Laws of the Land forfeited to Justice. I am heartily sorry that so much Blood was shed by the Hands of the common Executioner; but it is very well known to many Persons of Honour and Quality, that those great Severities were only to be ascribed to the insolent and cruel Temper of *Jefferies*, *Pollexfen*, and *Kirk*; that the King himself was extremely offended at it, and immediately put a Stop to their Proceedings so soon as he was acquainted with them: And it is strange enough how this comes to be charged so home upon King *James*, by the Champions of this Government, since King *William* by his advancing and employing of *Kirk* and *Pollexfen*, hath plainly discovered to the World, That either he did not look upon those Severities to be unseasonable or criminal, or else that he loved them the better for their cruel and bloody Disposition, as fitter for his Service and Designs; otherwise such Butchers would not have been countenanced by a Reforming Heroe.

The High Commission Court I will not justifie: But we know very well *Who* advised it; and we see one of the most active Members of it in a fair Way of Preferment *now*; and certainly our present King would not honour such a Man, or trust his Affairs into his Hands, if he lookt upon that Commission to have been a good Ground for *Abdication*.

The turning out of Office all good Protestants, and the putting of unqualified Men into all Places of Trust, Profit and Power, is a large strain of Eloquence, which though like the usual Flights of the supposed Author, is too light and false for so grave and weighty a Subject: For many Places of Profit, Trust, and Power, were kept filled with good and zealous Protestants; and we know to whose Councils and Advices, and at whose Door we must charge

the

the filling of so many Places of Trust with unqualified Persons. If an E. of *Sunderland* and Lord *Churchil* had not been Ministers of State and Favourites then, perhaps the *Loo* had not yet been exchanged for *Kensington*. It is to their faithful Councils and Influence, we owe the Advancement of Father *Peters* to to the Council Board; the new modelling of the *Irish* Army and Government; the *Magdalen College* Reformation; the Regulation of Corporations; the Closetting; and the Imprisonment and Tryal of the Bishops: And if so, there is a certain Prince who is really more guilty of those Miscarriages than the *Abdicated* Monarch, since he was the main Engine who set those noble Lords to work; and I am afraid his Conduct since, when examined, will in a great measure make good the Charge.

It's natural enough for a Prince to carry some little favour to those of his own Religion, and easier for a treacherous Minister to trapan him into more Indulgence for them, than the Laws can well allow; and those two Lords being intirely Devoted to the Advancement of the Prince's Designs, did imploy their utmost Interest with the King to bring him into all those Measures, which did so much favour and precipitate this Revolution. There were some faithful Servants, who quickly discovered the Roguery of this, and stoutly made head against it; but a blind zeal having betray'd the new Converts into those Measures, and the time serving Courtier being joyned with the Pack, Roguery became too hard for true Honesty; and yet it was with great difficulty, and matchless Importunities, the King was wrought upon to do several of those Things which were the only important Errors. It is well known, that it was with no small trouble he was prevailed upon to admit *Peters* to the Council-board. And as to the Regulating of Corporations, the King gave his Opinion against it to the very last; and I dare appeal to the Earl of *Bathe*, whose Testimony is not to be suspected by this Government, if in his access to the King about the Regulations, in those Countries were he was Lieutenant, he did not discover the Truth of what I here assert, from the King's own Complaints to his Lordship; *How greatly he was importuned to give way to those Measures, from which in his own Judgment, he was so averse.*

We might have continued ignorant, in a great measure, of the particulars of all this fine Christian Policy, if upon the Revolution, these honest Agents in so good a work, had not (by boasting of their several Merits, Diligence and Activity, in betraying an honest-hearted Prince, and so the more Credulous to his own ruin) discovered all the Steps of this Intrigue; but in the Opinion of some, every thing is lawful for the obtaining of a Crown. If it be alleged, that most certainly the Prince never dreamt of the Crown of *Britain* until it was presented to him, as a reward from a grateful People for their Deliverance; his promises of Places at Court, and Governments of Forts, before he came from *Holland*, which were only in the disposal of the King of *Great Britain*; his imprisonment of the E. of *Feversham*, who was a publick Messenger, and Peer of *England*, and under the Cognizance of none but the King; his imprisoning and banishing King *James* from his own Palace, though acknowleged as the just Monarch by his own Declaration; his banish-

ing

ing the French Embaſſador out of *England* as ſoon as he came to *London*, and before the Adminiſtration was put into his Hands, by which theſe Kingdoms were ingaged, without their own Conſent, in a War with *France*, without ſo much as any pretence of Entertainment given to their *Abdicated Monarch*, being a conſiderable time before K. *James*'s retreat thither; were direct, poſſitive and moſt Solemn Acts of Sovereignty, before ever the Crown was confer'd upon him; and are ſo many plain and evident Indications of that early Ambition I have charged upon him. And in farther Evidence, that all his Deſigns, from the very firſt, were aimed at the Crown; and the Crown Veſted too with the moſt towring Prerogatives: When the *Convention* was Deliberating, upon ſome future Proviſions, againſt Arbitrary Power, the Prince ſent my Lord *Wharton* to ſeveral Lords, and Mr. *Coulin* to Sir *Edward Seymor*, and Mr. *Hambden*, and other Commoners, to let them know, *That if the Houſe inſiſted ſo much upon Limitations, that he would return again, and leave them in the lurch to the Mercy of King* James: So generouſly Tender was this great Deliverer of our Religion and Liberty. As to the Diſpencing Power, aſſumed by King *James*, I do not pretend to juſtifie it I am heartily ſorry that ſo bad a Meaſure was taken, to carry on and eſtabliſh ſo deſirable and neceſſary a Good and Birth-right of Mankind, as *Liberty of Conſcience*, which carries its own native Beauty and Uſefulneſs, ſo viſibly ſtampt upon it, as could never have failed to obtain an Eſtabliſhment from the Reaſon and Judgement of an Engliſh Parliament: But this would have ſo much united the Hearts and Affections of Engliſh Subjects with their King, and laid ſuch an invincible rub in the Way of the Prince's ambitious Deſigns, that it became one of the niceſt and moſt tickliſh Points to manage, the hardeſt to ward off, and the moſt dextrous and artful part of their Game; there was no downright oppoſing of ſo general and deſirable a Good; it was eaſier to poyſon and divert it. The King was firſt put upon Eſtabliſhing this Liberty by a Proclamation, that ſo the Parliament might be prejudiced againſt a Thing, which otherwiſe they would have granted, upon the account of the firſt Meaſure taken about it; but finding that the general Good and Benefit, which was to be reaped from this Liberty, would have digeſted and ſweetned this Pill; from a pretence of ſaving the King's Honor from a Foyl, and making all ſure, though really with a deſign to ruin Him and baffle the Thing, they put him upon the Regulating and Cloſetting Projects, and upon obliging the Clergy to read his Proclamation for *Liberty of Conſcience* from their Pulpits. This did alarm the Biſhops, as was deſigned, and obliged them to think upon Petitioning againſt it; upon which, thoſe *Beautefeux*, being afraid leſt the KING ſhould call in his Proclamation, having always found it hard enough to bring Him to ſuch Methods; they ordered the buſineſs ſo, that the Biſhops were ſo long in preſenting of their Petition to the King, that though their Reaſons had convinced and ſatisfied Him, there was not time enough to countermand his former Orders, though never ſo willing. Upon which they took occaſion to incenſe the King againſt them, as if they had delay'd their Petition ſo long, with deſign to embroyl Him with his People; and ſo they run the Biſhops into the *Tower*, and from thence to the *Bar*.

This

This is the true Hiſtory of the Diſpencing Power, and of the Biſhops Perſecution, which was ſo warmly, and bitterly urged againſt the King, as undeniable Proofs that his Inclination to Catholicks was too ſtrong for the Laws. But to ſpeak plain Engliſh, I hope thoſe Stretches, in favour of Catholicks, which were Criminal in King *James*, are not become more Legal and Meritorious in King *William*; the exerciſe of the Diſpencing Power in their favours, I hope, is as much a fault now as ever. The Charge will be denied; but I ſhall make it good, when I come to diſcourſe upon the Third Motive to the King's Reſtauration. Are not Catholicks employ'd now in the Army, tho' not qualified by Law? It will be alleg'd they are Foreigners; ſo much the worſe; for an Engliſh Catholick will ſtill have ſome regard for the Laws and Liberties of his Countrymen; where a mercenary Foreigner is abſolutely at the diſpoſal of his Maſter. Are not the Catholicks as much Countenanced, and in the exerciſe of as much Liberty for their Religion, as ever? The neceſſity of humouring a Confederacy, which muſt ſupport us, the great Strength of which are Catholicks, may be urged as a very good Reaſon for this; but if we examine it to the bottom, this threatens our Religion more than any Indulgence was granted them by King *James*. When the Catholicks of *England* hold their Liberty merely from the favour of the Proteſtants of *England*, they muſt be thankful for it, and humble under it; but when they come to derive their Favours, Immunities, and Liberty, from the neceſſity of our Circumſtances, and humble Regard and Deference we muſt pay to Catholick Princes, without whoſe Aſſiſtance and Friendſhip we cannot Subſiſt; their Spirits, Hopes and Haughtineſs. will be enlarged by it. They muſt make grateful acknowlegements to thoſe Catholick Princes, by whoſe kind Influences they injoy their Liberty. This begets a Correſpondence with and Dependance upon Foreign Princes; and we do not know how far, by the Inſtigation of Catholicks here, thoſe Princes may be prevailed upon to improve the neceſſity we have of their Allyance, to the advantage of thoſe of their own Religion amongſt us. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, within our remembrance, was the moſt zealous Champions for the Roman Religion, and the dependance of the Catholicks of *England* upon that Houſe hath been always terrible and troubleſome to this State: And though their Loſſes, and the growth of *France*, hath humbled and levelled all the towring Thoughts and Ambition of that Family, which did ſo much exerciſe both the Councils and Forces of their Neighbours, yet ſince by our Aſſiſtance that Houſe is to recover its Loſſes, and *France* to be reduced within its ancient bounds; with their loſt Provinces, the Houſe of *Auſtria* may reſume their old Deſigns: They were but covered up, not extinguiſhed; concealed through Weakneſs, to be diſcovered upon a greater Encreaſe of Strength and Vigour; in which caſe we may come to be whipt for our preſent Politicks.

May the great God avert thoſe dangers and difficulties which inviron us, and viſibly threaten the Religious and Civil Concerns of theſe Kingdoms. We have been pulling Deſtruction with both our hands upon our ſelves, and deſperately riſking our Religion and Civil Rights without any neceſſity; and unleſs we repent, and repair theſe Errors, the Puniſhments we deſerve will certainly

certainly overtake us. We have turned away our King, whoſe Right and Title was certain and unqueſtioned, nay we have chaſed him from us with unſpeakable Indignities, upon the Pretence of Errors in Government, which he was put upon by the Artifice of his Enemies, and which he was willing to have repair'd at our own Sight: He courted us by repeated Applications to carve out our own Securities for our Religion and Civil Rights; but we have obſtinately refuſed any Treaty with him. We have ſet our ſelves up for a Mark of Reproach to future Ages, by our fooliſh and invincible Malice and matchleſs Impudence, in *Vacating a Throne* by a pretended *Abdication*, which imports a Voluntary Reſignation; and yet the *Abdicated Monarch* never made any, but aſſerts his Title to this day. We have grounded this *Abdication* upon a wilful *Deſertion* in our Prince, when we forced him away for the Preſervation of his Life; and upon Miſtakes in Government, which he was trapan'd into, and which he was willing to have repaired; but we would not; as if every Error in Government had been a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which neither can be attoned for, nor forgotten. The Injury done to our Sovereign is very viſible from what I have written; and ſo Reparation ought to be ſpeedily made, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons given by theſe two Pamphleteers againſt it. But before I enter upon anſwering their Objections, I ſhall diſcourſe upon the other three Motives aſſigned for the King's Reſtauration, and make them equally plain with the firſt I have already handled; which will in a great meaſure prevent or take off all Objections can be made.

The ſecond Motive was the Setling the Government upon its old Baſis; which is viſibly interrupted and quite unhinged by this *Abdication*. We have turned our Hereditary Monarchy into an Elective: We have cut the Royal Line, interrupted the Succeſſion, and deſtroyed the juſt Rights of innocent Perſons, upon a pretended *Abdication*; which tho' well founded, is but perſonal, and cannot be extended any farther. To this it is anſwered by the Author of *The Pretences of the French Invaſion examined*, p 10. l. 1. and downwards, *That the Breach, as to the Perſon of the Reigning King, was made by himſelf, having deſerted; That the Convention did not make, but found the Throne vacant; That in Regard there were ſo many clear Indications of the Impoſture of the Prince of* Wales, *the Convention applied to the preſent Queen, who was the next and undoubted Heir; and at her Requeſt, a Title was given to her Huſband, and that only for Life, though he was much nearer in Blood than* Henry IV. *and* Henry VII. *ſucceſſively made Kings of* England; *That much greater Breaches have been made, ſince the Conqueſt, in the Lineal Succeſſion, by depoſing the Reigning King, and ſetting up his Son, or a remoter Perſon, which he acknowlegeth an Injury to the King ſo depoſed; and that the ſaving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of* Denmark *and her Heirs, ſhews how far the Convention was from any ſuch thing as is alledged.*

By ſuch Reaſonings the Author of this Pamphlet diſcovers but ſmall Knowlege in Hiſtory, and the Affairs of his own Country; little Judgment and Veracity, joyned with a great deal of Diſingenuity and Impudence. How truly the Breach made in our Monarchy, by the *Abdicating* Vote, is to be laid at King *James*'s door, upon the Account of his *Deſertion*, may appear from what I have already ſaid: And though this Author doth very confidently aſſert,

That the Throne was void by *Desertion*, it seems the Convention were not of that Opinion, but found it necessary to declare it so by a Vote, before there was Access to fill it again; and the Earl of *Nottingham* was then quite another Man, and of other Principles, than we find him now, as an Author, or Licenser only. A Regency was not in the least akin to a Vacancy. But to humour the Author, suppose there was a Vacancy, either before or after the Vote, which he pleaseth; a Vacancy in a Monarchy is a certain infallible Mark of its being elective: For in an Hereditary Monarchy, such as this of *England*, upon the Natural, or Civil Death too (if the Author pleaseth) of the Regnant Monarch, the Right of the next Successour doth immediately take place; and the People, whether by their Representatives in Parliament, or otherwise, do humbly submit to and acknowlege, not declare and authorize, his Native Title. Our Law-books teach us, *That the Kings of* England *can never dye*: The meaning is, That in an Hereditary Monarchy the Throne cannot be without a Possessor, were it but a Moment; so that where either there is the least Vacancy, or where the next Possessor wants a Sentence of the People to give him a Title; that very Sentence, however disguised, is an Election; and together with the preceeding Vacancy, doth certainly and indispensably stamp the Monarchy Elective.

Is it not highly impudent in this Author to tell us, that there are many clear Indications of the Prince of *Wales* being an Impostor; and, at the same time, not to let us know what they are, and upon what Grounds they are so clear and evident? Can this Author be so vain as to think we must take his Word for a Thing upon which so much depends; no less than justice, or injustice of a Sentence, which must stand the Nation in so much Blood and Treasure, so many Perjuries and repeated Acts of Violence and Oppression, to support and maintain? Or doth he therein follow the Example of the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration? Which tells us of many just and visible Grounds of Suspicion, that the Prince of *Wales* was not Born of the Queen, and refers the Inquiry of that Truth to a free Parliament. King *James* also hath made the same reference, in a Letter from St. *Germains*, nay desired the last Parliament to look narrowly into that Affair; and yet the Prince hath never to this day desired the Parliament to fall about this important Search, nor accquainted us with any of those just and visible Grounds of Suspicion. Is it not very strange, That the only plausible Pretence, in all the Declaration, for his undertaking, should be so much over-look'd; when a clear and plain discovery of such an infamous Cheat and Imposture, would have fully justified the Proceedings of the Convention of Estates, the present Settlement of the Crown, given us all peace of Conscience and Satisfaction under it, and would really and truly have *Abdicated* King *James* for ever in the Hearts and Affections of every honest *Englishman*? The Prince in Honour was concerned to have press'd it; and the supream Senate was oblig'd in Honour and Justice to have made a full Discovery of the Truth or Falshood of it, especially when they have been so much press'd and challeng'd, as it were, in the face of the World, to fall about it, by King *James*, and humbly Petitioned so to do by several Persons of Honour and Quality in *October*, 1690. and which was delivered into many of the Members

Members Hands; beſides the times and circumſtances of Affairs were the moſt ſeaſonable for ſuch an Enquiry. It was not to be ſuppoſed, that the *Witneſſes* could either then be bribed or over-awed into a partial Teſtimony; and there was all imaginable incouragement for freedom of Queſtions for confronting the Deponents, and producing Counter Evidences, if there were any ſuch; ſo that the whole Matter might have been laid open and cleared, to the ſatisfaction of all Perſons concerned. The vindicating the Honour and Juſtice of the Nation; the quieting of ſo many Peoples Conſciences, who think themſelves bound by their Oaths of Allegiance to the King's next and immediate Heirs; the Regard due to an innocent Child, if the Impoſture be not cleared; the ſatisfaction of the Chriſtian World, and the ſecuring theſe Kingdoms from thoſe great Dangers and Confuſions, which are certain and infallible upon Competitions, in point of the Royal Succeſſion; were great and unanſwerable Motives for an Enquiry, nay amounted to the Weight of a Duty due from them to their Conſtituents, themſelves and Poſterity. What can any thinking Man conclude from ſuch a Neglect and Omiſſion, but that the Evidence, for the reality of the Prince of *Wales* his Birth, was clear and convincing; and the Counter Evidence, which was pretended againſt it, falſe and forged; that the Prince of *Orange*, in his Declaration, had rather Studied to amuſe the World with great and ſpecious Pretences, than to ſatisfie them as to the reality and truth of his Grounds; and that the *Convention* and *Parliament* have followed the Dictates of Paſſion and Prejudice, more than the Rules of Prudence and Juſtice. It cannot be ſuppoſed they forbore to trace this Impoſture from any tenderneſs to the King's Reputation, which would have been ſo deeply Wounded by a diſcovery of the Cheat: So much time and pains ſpent unſucceſsfully, in laying open the Earl of *Eſſex*'s pretended Murther, ſhews evidently how glad they would have been of any occaſion, or probable pretence, whereby to blacken King *James*.

So that the Nation muſt even reſt ſatisfi'd without any further Evidence of this Impoſture, than ſome pretended Suſpicions which were both groundleſs, and raiſed induſtriouſly by thoſe publick Agitators for this Revolution: As for Inſtance, The Princeſs of *Denmark* being forced out of the way to the *Bath* at the time of the Queen's Delivery; whereas it is very well known, and can be made appear, by Perſons of undoubted Honour and Integrity, that the King was againſt it, that her Phyſitians in Ordinary were againſt it, and that pains was taken to ſearch about for Phyſitians who would adviſe her going, as expedient for her Health; ſo early were they contriving Pretences for this Calumny. But the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were all along Suſpicious that the Queen was not with Child; and yet no care was taken to ſatisfie them about it. Did they ever acquaint the King with their Suſpicions, and deſire ſome Method might be taken to remove them? And were they refuſed it? This was the proper and uſual way in ſuch Caſes: And ſince it was not taken, there is no ground for Complaint The King could not dive into Suſpicions; which, in my Conſcience, I am perſuaded they never entertain'd. And laſtly, it is alledged no care was taken to ſatisfie the Nation, who were full of doubts about the reality of his Birth. But why did they

doubt? Were any Methods neglected, which uſed to be obſerved? Or any Perſons ſecluded, who ought to have been preſent? Did they give any intimation of their Suſpicions by humble Petition or Remonſtrance, and deſire to be ſatisfied about 'em? The Queen had formerly brought forth Children without any pretended Jealouſies. Who could foreſee that ſuch a black and helliſh Calumny would be then invented? Yet the Wiſdom of God Almighty knowing how far the Wickedneſs of this Age would extend; and as an earneſt, I hope, of his good and kind Intentions to this Nation, hath Providentially furniſhed us with a better and more numerous Evidence of the Birth of this Prince, than can be brought for the reality of the Birth of any Prince, or private Perſon in *Europe*; and hath yet fortified and confirmed it by another Conception, and Pregnancy of the Queen's, to the Birth of which Child many Perſons of all Qualities have been called, and invited in an extraordinary manner; ſo willing is the King to ſatisfie even our malitious groundleſs Complaints. But it ſeems our Rulers have no doubts upon that Head, in which they deſire to be ſatisfied, or find it not for their intereſt to have them cleared.

From what hath been ſaid, it is evident that there is a real Prince of *Wales*, who muſt be conſidered as ſuch ſo long as the pretended Impoſture is not cleared to us, and who hath Injuſtice done him by the *Convention of Eſtates*; for though the *Abdicating Vote* were well founded againſt the Father, it was only perſonal to Him, and cannot reach the Son: In which Caſe, the Princeſs of *Orange*'s Right being only from the Gift and by the Election of the People, is a manifeſt Breach of the Royal Line, and hath quite altered the Nature and Frame of our Hereditary Monarchy. As to the Title given to the Prince during Life, at her Requeſt, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, by the Rules of Succeſſion in an Hereditary Monarchy, is unqueſtionably next Heir to her Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, if ſhe dye without Children: By the Survivancy of Royalty lodged in the Prince, after the Princeſs's Death, there is manifeſt Injury done to the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Children; there is another unqueſtionable Breach made upon the Royal Line, and the antient Conſtitution of our Monarchy; and there is a ſecond Election of a Monarch by the Convention, to the Prejudice of the next undoubted Heir, leſt the firſt Inſtance had not made a ſtrong enough Preſident for an Elective Monarchy for the future. And whereas it is pretended, That the Prince had his Title at the requeſt of the Princeſs, who was the next Heir, and willing to give him Place, where is this requeſt and Conceſſion of the Princeſs to be ſeen? When was it preſented to the Convention; or where is it recorded: But tho' it were real, what is that to the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Heirs? Can a Compliment, intended by the Princeſs of *Orange*, from her ſelf to her Huſband, cut off their Rights? Again, is it not evident, That by ſuch a requeſt it's confeſſed the preſent Settlement of the Crown is by the Election and from the Gift of the People; and plainly acknowledged that there is a Right in them to alter the Succeſſion, and make a Breach of the Royal Line at their Pleaſure?

But

But it is alledged, We have the practiſe of our Predeceſſors to warrant our preſent Meaſures, who have made much greater Breaches in the Lineal Succeſſion, depoſed Kings, and given the Crown to Perſons remoter from the Royal Blood than the Prince of *Orange*; and that in the Caſes of *Hen* IV. and *Hen.* VII. In this the Author diſcovers himſelf to be ignorant of the Hiſtory and Affairs of his own Country, in miſtaking the Caſe of *Hen.* IV. in giving us an Inſtance in *Hen.* VII. of a Breach of the Lineal Succeſſion, to the Prejudice of the ſurviving King and next Heir, ſince it is very well known, that *Richard* the Uſurper was killed in Battle, and left no Heir behind him; and King *Henry* being undoubted Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by his Marriage with the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, united the two Roſes, and had an unqueſtionable Title to the Crown, without any Breach in the Lineal Succeſſion: And alſo in omitting to give us the Inſtance of *Edw.* III. which are all the Examples our Hiſtory affordeth, and are very far from making a Precedent in our Caſe. *Edw.* III. was the eldeſt Son, and undoubted and neareſt Heir of the Crown; and tho' he mounted the Throne during his Father's Life, yet it was upon his Father's Reſignation: And though he had all the Heat and Ambition of a young Man, and diſcovered, during his Reign, a largeneſs and greatneſs of Soul more than ordinary, yet he conſtantly refuſed the Crown, until his Father's Reſignation was obtained This can be none of thoſe greater Breaches of the Succeſſion, hinted at by our Author; and doth not at all ſuit the Caſe of King *William*: And *Hen.* IV. makes as bad a Precedent for our Practiſe. King *Ri.* II. reſigned in the favour of *Hen.* Had no Children to be prejudiced by his Reſignation: King *Henry* was the next Heir, the Pretences of the Houſe of *York* being not then ſet on foot; but that Family acquieſced in his Right as well as the reſt of the Kingdom: So that our own Hiſtories can as little furniſh us with Examples, to juſtifie our preſent Practiſe, as thoſe of other Nations. If in the Inſtances aſſigned, the horrid Violences of *Richard* the Third, the Male-Adminiſtrations of *Richard* the Second and *Edward* the Second, could not, in the Opinion of this Author, warrant their Dethroning, from the Character of Injuries done them, he muſt certainly be jeſting all along with us in his Pamphlet, in juſtifying an *Abdication*, for leſs and ſhorter Errors; and the Tory *Nottingham* is forced at laſt to peep out from under his *Republican* Diſguiſe.

As to the Pretence, *That by ſaving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of* Denmark *and her Heirs, the Convention hath ſufficiently ſhewn how far they were from deſigning any Alteration in the Succeſſion, or the ancient Conſtitution of our Monarchy*; it is equally weak and frivolous with any of the reſt; and lays a Foundation for another Election, as it is expreſſed in the Vote: For the Proviſion is not to the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Heirs ſimply, as the Author falſly and diſingenuouſly repreſents, but runs thus, *To the Princeſs* Ann *of* Denmark *and the Heirs of her Body*; which failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid K. *William*, which excludes all collateral Pretenders of the *Orleans* and *Palatine* Families, who would have been comprehended under the general Notion of *Heirs*. It was not poſſible for the Wit of Man to contrive a Vote, which in ſo few Words could more viſibly alter the Nature of our *Hereditary Monarchy*, make

make more and ſtronger Precedents for an Elective, occaſion more Interruption in the Succeſſion, and lay a better Foundation for the like for the Time to come. For in this Sentence we have a Breach in the Perſon of the reigning King, by the *Abdication*; we have another Breach in the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*; we have the People conferring the Crown by Election upon the Princeſs of *Orange*, to the Prejudice of that Prince his Title; we have a Survivancy of the Government ſettled in the Prince of *Orange*, by a ſecond Act of this Elective Power of the People, to the prejudice of the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and her Heirs, which makes a third Breach in the Succeſſion; and laſtly, we have all the Collateral Heirs of this Crown quite cut off by the Entail; by which the Monarchy is to be extinguiſh'd, or a *Series* of Elective Monarchs buckled upon this Nation, as ſtrongly as thoſe good Patriots could do it by their Sentence. Let any wiſe and thinking Man judge, if this be not ſuch a palpable and viſible unhinging of all the antient Frame and Conſtitution of our glorious Monarchy, as deſerves the warmeſt Endeavours and moſt diligent Application of every honeſt Man, for the ſettling of this our antient *Engliſh* Government upon its old *Baſis*, by the Reſtauration of K *James*.

The Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*, did certainly foreſee theſe Difficulties the former Author had run himſelf into; and being unwilling to ſhipwreck his Reaſon upon ſuch groſs Abſurdities, he broadly hints at *Conqueſt*: And in this he but ſeconds the Author of the *Anſwer of the Paper deliver'd by Mr.* Aſhton *at his Execution*, Licenſed by a Secretary of State; who boldly, and without Diſguiſe, pleadeth upon that Title. This Plea, though it be not liable to the ſame Abſurdities with the other, yet labours under greater; ſince by one Blow, and with one Daſh of his Pen, he levels at the Birth-rights of the Subjects, as well as of the Monarch; and endeavours to extinguiſh the Freedoms of Engliſhmen, as well as the antient Government; and certainly to entail upon and place us actually under that Slavery, the Fear of which is the beſt Reaſon they aſſign for reſtraining us from aſſiſting our King in his *Return*; as if ſuch remote Fears of Slavery were more dreadful than preſent Servitude, which is the neceſſary Conſequence of *Conqueſt*. Theſe Champions make very bold with their Prince, and wound his Honour and Intereſt deeper than the keeneſt Enemies could do: Such Blunders muſt fall in, when Men reaſon rather from Paſſion than from ſteady and generally receiv'd Maxims, and labour to defend a deeply tinctur'd Republican Revolution by Tantivy Monarchical Principles.

It is ſtrange to ſee a Man who is indued with a rational Soul, whoſe greateſt Prerogative and Excellency conſiſts in a clear unbyaſſed and diſtinct Exerciſe of Reaſon, ſo blinded with fooliſh Prejudice, as rather than ſubmit to plain and convincing Truth, chuſe to betake himſelf to this unaccountable Notion of Conqueſt; which is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Prince's Declaration, deſtroys the Maxims and Grounds, upon which the Convention of Eſtates (from whom the Prince derives his Titles) did proceed; overturns the Subjects Claim to Rights and Privileges, the pretended Care of which is the beſt Support of this Government; brings home to our Fancies and Imaginations the moſt frightful *Ideas*, which a free-born People can form to themſelves,

ſelves, of Tyranny and Slavery, with all the terrible and deſolating Conſequences which attend them; and conſequently lays us under Obligations, from a due Regard to ourſelves and Poſterity, and Duty to our Country, to ſhake off the Yoke with all Speed, though with never ſo much Hazard and Difficulty.

The Prince, in his Declaration, after an Enumeration of Grievances, aſſures us, *He came for no other Deſign, than to have a free and full Parliament aſſembled, and the Elections made and return'd according to the antient Forms; and that the Members of this Parliament ſhould meet and ſit in full Freedom, until ſuch Laws be prepared, as the two Houſes ſhould concur in, and find neceſſary for Maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, and ſecuring the Peace, Honour and Safety, of this Nation; that there may be no more Danger of falling at any Time under* Arbitrary Government; *and that he had nothing before his Eyes, in this Undertaking, but the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Covering of all Men from Perſecutions for their Conſciences, and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government.* For the accompliſhing of which; ſince he had only brought a Force with him, for defending his Perſon, *againſt the Violence of Evil Counſellors*, all the Peers of this Realm, Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and others of all Ranks and Degrees, are invited to aſſiſt him againſt all who ſhall endeavour to oppoſe the redreſſing of Violences done to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. Theſe Pretences can never be adjuſted to the Notion and Title of *Conqueſt*. The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of this Realm, acting in a free and legal Parliament, for the ſecuring of their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government, neither can nor will ever deſign it.

I will charitably ſuppoſe, the Convention of Eſtates, and their Conſtituents, did believe they had valuable Rights and Privileges, their Religion, Liberties and Properties, which were derived and ſecured unto them from poſitive Statutes and Laws of the Land, as well as from the Dictates of Nature and *Original Contract*; that thoſe Rights and Privileges were invaded, and in Danger to be loſt; which made them run into that general Defection, and make a Preſent of the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*, as the only Expedient they could then think of. So long as the Prince's Title runs in this Channel, they are at Liberty, when they pleaſe, to review thoſe Meaſures, examine the Grounds, and upon a Rectification of their Judgments, and Conviction, that their beloved Rights and Privileges may be better ſecur'd under their antient Monarch, to betake themſelves again unto him. *Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus.* Or they may enquire into the Conduct and Government of the Prince, whether it Quadrate with the *Original Contract* they made with him; whether their *Rights* and *Privileges* have been entirely preſerved; and if they can diſcover any bad Influences or Aſpect towards *Liberty* and *Property*, then to make a Sacrifice of the Workmanſhip of their own Hands to a freſh Eſtabliſhment of thoſe Sacred and Venerable Rights, by the Maxims of this laſt Revolution; *The Intereſt of the People is paramount to that of the Prince.*

But if *Conqueſt* takes place, then *Adieu* to *Rights* and *Privileges*, *Liberty* and *Property*. The old muſty Statute Books and Records of *Weſtminſter-Hall* and the

the *Tower*, may be committed to the Flames, as ſo much waſte Paper: His Will and Pleaſure muſt be the Law whereby we are governed; our Liberties muſt lie at the Mercy of his Miniſters; and our Properties muſt be committed to the Stewardſhip of his Soldiers. Let us examine the Condition of Conquer'd People and Provinces, from antient and modern Hiſtory. The old Government, Laws and Cuſtoms, which they had been inur'd to from their Infancy, recommended and endeared to them by long Uſe and Acquaintance, muſt be ſwept off the Stage; ſtrange Orders, ſtrange Cuſtoms, ſtrange Miniſters, muſt take their Place: Our Perſons, our Liberty, our Eſtates, and all our moſt valuable Earthly Enjoyments, muſt lie at the Mercy, Pleaſure, and Will, of the *Conqueror:* Induſtry and Virtue will vaniſh, there being no Reward for them; for a *Conquer'd People* muſt aſpire no higher, than to learn to obey ſubmiſſively, and to eat the Bread of Tribulation and Affliction with Patience: The Care and Deſire of Poſterity will languiſh; being unwilling to beget Children, to become Slaves and miſerable as ourſelves. The *Indian* Women ſtrangled their own Children, after their Birth, that they might not become Servants to the *Spaniards*; and *Dutch* Severities will be found nothing ſhort, upon the Record of Hiſtory, of *Spaniſh* Cruelties. The Annals of all Nations can furniſh us with dreadful Inſtances of the unſpeakable Miſeries of a *Conquer'd People:* We may find thoſe Examples of the Calamities of that Condition, which would make us embrace Death for a Favour, and be able to ſink us into utter Deſpair, unleſs at the ſame Time theſe very Hiſtories had given us a View of the ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful Endeavours of thoſe generous and worthy Spirits, who have deſpiſed Dangers, Difficulties, Torments, and Death itſelf, for the Reſcue and Deliverance of their Country and Fellow Subjects. The greater and more terrible the Dangers were, the more vigorouſly and undauntedly did they court them, when they were in purſuit of ſo glorious a Quarry. The Efforts of Conquered Nations for the Recovery of their loſt Liberties, ſtand faireſt upon the Records of Fame, and are handed down to us with the greateſt Exactneſs and *Encomiums*; as if our Anceſtors had judg'd it neceſſary, and all Writers had conſpir'd together to rouze up, when Occaſion call'd for it, that Deſire of Liberty, which was born with us. If Conqueſt muſt be forced upon us as our preſent Lot, I hope all true Engliſhmen now will diſcover as great a Senſe, as any upon Record, of a vindicative Duty to their Country, and Love for their Liberties, be as tender and careful to tranſmit them ſafe and ſound to their Poſterity, as their Anceſtors have been vigilant and active in handing them down to them; that they will be no leſs careful of the antient Government and Monarchy of this Nation, than of their own particular Rights; ſince every Blow which reaches the one, muſt certainly wound and endanger the other; and that it ſhall be impoſſible to make the Engliſh a Conquer'd People, becauſe they will generally chuſe not to Be, rather than to be Slaves.

It may be alledg'd, that all that I have ſaid upon Conqueſt might have been forborne, ſince the King ſets up for no ſuch Title; perhaps it is not ſeaſonable to do it: But to have Conqueſt ſo publickly pleaded for in Pamphlets, Written or Licenſed by *Secretaries of State*, and that without any Check or Puniſh-

ment

ment from the Prince is very ſuſpicious, eſpecially if upon Examination of thoſe Oppreſſions which we ſuffer under the preſent King, we ſhall find his Conduct ſmell Rank that way. If we be treated as a Conquered People, the Miſery is ſtill the ſame, or rather greater; though the Prince who deals ſo by us ſhould be call'd a Reformer.

It being made evident and plain, That King *James* was highly injured, and the antient Government quite unhinged, by the Sentence of *Abdication*, and our late Meaſures: I come next to examine how exactly the Prince hath fulfilled, and made good unto us the pretended Ends and Deſign of his Declaration; how well he hath kept the *Original Contract* we made with him; and what benefit we may expect to reap for the future by this *Revolution*. I ſhall take his Conduct in both Kingdoms joyntly under Conſideration, ſince he hath not only united them in the ſame Declaration, but likewiſe iſſued out a Declaration apart for *Scotland*; intimating thereby, *That the Oppreſſions in that Kingdom were more weighty and numerous than here; and that the Arbitrary Deſigns of our Prince did always firſt commence there, to make a Precedent for this Kingdom; and that the Conduct and Poſture of Affairs there, did always certainly Prognoſticate to the curious Obſerver, what was deſigned to be Copied and Executed here.* I do not pretend to give a particular detail of the preſent Adminiſtration in that Kingdom; but there are ſome conſiderable Errors have been acted there which have made a Noiſe, and raiſed ſuch publick Complaints there, as hath convey'd the Knowledge of them here to us

The aſſuming a Power of Diſpenſing with the due Execution of Laws, enacted by King and Parliament for Security of Religion, Liberty, and Happineſs of the Subject, is much urged againſt King *James*, as a great Motive to the Prince's Undertaking A Diſpenſing Power aſſumed by any Prince, doth fatally threaten the Liberties of a People where it is practiſed, and makes them Tenants at Will for thoſe Privileges which the Laws of the Land have given them a Freehold in. This is really ſuch an important Point, and of ſuch Conſequence for the Subject to have been clear'd, that it was indiſpenſably the Duty of a Reforming Prince, Convention of Eſtates, and Parliament, to have decided this Controverſie, and placed ſuch Marks and Boundaries for the future, ſo plain and obvious both to Prince and People, that each might have known their particular Rights, and govern'd themſelves for the future accordingly. But our Parliaments have thought fit to leave it where they found it, dark and undecided to this Day; and the Prince hath diſcover'd he was well enough pleaſed with this Omiſſion, by taking as large and broad Steps that way, as any can be charg'd upon King *James*.

The *Iriſh* Treaty furniſheth us with a convincing Proof of this; where ſuch Indulgencies were granted unto them ſolely and ſingly by his own Authority, with relation to the exerciſe of their Religion, preſerving of their Arms, diſpenſation from Oaths, and ſecurity againſt Purſuits for their Plunderings; as were directly contrary to the Laws of the Land, the Safety, Rights, and Privileges of the Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom. This Treaty, I do acknowledge, was afterwards ratified by Parliament; but though in ſome Caſes the Authority of Parliament may give a legal Being for the future, yet

that new Life commenceth only from the Date of their Sanction, and doth not juſtifie preceding Errors; and the many Difficulties which aroſe in both Houſes about the Ratification, was a clear *Innuendo* how dangerous and illegal they judg'd the Treaty to be. How ſtrangely are we alter'd? King *James*'s exerciſe of this Diſpenſing Power, could neither be forgotten nor attoned for; but King *William*'s ſtretch that way, ſhall obtain a Parliamentary Approbation; ſuch is the Juſtice and unbyaſſed Integrity of theſe Times.

But we need not look ſo far as *Ireland* for Inſtances: We have our perſonal Liberties ſecur'd to us by poſitive and expreſs Statutes, and Methods appointed by our Law, whereby to recover our Liberties when loſt, with ſuch ſevere Animadverſions againſt thoſe who obſtruct the due Courſe of Law in obtaining of our Freedom, with ſuch great and conſiderable Damages appointed in that Caſe, as plainly enough points out unto us the Value and Worth of this true Engliſh Privilege. It is the choiceſt piece of our *Magna Charta*, and *Original Contract*; and, for my part, I ſhould much rather allow a Prince to diſpenſe with penal Statutes, and iſſue out a Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience, than to ſport himſelf at pleaſure with my perſonal Freedom; without which there can be no reliſh in any other Enjoyment; and yet there never was a Reign wherein our Birth-right in this hath been more abuſed, ſpoiled, and broken in upon. The Engliſh Subjects have been put into Proclamations, and clapt into Priſons for High Treaſon, and refuſing the benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*, though there was no Information upon Oath againſt them, according as the Law appoints to warrant ſuch a Procedure: Nay, ſo groſly, frequently, and impudently, have our publick Miniſters affronted the Laws upon this Head; that they have found themſelves obliged to apply to Parliament for Pardon: For we have found out a new Trick in this Government, and reforming Age, firſt to act all imaginable Violence, againſt the beſt and choiceſt of our Laws, and then to obtain either a Ratification or Pardon in Parliament; whereby they have ſtruck our Engliſh Conſtitution, and the Liberty of the Subject, Dead at one Blow, by Debauching our Parliaments into a Confederacy againſt, (in place of Protecting,) the Liberties of the People, and ſo making the Nation as it were *Felo de ſe*. No period of Hiſtory doth furniſh us with ſuch wholeſale Merchants for our beſt and moſt valuable Rights; neither do we know when this Trade ſhall be at an End, or when our Rulers will be weary of Tricking us out of our Liberties. We have a freſh Inſtance of late of the Knowledge and Learning of our *Judges*: When the Earls of *Huntington*, *Middleton*, and others mov'd at the *Bar* for their *Habeas Corpus*, there was no Information upon Oath againſt them to warrant a Refuſal; otherways to be ſure we ſhould have heard of it: But *Aaron Smith* muſt make Affidavit that they had Evidence for the High Treaſon charged againſt them, which could not be got ready; and ſo by his Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience, ſave in ſome Meaſure the Credit of the Court: By this fine new Knack, they were all remitted back to Priſon again. Such *Judges* may at laſt come to be fit enough for the *Bench* even under a Conqueſt; but in the mean Time all ſuch Expedients, which are not warranted from the Statutes, do rather prove the Injuſtice of

the

the Court, than fulfil the Law; and however it may be Gilded, we cannot but see and feel the bitter Pill we must swallow.

Was not the *Habeas Corpus Act* suspended for many Months? It's true this was done by Parliament; but so much the worse, if our own Delegates, in whose Hands we trust the care, but not the intire surrender of our Liberties, make a Complement of that which is not in their Power, to the Ambition or Necessities of any Prince. Parliaments can no more justly over-turn Foundations, than the Prince can. Such Privileges as are derived from King and Parliament, upon the account of the Subjects Temporary Conveniences, are trusted to the review of the same Court; but these Fundamental Privileges, which are the Birth-right of Nations, and derived Originally from the Laws of Nature it self; such as the Freedom of our Persons, and Dominion over our Properties, fall only under the Cognizance of Parliaments, for their better Establishment against such Breaches, as the depraved Nature of Princes and their Ministers will be making upon them.

The Nature and Design of Societies, hath occasioned a partial Submission of these two great native Privileges to the safety of that Body Politick, by punishing of Crimes; and to the support of it, by Taxes, which we grant our selves; but in no Construction of Reason, Sense, or Justice, can Delegates be understood to be impowered, to make an intire surrender of those Rights into the Hands of any Prince, were it but for a moment. It may be alledged, That the safety and necessity of the Government put our *Rulers* upon such extraordinary Measures. If reasons and pretences of State (the Secrets of which are always locked up in the Prince his Breast) can apologize for such bold Strokes, against our most Fundamental Privileges and Laws; Where is there any Right or Immunity, which we can call our own, or be assured off? Since such pretences shall never be wanting to entitle the Prince to an absolute Dominion over our Property, as well as over our Liberty; since the last is more valuable than the first; Why may not Reasons of State, as justly render him Master of the one as of the other?

If it was to preserve our Liberties from the insults of King *James*, we placed the Prince upon the Throne, we have certainly either mistaken the Disease or the Cure; since he cannot be preserved upon it at a cheaper rate, than a Sacrifice of what we intended to preserve, we are to learn nothing from this Revolution, but a surer and more infallible way of enslaving the Subject. King *James* never dreamt of such a Method. An *English* Parliament was hitherto esteemed a Court inseparable from the true Interest of *Englishmen*; but a little more Training under so good a Master may make them change Principles, and become in time as complacent and good natur'd as ever the *French* and *Swedish* States were. Nothing, it seems, in Gratitude, can be refused to our *Deliverer*. But tho' Gratitude be a Virtue, it ought to have its Bounds, lest it run us farther than designed or intended at first, even to the destruction of those Rights, for the Preservation of which we desire to appear so grateful. The King of *Denmark*, in our time, by the Merit of some Actions performed for his People, and during their first Raptures of

gratitude for it, found the way to Enslave them, by changing an Elective and Limited, into an Hereditary and Despotick Monarchy.

The admitting of unqualified Persons into Places of Employment, and the erecting the High-Commission-Court, were thought great Crimes in King *James*, and mighty Errors in Government; and yet the first is as frequently practised in the Army as ever; and how much further the Prince's dependance upon Popish Confederates may lead him in favour of Catholicks, must be owing to their Moderation; for we lie at their Mercy upon that head, and may come to be made sensible, that our Foreign Allyances may prove as troublesome and uneasie to us, in favour of Papists, as King *James*'s Religion was: And as to the last, the Prince must either look upon that Court to be no Crime, or by favouring the most active Members in it, he must destroy and invert that old English Maxim, *That our Kings can neither Err, nor be Punished; but that evil Counsellors are liable to both.*

The turning out the Fellows of *Magdalen College* from their Freeholds, contrary to that Provision in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man should lose his Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*, is not to be justified; and yet falls much short of the putting People to death, under this Government, by Martial Law, before it was Enacted. Few Men will ever scruple to secure their Lives, with the loss of their Places. The *Quo Warranto* and *Regulation Projects*, were much to be complained of; but we may very easily imagine to whose Practises they were owing, by the Countenance and Preferments the Authors and Promoters of those Councils received from this Government; neither can the *Quo Warrantoing* of *Charters* be so illegal, as the Declaration would make us believe; since King *William* himself treads in the same Path, by imposing a Governor upon *New England*, upon the *Quo Warranto* Foot, contrary to the Opinion of his Privy-Council.

Whereas by the Declaration, the slighting and rejecting of Petitions delivered by Subjects, with Submission and Respect, is considered as a high Strain of absolute Power; yet when the People of *Scotland* had secured to themselves the Privilege of Petitioning, by their claim of Rights; and in pursuance, and by virtue of that Privilege, the greatest part of that Parliament, which placed the Crown upon his Head, had humbly addressed unto the present King for his assent to some Votes, which they had passed for Establishing of Religion and Liberty, and which were agreeable to their antient Laws and Privileges, they were scornfully and disdainfully refused and rejected. If by the Declaration it was a fault to treat a Peer of *England* as a *Criminal*, for asserting that the Subjects were not bound to obey a Popish Justice of Peace; it cannot be a piece of Justice in King *William* to pass a Sentence of Banishment upon the Earl of *Feversham*, who is a Peer of *England*, within these few Weeks, without so much as alleging a Crime against him.

Since by the Declaration, the obliging People to deliver their Opinion before hand, as to the repealing the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, and the turning out of Employments such as would not promise lustily, is represented as so foul a piece of Collusion. The Closetting of Members of Parliament now,

to

to pre-engage their Votes in Affairs depending before them, and the Disgraces which ſome obſtinate Perſons fell under upon it, ſhould have been forborne, unleſs King *William* be diſſatisfied with the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, and the Rules and Maxims therein Eſtabliſhed.

According to the *Scottiſh* Declaration, the appointing of Judges in an unuſual manner, and giving 'em Commiſſions, which were not to continue during Life, or good Behaviour, was highly illegal; yet K. *William*, after he got the Crown, found he was miſtaken in that Paragraph, and nominated the whole Bench, without ſubjecting them to a Tryal and Approbation of Parliament, according as Law and Cuſtom required; did not think fit to continue their Commiſſions during Life or good Behaviour; and appointed them a Lord Preſident, tho' by expreſs Statute he was to be elected by the Bench.

By the Declaration, the impoſing of Bonds without Act of Parliament, and the permitting of free Quarters to the Soldiers, are declared to be high and intolerable Stretches of Government: The ſame hath been practiſed in this Government, with greater Confidence, leſs Compaſſion, and other aggravating Circumſtances. Bonds have been impoſed by Authority of Council, without Warrant of Parliament, as may appear from their publick Proclamations; and many Thouſands of Soldiers have been maintained upon free Quarter, and for many Months together countenanced and abetted in it by the Government; and the Funds for reimburſing the Country, which were appointed by *Parliament*, have been otherways diverted.

The Commiſſionating the Officers of the Army, to ſit as Judges upon the Lives and Eſtates of the Subjects, and the putting People to death without a legal Tryal, Jury, and Record; were complained of in the Declaration; were thought good Reaſons for Fore-faulting of K *J.* and were provided againſt upon this laſt Settlement of the Crown: And yet both the caution given by the Sentence againſt K. *J* and the future Proviſion made by the *Eſtates*, prove too weak to reſtrain this Government from practiſing the ſame things, by ordering and impowering Colonel *Hill*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, to put *Glencoe* and all the Males of his *Clan*, under Seventy, to death; which was partly executed upon them, without any legal Tryal, Jury, or Record. Neither can their former Enmity, and oppoſition to the Government, furniſh any Apology for ſo barbarous a Murther, ſince they had all either actually taken the benefit of the Indemnity then granted, and ſo were Pardoned, or had Protections in their *Pockets*, which put them under the immediate care and ſafeguard of the Government. It may puzzle the beſt Heads to find out the reaſon why *Iriſh Papiſts*, though ſtated Enemies, ſhould be indulged to the prejudice of our Laws and Rights; and yet *Proteſtants*, though formerly Enemies, barbarouſly Maſſacred, when indemnify'd and under protection; unleſs K. *W.* be reſolved, from the Obligations he is under, and the Deference he muſt pay to the *Pope* and *Popiſh Princes*, to imbrace every occaſion of deſtroying the one, and cheriſhing the other.

By the Declaration we are aſſured, That the Prince will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happineſs of theſe Nations, and which a free and lawful Parliament ſhall determine; and yet how many neceſſary and

and useful Bills, for the Happiness of the Nation, have been stifled by the Interest, Intrigues, and Sollicitations of the King himself, his Ministers and Courtiers; and the Royal Assent refused to many Bills in our Neighbouring Kingdoms: And in this to the Bill about *Judges*, which was thought so necessary an expedient for the Establishing of *Justice*, and to cut off their servile Dependence upon the Court, which was charged as such a blemish upon the *Judges* in K. *James*'s Reign, and was always look'd upon as dangerous to the *Lives* and *Liberties* of the English Subjects.

We were assured that the only design of the Prince's Undertaking, was, *The preservation of the Protestant Religion, the covering all Men from Persecution for their Consciences, and the securing to the whole Nation the free injoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a just and legal Government.* How well and truly he hath confined himself within these Limits, and other Bounds he prescribed to himself in his Declaration, may partly appear from what hath been said; and shall yet be made more clear and evident by a true and impartial Enquiry into his Conduct, and some considerable Stretches which have been made in Points not glanced at by the Declaration, because they were Strains of Absolute and Despotick Power, which K. *James*'s Reign did not furnish us with any Instances of the like.

The Power of imposing Taxes is unquestionably lodg'd in Parliament; and the People of this Island have a natural Right unto, and Dominion over their Properties; and the Prince cannot share with them in it, in whole or in part; except in so far as they consent to it themselves, by their Representatives in Parliament: And our Parliaments, though abundantly liberal in other respects, have never indulged the least Liberty to our Monarchs on that head; being so far tight to their Trust, and their Constituents Interest: And the Estates of both Kingdoms judg'd it necessary, upon the present Settlement of the Crown, to assert the Peoples Right in it; and plainly to express it as one of the Conditions of that Settlement. And yet the Privy Council of the Kingdom of *Scotland* have openly and avowedly, in Contempt of the antient Laws and *late Original Contract*, by their publick Proclamations, commanded and appointed, under the severest Penalties, the Subjects of that Kingdom, at their own Charge and Expence, to furnish a great number of Horses for the use and service of the Army; and for carrying Ammunition and Provision of Victuals, with Men to attend the said Horses: And I am informed, That when upon cool and second Thoughts the Council, considering what they had done, how illegal it was, and the danger they had run themselves into by it, thought fit to apply unto the Parliament for an Approbation, it was refused them.

Extravagant Bail was complained of, and provided against by the States of both Kingdoms; and yet it is daily and frequently imposed, and exacted many times far above the Value of their Estates.

The Freedom of Elections to Parliament, from the Bribes and Directions of Court and Courtiers, was expresly conditioned by the States of both Kingdoms, upon their Tender of the Crown How well that is kept and observed, may appear from the bare-faced and open Applications made to Counties, Corporations,

Corporations, and particular Electors, for the Choice of such and such Persons, with Threats and promises of Reward. Nay, I have known Three thousand Pounds expended for secret Service, to prevent the Election of a Person who had been eminently Serviceable to this Government, because he was found tighter to the Interest of his Country, than to the Court; for there never was a Reign wherein the Interest of King and People are more confidently stated as contradistinct, than in this, though it be only the Consent and pretended Interest of the People, gives Birth, Rise, and Title to it.

The frequency of Parliaments, for redressing of Grievances; the amending, strengthning, and preserving of the Laws, with all Freedom of Speech and Debates in them, was insisted upon and fundamentally established by the States of both Kingdoms, when they elected their present Majesties to the Throne. How well this is observed and made good to both Kingdoms, is obvious enough. It is not for redressing of Grievances, amending or preserving the Laws, they are assembled; but for giving of Money. The craving Necessities of the State, the pressing Circumstances of the Confederates and foreign Affairs, the early Preparations of the French King, an honourable Peace, the Good of the *Protestant Religion*, and Fears of King *James*; are become the cruel and everlasting Topicks, the common and ordinary Stale, whereby the true Intent of Parliaments is baffled, and the Money-business quickened and finished. The last is now so much the business of Parliaments, and the first so little, that it is an equal Wager that this Court may come at last to plead *Prescription* against *Parliaments*, as to any other business but Money-bills.

As to Freedom of Speech and Debates, though there be none question'd for it, yet Members are so frequently Discouraged and Frowned upon at Court, Disgraced and turned out of Employments, whenever they launch out into an Enquiry after Grievances, or the present Administration: And upon the other Hand, the Places of Honour and Trust, and the Money of the Nation, are so openly and visibly employ'd for debauching of Members from a Sense and Feeling of the true Interest of the People, and for divesting them of all the publick and generous Notions, Zeal, unwearied and bold Endeavours for the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, the joynt Good and Interest of King and Kingdom, which hath been hitherto so much the Glory and Entertainment of brave *English* Spirits in our *Parliaments*; that this native and necessary Freedom of Speech and Debates, is more visibly threatned, and more effectually destroy'd, than ever could have been done by Force, Sentence, or Imprisonment. We are sooner wheedled with false, if gilded, *Pretences*, than hectored or huffed into a Court Compliance.

Lastly, was there ever a Reign, wherein the Plunderings and Free Quarterings of Soldiers were more countenanced, and the People more grievously oppressed by them, than in this? The Complaints of *Scotland* upon that Head already hinted at, the irregular and unheard-of Abuses and Miscarriages of the *Irish* Army, the Desolations brought upon that miserable Kingdom by them, and the daily Instances we meet with of that Nature in this Kingdom, are convincing and undeniable Evidences of the Truth of it. Nay, to such a Pass is

it already come, that when a Secretary of State was apply'd unto, by Perſons injur'd, who were entirely in the Intereſt of the Government, and preſented by the Knight of the Shire with Complaints againſt the Abuſes and Free Quartering of Soldiers; they were ſcornfully rejected with this Anſwer, *That Men and Horſes muſt eat:* Meaning, no Doubt, that ſince the Taxes deſign'd by the Parliament for that End, were neceſſarily to be apply'd unto the Uſe of the Confederates, the People muſt be doubly burden'd for the Subſiſtence of the Troops. Such brave Guardians are our preſent Rulers become of the *Engliſh* Liberties.

Here we have a ſad but true Catalogue of our Miſeries; only it is not full and compleat. The preſent Adminiſtration can furniſh us with a great many more Inſtances: But I have confin'd myſelf to a Deduction of thoſe groſſer Errors, which viſibly infringed the Pretences of the Prince's Declaration, and the *Petition of Rights*; the ſecuring and preſerving of which, was the Reaſon expreſly aſſign'd for his Election into the Throne. If in the Infancy of his Government, when his Senſe of Gratitude for the Gift of Three Crowns, if ever, muſt be freſh in his Memory; when the Hearts and Hands, as well as the Purſes of the People, were neceſſary for his Support; when his Honour as well as Intereſt call'd for a different Conduct, he run ſo warmly into ſuch Meaſures; what muſt we feel, when he comes to ſit ſure, and be fixt upon his Throne?

We may certainly conclude upon the Inclinations and future Deſigns of a Prince, by his preceding Conduct, and the Choice of his Miniſters; and from both theſe Reflections, in the preſent Caſe, we have but a melancholy View of our future Condition. Are not thoſe very Men, who in both Kingdoms were the Authors, Contrivers, and Actors, of the moſt Arbitrary and Grievous Proceedings, which were complain'd of, during the Reigns of our two laſt Monarchs, become the Miniſters, the Darlings, the Favourites of this Reign? Have they changed their Principles and Maxims? The former Inſtances, in which they have their Share, may convince us to the contrary.

Is it to be imagin'd that a Prince, who ſignaliz'd his Entry upon the Stage of publick Affairs with a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Oaths to the contrary, the Deſtruction of the Liberties of his Native Country, and by graſping at a Power which the Nature, Law, and Conſtitutions of that Government denied to his Character in it; will be more tender of his Oaths to us, and of our Conſtitution? His paſt Conduct may clear it up to us; we are Strangers to him, and he to us; his Affections, as well as his Birth, are foreign; he diſtruſts and deſpiſeth us, as treacherous to our former King; He may *love the Treaſon, but hate the Traytors.* It is not a ſingle Crime can entitle us to his Favour; it is by a Sacrifice both of King and Country we can touch his Heart; it is only by this double Treaſon we can get into his Confidence. The Fate and Diſgrace of thoſe Perſons, who upon this Revolution frankly ſacrificed the firſt, but knew not how to ſubdue their Scruples as to the laſt, may ſufficiently prove this Truth. We have none but ourſelves to blame for this Miſchief: By our *Abdicating* Vote, and ſubſequent Meaſures, our antient, juſt, and legal Government, is deſtroy'd and overturn'd; and in ſo doing, we have diſingag'd him from

from the Promiſes he made in his Declaration, ſince it was only *under a juſt and legal Government* that we were aſſur'd of his Endeavours to preſerve our Laws, Rights, and Liberties. Let us yet a little farther examine the Benefits we ſhall reap from this Revolution, the Means we have to ſupport it, and what will probably be the Iſſue of all theſe great Tranſactions.

The malignant Aſpect of our late Meaſures, towards our beloved Rights and Privileges, ſeems to be pretty well cleared already, and ſcarce admits of an aggravating Thought more; unleſs we conſider that we are like to pay the Price of a perfect and laſting Cure, for downright Poiſon and a mortal conſuming Fever: But perhaps this victorious Prince, by his Conqueſts and admirable Conduct, will raiſe the Military Glory of this Nation ſo high, and enlarge her Territories and Command ſo far, as ſhall quite darken and eclipſe the Luſtre and Fame of our greateſt and moſt fortunate Kings; and thereby alleviate, or quite bury our Senſe and Feeling of paſt, preſent, and future Miſeries. If the *Lawrels* and *Conqueſts* of a Monarch, which are firſt drenched in Tears, and founded upon the Slavery of the People, can attone for ſuch Miſeries, the *French* at this Day would be the happieſt People in *Europe*. This will not paſs upon *Engliſhmen*, who obſerve from their Hiſtories, that the moſt Victorious of their Monarchs have always been moſt tender and careful of their Liberties; and I am afraid that even this faint Comfort ſhall not be afforded us. What Reaſon have we to expect, that by the Conduct and Military Knowledge of a Prince, (againſt whom the Naked and Undiſciplin'd *Iriſh* made Head for three Campaigns together,) we ſhall be able to gain Towns and Provinces, from the more Numerous, better Diſciplined, and Conducted Troops of *France?* For though the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a French Invaſion* flatters us, with our Victories over the *French* at the *Boyn*, *Athlone*, *Agrim*, and *Limerick*, and from thence foretels our Succeſs in *Flanders*; they were ſtill but Undiſciplin'd *Iriſh* we ſubdued, with Difficulty enough in ſome of theſe Places; and our Victories over the *French* in *Ireland* or *Flanders*, have not as yet burden'd our *Gazettes*. We have already expended many Millions of Money, and loſt many Thouſands of Men, and have nothing in Return for all this Conſumption of Blood and Treaſure, but the Reduction of *Ireland*; which vigorous and early Meaſures could have ſecur'd unto us at the beginning, and prevented the utter Ruin and Deſolation of that Country; and our late Victory at Sea over the *French*, to comfort us for our two former Diſgraces at *Bantry* and *Beachy*, the ſhameful Loſs of many of our Navy Royal to the Enemy, the Seizure of ſo many Hundreds of our Merchant Ships, and our Misfortunes in *Flanders:* Some of our former Princes, with a far leſs Expence of Men and Money, when Affairs were managed with true *Engliſh* Councils, and executed by *Engliſhmen*, have ſubdued whole Provinces, and given Law to *Europe*. But we go now upon Politicks, and are governed by Meaſures, which are calculated rather for the Intereſt of Foreign Confederate Princes, than adjuſted to the Honour, Profit, and Good of *England*. This Confederacy hath coſt us already a great deal of Money; and it's plain, that the particular Intereſts, Ambition, and Pretences of theſe Foreign Princes, gave Birth to the Prince's Undertaking, rather than any Kind regard to our

Religion, Rights and Liberties. It's pleaſant enough to imagine that the *Pope*, the Fathers of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, and the Authors of the *Hungarian* and *Piedmontiſh Perſecutions*, againſt thoſe of our Religion, ſhould be ſo concerned to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Belief amongſt us; and that thoſe Foreign Princes, who have extinguiſh'd the leaſt Shadow of Liberty and Property in their own Dominions, ſhould have ſuch pangs of Conſcience, and tender Regard for our expiring Liberties. They wanted our Money and our Troops, to carry on their ſeveral Pretences; and if they could be ſtill ſure of Feaſting, and making War at our Expence, the Favour would be as acceptable from the Hands of King *James*, as from the Prince of *Orange:* But the Prince, who muſt ſtand equally obliged to them for his mounting the Throne, and Support in it, was judg'd a fitter Inſtrument, more humble, obedient and active, for emptying the *Engliſh* Treaſures into *Dutch* Exchequers, than ever they could expect from our Native King, whom they were afraid would be found more ſteady to a true *Engliſh* Intereſt, than to gratify their unſatiable and boundleſs Pretences.

King *James* was a good Huſband of his Treaſure, and they were afraid would never be induced to part with any of it to them, but for equivalent Returns of Glory and Profit to the Nation. They knew the Prince had a weak Side, which might be better wrought upon: His towring Ambition, and vaſt unlimited Deſires after Command and a noiſy Fame, expoſed him continually to the Bait they deſign'd him; which was, to pay him in airy Titles, empty Compliments, and feign'd Pretences of Service and Obſequiouſneſs, for our good *Engliſh* Gold, and brave *Engliſh* Troops. The Plot hath ſucceeded, and we paid them very handſomely for the Trick they put upon us; we have made vaſt Iſſues of Men and Money; we have liberally fed thoſe needy Princes and their Troops; it is probable that more Money will be expected and demanded from us; what are we to have for all this Expence we have already made, and yet can ſee no End of? What Cities, what Provinces, are we to have? Is the *French* Navy to be burnt, or put into our Hands? Are our old Pretences to the *French* Crown, at leaſt to the Maritime Provinces, to be made good unto us? Or are we to reap nothing but the vain Honour of having contributed towards the Eſtabliſhment of our Neighbours, by our own Ruin?

The Duties of Neighbourhood are mutual; and ſuppoſe them as ſtrong and binding as the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion* would make them, they plead as ſtrongly for us as againſt us: There lies as great an Obligation upon the Confederates, to aſſiſt us in the Recovery of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, as upon us to recover the loſt Provinces in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine*, for them: No doubt our preſent King hath taken Care for it in his Treaties with the Confederates; if he has not, it is a plain Diſcovery that the Intereſt of Foreigners is dearer to him than that of *England.* How unjuſt is it to rob us of the Fruits of ſo many Millions ſpent, and of ſo many which are in Hazard, with our Religion, Liberties, and our *All* to Boot? If there be any effectual Care taken for this, by his Treaties, it were very fit the Nation were made acquainted with it, and that we certainly knew what we were to have, and what Security the Confederate Princes have given for making good

good ſuch Treaties; it muſt be more than Words and common Security, that can ballance the real Deeds and Kindneſſes which we are daily conferring upon them.

But I am afraid we have not ſo much as a bare Promiſe of any Thing. The Encreaſe and growing Strength of our Monarchy lies ſo viſibly croſs to the ſeveral Pretences and Intereſts of the Confederates, that they would be deaf to any ſuch Propoſal; and the Prince depends too much upon them for the Support of his preſent Title, to preſs ſuch ungrateful Things. Can any Man of Reaſon believe that the *Dutch* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* will agree to have the *French* Fleet put into our Hands, which would render us Sovereigns of the Ocean, as well as of the Narrow Seas? Or is it not next to Frenzie, to imagine that the Houſe of *Auſtria* will ever give way that we ſhould recover our antient Footing in *France*, either in whole, or in part; by which ſo many Catholick Cities and Provinces would be ſubjected to Hereticks, the Communication betwixt *Spain* and *Flanders* cut off, by ſhutting up the Channel on both Sides; and our Monarchy put into ſuch a Condition as would viſibly ſhock the ambitious Deſigns of that Houſe; which they would again reſume, upon Recovery of their loſt Provinces? So that we are not to expect any new Acquiſitions, with all this vaſt Expence, but are to reſt ſatisfy'd with the Honour, or Folly rather, of raiſing the Houſe of *Auſtria* to its antient Greatneſs; and building up a Power, which would more fatally threaten us and the reſt of *Europe*, than that which we muſt be at ſuch Pains and Expence to pull down.

If the Proſpect of a ſucceſsful War be ſo little encouraging, what have we to fear and feel from an unfortunate Iſſue? How ſadly may we come to be whipt, when we ſhall be oblig'd to take back our *Abdicated* Monarch, whether we will or no? There will be nothing then to truſt to for the Safety of our Religion and Liberties, but the good Nature and true *Engliſh* Temper of a Prince, whom in that Caſe we have injur'd, ſlighted, and deſpis'd to the laſt Degree: Nay, upon the Iſſue of a ſucceſsful War againſt *France*, we may be oblig'd to undergo the ſame Fate. So far will this War, in any Event, be from terminating in an Eſtabliſhment of our preſent Settlement, that it doth viſibly tend to the contrary. This will appear no Paradox to any Man who doth exactly weigh the different Intereſts and Politicks of the ſeveral States of *Europe*, with Relation to us, and amongſt themſelves. Such a curious and diligent Obſerver will quickly diſcover how much more agreeable King *James*'s Reſtauration would be to the ſecret-conceal'd Intereſt of all our Neighbouring States, than the Prince of *Orange*'s preſent Royalty.

The good Intentions of *France* towards it, is not to be doubted. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, after their Pretences upon *France* are ſatisfied, do certainly become Favourers of King *James*'s Reſtauration, both upon the Account of Religion, and to remove a *Dutch Stadtholder* from being King of *Britain*; thereby to facilitate their antient Pretences upon thoſe revolted Provinces. The *Dutch* will heartily agree to his Reſtauration, to get rid of their Stadtholder, who preſſeth ſo hard upon their Liberties; they will be in no more Fears from *France*, from this ſuppos'd Iſſue of the War; and the Intereſt of *England* would always

oblige its Monarch to cover and protect them from the Ambition of the House of *Austria* The best Wishes of *Sweden* cannot be wanting, were it only by the Admission of the Prince of *Wales*'s Right, to place the Prince of *Denmark* a Remove farther from the Crown; since his Accession to the Royalty amongst us, by Vertue of his Princess's Title, might endanger the Conquests which that Crown hath made upon *Denmark*. And since the Politicks of *Denmark*, with relation to us, are solely levell'd at his Brother's Interest; whenever the Indignities done to the Prince aud Princess of *Denmark* shall oblige them to resume that Duty and Loyalty which is due from them to their kind old Father, who is still ready to receive them, and to secure unto them those Advantages which they can never expect from the Pr. of *Orange*; the Concurrence of that Crown towards King *James*'s Restauration can be no longer wanting. I do but hint at Things, which are of sufficient Importance to make all true *Englishmen*, who love their Country and their Liberties, to bethink themselves seriously how to cover and secure all those great and valuable Rights from the Oppression of the P. of *Orange*, the Miseries, Poverties, and Dangers, which will inevitably attend either a successful or unsuccessful War. We have thrown ourselves into a State-Hurricane, from which there is no Way of escaping, but by restoring the just and legal Government of this Nation into its antient and unquestion'd Channel.

Having fully establish'd and made out the first three Motives assign'd for K *James*'s Restauration, I shall enquire a little into the fourth and last, *viz.* the Securing of the Protestant Religion for all future Ages. This appears a great Paradox to the Author of *The Pretences of the* French *Invasion examin'd*; at which he falls into Exclamations against Mankind, as the oddest Piece of the Creation, for believing such incredible Things. But it is not his bold, impudent, and false Assertions, supported only by empty and noisy Eloquence, which can hide the Danger from us, that our Religion as well as our Liberties and Properties, lies under from this Revolution. For clearing the Truth and Weight of this Motive, I shall make it evident, That our Religion was in no Probability of being overturn'd by K. *James*'s Practices before this Revolution: That it was in our Power to have secured it, even against our Fears and Jealousies, without any Breach upon the antient Government; That the Dethroning of Monarchs upon the Pretence of *Religion*, hath been fatal and destructive to all the several Protestant States who attempted it; That according to all Appearance, it will be equally fatal in our Case and Circumstances: And lastly, I shall make it evident, from a full and distinct Answer to all the Arguments adduced by the Authors against King *James*'s Restauration, that the best, surest, and most infallible Way, whereby to secure the *Protestant Religion*, our *Liberties* and *Properties*, upon lasting and durable Foundations, is, by returning to our Duty, and restoring our *Abdicated Monarch* by as general a Consent as he was chased away by us.

It is very natural and common with Mankind, and with Princes as well as others, to have some more particular Regard towards those of their own Religion, to wish them well, and to endeavour their ease, when it lies in their Power; so that it was nothing extraordinary to find King *James* labouring to give

give his Catholick Subjects a Right and Title to that ease and security, which the Laws of the Land had deprived 'em of. I do not believe that *Liberty of Conscience* in general, and the covering of People from Persecution on that score, can be rationally condemned as destructive and ruinous to the Protestant Religion; we ought to have a better Opinion of the Principles of our Faith, and be better convinced of their Truth and Excellency, than to be afraid to have 'em baffled or shaken, much less ruined, by the Reasons of any other Persuasion. That Religion which dares not shew its Face publickly, and stand the shock of all its Adversaries, without screening it self under the Severity of Penal Laws, furnisheth great Suspicion to curious and prying Men of its weakness and insufficiency: But this, I hope, is not our Case; our most holy Religion is built upon that Rock of Ages, which can never be shaken; is fortified by the Testimonies of the Law and the Prophets, and expressly contained in the Word of God, or derived from thence by clear and necessary Consequences, and can subsist by its own worth and excellency, without robbing the rest of Mankind of that Liberty their Birth-right Intitles them to, and enslaving Consciences. So that King *James* his Principle about *Liberty of Conscience*, if duly and legally Established, will be allowed: But it is the Method we complained of, which discovered some farther Design than bare *Liberty of Conscience*, and thereby did visibly threaten our Civil Rights and Liberties, and endanger our Religion.

Why, truly the Measures taken were unjustifiable; but we know to whose Council and Advice they were owing: The whole was a Plot upon that Prince, to spoil the Project of *Liberty of Conscience*, which would have rivitted him in his Throne; and to improve his Inclinations for the *Roman* Religion to his own ruin and destruction. But suppose something more was intended by some, than a bare *Liberty*; perhaps the opening a Door of Preferment to Catholicks, or the propagating that Religion over this Island: Such an undertaking is irrational, foolish and desperate; can never be accomplished; and the impossibility of it is so plain and obvious, that no Man who understands the World, and knew *England* and *English* Men so well as King *James* did, could believe it practicable. And as to the miraculous and enterprizing Faith of Priests and new Converts, the zeal, folly, and warmness of their Brains, will always prevent any real Mischiefs; nay, K. *James* his Reign, even upon the supposition that it were as bad as is alleged, is an undeniable Proof that the Protestant Religion cannot be undermined, nor the Popish Religion Established in these Kingdoms, by the Address or Authority of any Prince.

I shall give it for granted, that all imaginable Methods were taken for propagating the Popish Religion; that they were indulged in the publick Exercises of it; that Court Preferments were thrown upon them, meerly upon the account of their Religion, without any Vertue or Merit to Intitle them to it; that Protestants were absolutely, and upon all occasions, discourag'd, that it was endeavour'd to make the World believe, that all Favours and Preferments were for the one, and nothing but Disgraces and Frowns for the other; that there was the greatest Care, Pains and Application, in the World, made use of, to make the Army and Courts of Judicature. I do believe, by this supposition,

ſuppoſition, I have out-done all that the moſt malicious Enemies will urge againſt K. *James*; and yet all the World knows what little Progreſs was made, how few Converts were gained, and how really weak their beſt and ſureſt Precautions did appear when it came to the touch. If ſo many of his Subjects, Soldiers and Servants, were prevailed upon by Fears and Jealouſies, which were maliciouſly and induſtriouſly heightened above what any reaſon, which was given for them, could well bear; what muſt then have been the Conſequence, if by real, publick, and undoubted Diſcoveries, the King's intentions to ruin the Eſtabliſhed Religion, had been made unqueſtionably plain and evident: Nothing leſs than an univerſal Defection, and his perpetual Baniſhment from the Hearts and Affections of every *Engliſhman*, could have followed.

The Catholicks of *Britain* are not one of a hundred; they have neither Heads, Hearts, nor Hands enough to force a National Converſion. As the Proteſtants are the moſt Numerous, ſo the Laws and Conſtitutions are upon their ſide; their Civil Rights and Liberties are twiſted together with their Religious; and whoſoever ſtrikes at the laſt, muſt infallibly wound the firſt. It is not eaſie to overturn the Laws and Fundamental Conſtitutions, whereby Religious and Civil Rights are ſecured to free born People; we are in Poſſeſſion by our Laws of our Religion, and of that Liberty which diſtinguiſheth our Happineſs from that of other Subjects; we love it, and know it's true worth; we value and eſteem ourſelves above other People, upon the account of our native Freedoms, and we will not eaſily part with 'em; all Attempts and Deſigns upon them have been unſucceſsful. Ambitious Princes, and Arbitrary Miniſters may be forming Projects and Deſigns, fortifying them the beſt way they can, and making Parties for it; but our Conſtitution, together with the Proteſtant Religion, which is now become part of it, and our Laws, will prove always too hard for them at laſt: Nothing can expoſe or betray our Religion and Conſtitution to any danger, but over-much fondneſs in the People to a Prince, who under ſome popular Maſk and Pretence, covers cloſe and fatal Deſigns againſt either. Let us but examine the preſent condition of our neighbouring States, and we ſhall find that Raptures of Love in the people have overturned more Conſtitutions, and built up more Deſpotick Governments, than the Force or Addreſs of Princes could ever do. It is commonly received for a Truth, That *Love is blind* and credulous, and certainly holds good, with relation to a Political Affection. There is a certain allowable Jealouſie in the People, which is very conſiſtent with the Duty, Affection, and Reſpect due to the Prince; and guards and protects their Laws and Conſtitution. Without ſome Meaſures of this Jealouſie, the Conſtitution will be always in danger; and this Antidote can never be wanting in the Proteſtant Subjects of *Britain*, under a Popiſh King: His Religion gives us ſuch a lively and active Jealouſie of him, and makes us ſo watchful, and puts us ſo much upon our guard, that all the Efforts of ſuch a Prince, tho' never ſo dextrous, ſupported by ſo weak and inconſiderable a Party as the Catholicks of *Britain*, can never endanger Religion and Liberty. Rather his Circumſtances and Inclinations to thoſe of his own Religion, their eaſe and quiet, might have

been improved into farther and more real Securities for Religion and Liberty, by a wiſe and diſcreet Treaty, orderly managed in Parliament.

To all this it may be alledged, That though the Catholicks of *Britain* be not a Party ſufficient to carry on, and effectuate ſuch Deſigns; yet the Forces of the *Hector* of *France* were ſtill at the Command and Service of his Dear and Faithful Ally, for carrying on ſo good and meritorious a Work, as that of Reducing again *Great Britain* into the Boſom of the *Roman Church:* This is maliciouſly and artfully enough ſuggeſted; but let us examin it a little. How does it appear that King *James* was become ſo loſt to all Reaſon, Morality and Diſcretion, as to reſolve to call in a *French Power* to over-run a Country which was his own, and deſtroy a People who were living peaceably under him; by which, from one of the moſt Conſiderable and Potent Monarchs of *Europe*, he became the Leaſt and moſt Contemptible? His refuſal of *French* Troops and Aſſiſtance, when threatened with a Foreign Invaſion, ſeems to be no great Proof of this; and his betaking himſelf at that time to the Love and Affection of his Subjects, as it was a plain diſcovery he was not Conſcious to himſelf of any real Deſign, which could deſtroy that mutual Love and Confidence betwixt Prince and People, which is a Debt due from the one to the other, however his Meaſures might have been Traduced, or maliciouſly Poyſoned; ſo it may let us ſee how improbable it is to imagine, that a Prince could ever form Deſigns of deſtroying a People whoſe Affections he durſt truſt in ſuch an Extremity. Again, What Reaſon is there to imagine that the *French* King would be ſo ready to furniſh Troops, and be at the Charge of ſuch a Reformation? He is generally allowed to be a Prince who ſtudies his own Intereſt the moſt of any; and fits all his Maxims, his Conduct and Allyances, exactly to it; and never takes a ſtep, which upon the remoteſt view, may ſeem to croſs the Intereſt of his Crown and Monarchy: And if it do appear, as certainly it will to any judicious thinking Man, that the Reducing *Great Britain* to the Boſom of the *Roman Church* may greatly endanger the Crown of *France*, then all fears of a *French Reformation* will fall to the Ground.

The *Engliſh* Pretences to the moſt conſiderable Maritime Provinces, nay upon the Crown of *France* it ſelf, are generally known; and Hiſtories can inform us how troubleſome, how dangerous, and how ſucceſsfully they were many times carried on againſt thoſe Monarchs; partly by the natural Boldneſs, Spirit, and Courage of the *Engliſh*, far ſurpaſſing that of the *French*; but more eſpecially from the Inclination of the *French* themſelves to live under a Government which was ſo much eaſier, and more agreeable than their own; it being natural for People to covet the ſame Plenty and Freedom, which they ſee is injoyed and poſſeſſed by their Neighbour. Hence it was, that though we loſt all our Footing in *France*, yet ſtill our Forces and Enmity was more dreadful to thoſe Monarchs, than that of any other State in *Europe*, though more conſiderable for its native Strength, and confining by dry Marches upon 'em; and they always Courted our Friendſhip and Allyance, with the greateſt Submiſſions and Applications imaginable: And until the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the *French* did always chuſe rather to divert our Invaſions with their

Money

Money and Treaties, than to encounter them by Force; being afraid to grapple with that Power, which they had ſo often felt to their Coſt. Since that time, neither our Friendſhip hath been ſo much Courted, nor our Enmity ſo carefully Avoided as formerly. This doth not proceed from the increaſe of the *French* Power, and decreaſe of ours; though the Revenues and Military Force of *France* be ſtrangely augmented ſince; ours, in proportion hath received the ſame increaſe: Our Treaſure is augmented; and that being the Sinews of War, quickly furniſheth and maintains every Thing elſe: And the other States of *Europe* are, from the Circumſtances of Affairs, better diſpoſed for Alliances with us, than ever they were in the Time of our Anceſtors. So that *France* is but ſtill *France*, and *England* in the ſame Proportion with it, as to Force and Revenue; and in a more promiſing Condition of making Alliances, and of being more uſefully ſerv'd by them: Our Pretences are ſtill the ſame, and every whit as Strong and Juſt, and we as willing and deſirous to make Advantage of them; and yet we are in no Reſpect ſo formidable to that Crown, as formerly; nor in a Condition to ſhake that State, and make ſuch Impreſſions into the Heart of *France*, as our Anceſtors have done: The true Reaſon is our Difference in Religion; for we being Proteſtants, and *France* Popiſh; this ſets the Two Nations at a greater Diſtance from mutual Correſpondence and Contrivances, which muſt neceſſarily preceed and occaſion important Revolutions, than all their former Animoſities, Emulation, and Duty to their natural Prince could ever do. Loyalty to Princes, National Conſiderations, and Point of Honour and Reputation, do many Times give Way to preſent and future Advantages: But when Religion and Point of Conſcience comes in to gather and cement all thoſe divided Intereſts together, and unite them, as it were, into one Bundle, they become the more hard and difficult to overcome. This plain and evident Reaſon cannot eſcape the Knowledge and Reflection of ſo wiſe a Prince, as the *French* King is acknowledg'd to be. The Difference in Religion is a much greater Security to him againſt our Attempts, than his Armies, Fleets, or Strength of his Towns. The Senſe of Religion doth many times rouze and inflame the Courage and Reſolutions of Men, when other humane Conſiderations prove too weak to quicken their drooping Spirits: *Catholicks* will fight to the laſt, to eſcape the Dominion of ſuch as they believe *Hereticks*; when, perhaps, *Frenchmen* would be willing enough to come under the *Engliſh* Government; which is ſo much eaſier and better than their own. I do not queſtion but this very Conſideration alone, will prove ſtrong enough to keep the *French* King from endeavouring our Reunion to the *Roman Church*; which would make the Pretences of an *Engliſh* Monarch more dangerous, than ever by our Union with *Scotland*, which formerly gave ſuch notable Diverſions to our Forces both at Home and in *France*: That *Prince*'s Diſputes with the *Pope*, for Point of Prerogative, ſhews plainly that he never will endanger his Crown in his own Perſon, or Poſterity, to ſerve the Intereſts and Deſires of the *Papal Chair*; from all which we may ſafely conclude, that the Proteſtant Religion, in *Britain*, was in no great Danger of being ruin'd by King *James*, though really as bad as he was repreſented.

If

If our Religion and Liberties were placed ſo much out of Danger of being overturned, by the Laws and Franchiſes we were then in Poſſeſſion of, how much better might we have eſtabliſhed them for the future, and placed them above the Shadow of any Danger, by embracing and improving the Offers which our lawful Prince made us, of carving out our own Satisfaction and Securities. He was ſurprized with an aſtoniſhing Defection of his Subjects, with a Conſpiracy of a great many Princes and States againſt him. He knew no place but *France* to retire unto; where he might have a Cover for his Head, but could have no great Expectations of being quickly reſtor'd to his Throne by a Power which had ſo much other Diverſion. He was unwilling in his old Age to go into Exile, was very deſirous to leave a perfect Calm to his Son, before his own Death, which, by the Courſe of Nature, and the ordinary Deſtiny of his Family, he could not believe was very remote; and had a Love and Kindneſs to us ſtill, as a Father for his diſobedient Children. All which would have procur'd us, from our lawful King, a laſting, legal, full, and happy Settlement; would have eſtabliſh'd our Religion, better'd and ſecur'd our Liberties upon laſting Foundations, without any Trouble, and with a great deal of Innocency. How many Crimes would have been avoided by following this Method; and how many more prevented, which will be neceſſary, if we be obſtinate, to ſupport and maintain the Injuſtice we have done? How many Millions of Money, and how many Lives might have been ſav'd, or at leaſt more profitably employ'd, by the Conduct and good Huſbandry of our Lawful King, for the Honour of *England*, reſtraining the unbounded Pretences of ambitious Neighbours, and in giving Peace and Quiet to *Europe*? There is no Queſtion, but a King who was ſo unwilling to leave us, and had ſo much of an *Engliſh* Spirit, would have gone into any Meaſures, with relation to foreign Affairs, that his Parliament ſhould have thought fitting; in which Caſe, what Returns of Glory and Profit would this Nation and Monarchy have reap'd from this Blood and Treaſure, which is now abſolutely loſt and thrown away, and our future Expences and Dangers daily growing upon us, with as little Hope of Succeſs? My Heart is ſo rent and torn with the Thoughts of it, that my Pen is ready to drop out of my Hand as I write: But we wantonly long'd for an *Abdication*, without examining the true Value of what we refus'd, and the Conſequences were to follow upon the other Meaſures. We have made a religious War of it, which may be fatally return'd upon us; and we never conſider'd that Defections upon Pretences for the Proteſtant Religion, ſeldom or never terminate otherwiſe than by the Deſtruction of *Religion* and *Pretenders* both. It ſeems God Almighty did always diſcover more of Paſſion and Worldly Deſigns, than true Zeal for Religion, in thoſe Undertakings; and I am afraid, That ſince we deſerve the like Charge, our Puniſhment may be the ſame, unleſs by a ſeaſonable and early Repentance we prevent it.

The firſt Example I find in Hiſtory, is *Ziſca*'s War in *Bohemia*, againſt the Emperor *Sigiſmond*; which tho' manag'd as ſucceſsfully in the beginning as any Thing we can flatter ourſelves with, yet had an End very fatal to the Reformation in that Kingdom. The Civil Wars in *Germany*, manag'd by the

Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, againſt *Charles* V. had no better Iſſue; many Imperial Cities and Provinces were lopt off from our Communion, and the principal Actors themſelves were remarkably Sufferers by it, and their Families wear the Scars of it to this Day. The ſecond *Bohemian* War, under the Elector *Palatine*, whom they had choſen for their King, was yet more fatal to that Kingdom than the firſt, and almoſt ruin'd the King of *Denmark*, did exceedingly weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, and laid the Foundation for the preſent Grandeur of *France*, which is ſo terrible to *Europe*, at this Time: Upon the Event of that War the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject, as well as the Proteſtant Religion in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, were entirely ruin'd and extinguiſh'd: The principal Electorate of the Empire, together with the Palatinate of *Bavaria*, were wreſted out of a Proteſtant, and placed in a Popiſh Family: Several other Proteſtant Princes and States were loſt; and the *French* poſſeſſed of both the *Alſatias*, which hath ſince given infinite Diſturbances to that Empire. And the *Hungarian* War commenced firſt upon pretence of Religion, and came at laſt to be managed by *Tekely*, hath quite buried the Proteſtant Religion in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*; and it is very remarkable, That ſo long as they kept petitioning as Subjects, (*though with Arms in their Hands, for the free Exerciſe of their Religion*) they were conſtantly Victorious, and got into the abſolute Poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of that Kingdom; and might have fully ſecur'd their Religion and Liberties, by Conceſſions and Immunities which the Emperor offer'd them in repeated Treaties: And yet no ſooner was the Crown given to *Tekely*, and an Alliance made with the *Turks* to ſupport him in it, but by a Series of Misfortunes all their former Succeſſes were unravell'd, and their Affairs reduced to the miſerable Condition we now ſee them in.

What ſad Alarms may ſuch Inſtances give us? How truly do they point at our Caſe; and perhaps our Fate? Can any of the above-mention'd Examples diſcover ſuch plain and viſible Marks of worldly Ambition, Self-Intereſt, and corrupted Deſigns and Artifices, for their Original, as have evidently actuated the Contrivers of and principal Agitators in our *Revolution?* And yet how fatally were they puniſhed? And can we hope to eſcape? The Emperor *Ferdinando* was in a worſe Condition to reſiſt the Elector *Palatine*, back'd by the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, countenanced by *Britain* and *Holland*, and the preſent Emperor *Rodolph* was under harder Circumſtances to ſupport a War againſt his *Hungarian Rebels*, and the *Turkiſh Power*, than any that *France* hath to grapple with from *Us* and our *Allies*; and yet their numerous Armies and ſtrong Allies, could not ſecure them from thoſe Miſeries which did at laſt overtake them. There is no Way for us to get ſafe from the Precepices we have been walking upon, to retrieve our Religion from the deſperate Danger we have run it into, and to ſettle and ſecure it; but by a National returning to our Duty, which will ſufficiently attone for ſo general a Defection, by reſuming that Treaty we ſo fooliſhly broke off and refuſed; and thereby ſecuring Religion and Property, by thoſe Conceſſions which our Sovereign is ſtill ready to grant us: Let us put it home to him, and lay it at his own Door; let him have it in his Choice to return by his People if he pleaſeth; convince him that his

his Proteſtant Subjects, upon ſecuring their Religion and Liberties, will repair their former Errors, by contributing heartily towards his Reſtauration. And if he declines to return upon a Proteſtant and Engliſh Foot, there is an End of the Controverſy, and of all Diſputes amongſt Proteſtants; for Religion and Liberty will never be ſacrificed by true *Engliſh*-Men.

I am come in the laſt place to the Objections raiſed, by the new Authors, againſt King *James*'s Return; which are ſtuffed with virulent, falſe, and ſophiſtical Reaſonings; and, in a great Meaſure, taken off by what hath been already ſaid. The firſt Thing they endeavour to frighten us with, is a *Conqueſt*, and with *Popery* and *Slavery* as the neceſſary Conſequences of it; ſince it is impoſſible K. *James* can return otherways, becauſe K. *William* will not *Abdicate*. I abhor the Thoughts of *Conquering* my native Country, as much as any Man; more it ſeems than *The Author of a Letter to a Friend*, who would allow of it in the Perſon of K. *William*, and I am againſt it in any Caſe But by whom are we to be *Conquered?* and to whom muſt the *Conqueſt* belong? Are we to be *Conquered* by ſuch Troops as K. *James*, in point of Prudence, and according to the practices of all Ages in the like Caſe, muſt bring with him for the Defence of his Perſon, and the untying of that Force which the Prince hath put upon us? I know no Reaſon, why it may not be as Lawful for K. *James* to bring Fifteen thouſand Men to aſſiſt him in recovering his Throne, as it was for the P. of *O.* to bring the like Number to chaſe him out of it; and that without giving any Jealouſy to us of a Conqueſt? Thrice that Number were too few to make a Conqueſt of this Iſland; and I hope they will be ſo well ſeconded, and ſo far out number'd by the Acceſſion of his own Subjects, upon a feeling Diſcovery of the Pr. of *Orange*'s Tyranny, as well as of the Injuſtice done their King, as may juſtly Stamp it a Revolution brought about by *Engliſh*-Men, who have conquer'd their Paſſions, and not their Country; reſcued, and not enſlaved the Nation; and who have preſerv'd, and not endanger'd their Religion.

Is this imaginary Conqueſt to make us Slaves to the *Fr.* King, or Catholicks and Slaves to K. *James?* I cannot believe the firſt: For I do not think K. *James* ſo much in love with the *French* King, as to make him a Preſent of Three Crowns to the prejudice of Himſelf and his Poſterity; and ſo become either his Subject, or his Vaſſal, Theſe are ſuppoſitions fit only to paſs upon Children, deſerve no ſerious Anſwer; and plainly ſhews the weakneſs of the Cauſe, which can furniſh no better Reaſons wherewith to defend it. As to the laſt; The *French* King will never force us to be Catholicks, for the Reaſon already aſſigned; and it doth as little agree with his Intereſt, to have us Slaves to our Monarch. Friendſhips are ſeldom laſting amongſt Neighbouring Princes, rarely continue during their own Lives, and are never tranſmitted to their Poſterities; ſo many Reaſons and Jealouſies of State are falling in, which occaſion frequent and unavoidable Breaches: And a King of *England*, who is Abſolute and Maſter of his Subjects, would be a great deal more troubleſome and dangerous to *France* than otherways; and ſo it is not very probable that that Monarch will ever contribute to make us a Conqueſt to K. *James*, and introduce Popery and Slavery amongſt us. There is one ſure way to pre-

vent this danger of Conqueſt, and that is by the vigorous endeavours of every *Engliſh*-Man, to repair the Injury done to our *Abdicated Monarch*. King *William*'s unwillingneſs to *Abdicate*, which theſe Authors threaten us with, can't put a ſtop to it: His breaches upon our *Laws* and *Conſtitution*, and his violation of the *Original Contract* made with himſelf, deſerves it; and it is not all his *Partiſans* and *Troops*, can cover him from *Abdication*, whenever the People of *England* think fit to declare it.

We are told next by theſe Authors, *That K.* James *is become ſo in love with the French Government, that we ſhall never ſo much as have his Promiſe for ſecuring our Religion and Liberties, even though we have no reaſon to depend upon that, or any other Security he can give us; ſince he hath undertaken to the Pope and K. of* France *to make void all, when he is upon his Throne; and that it is viſible from his Carriage in* Ireland *to the Proteſtants there, that neither the ſad Example of K.* Charles *the Firſt, who ſuffered for the like Attempts towards Arbitrary Power, nor the freſh Remembrances of his own Misfortunes, will ever oblige him to lay aſide his Arbitrary Deſigns: And however inſtrumental Proteſtants may be in his return, that Pardon for their former Failings is all can be expected from him, without obtaining the leaſt kind regard to their Religion or Liberties on that Score.*

I would gladly know upon what Grounds they aſſert, that K. *James* will grant no Security at all for Religion and Liberty? Have they made the Experiment, and been refuſed? It is not a bare Aſſertion can convince us of the Truth of it, ſince we are aſſured to the contrary. I have heard of a *Scotch* Plot for Reſtoring King *James*; the particulars of it I am not acquainted with: Only I have been told, *That upon the Application of ſome few Gentlemen of that Nation unto him, he frankly granted them, under the Broad Seal of* Scotland, *all that was propoſed for the ſecurity of Religion and Liberty; and agreed to ſeveral Immunities which the P. of* O. *refuſed that Nation, though he was ſolemnly engaged to grant them, when the Crown of that Kingdom was tendered unto him.* Here is more than a bare Promiſe; the Conceſſions are paſſed under the Broad Seal, and granted by him, when his Affairs were in Promiſing Circumſtances, at the deſire of a few Gentlemen who had been active againſt him, and who could make no ſuch conſiderable Addition unto his Party, as might induce him to it; unleſs his own Inclinations, when free from the preſſure of deſigning Miniſters, and readineſs to rectifie whatever was grievous to the People, had put him upon it. Can it be doubted after this, that he will deny anything that is neceſſary for the good and happineſs of his Subjects, whenever they apply ſeriouſly unto him for it?

But he muſt make good his Engagements to the Pope and King of France, *and make void all when he remounts the Throne, which his hard Circumſtances obliged him to grant.* If this were made plain unto us, there would be a great deal of weight in it; all the Evidence we have for it is the Veracity of the Author, which goeth no great length; being founded only upon ſuppoſition, that he could not be countenanced by thoſe Princes without ſuch an Engagement. This is an Argument that concludes more forcible againſt themſelves; ſince it is reaſonable to imagine, that more ſolemn and ſacred Engagements in favour of the *Holy Chair*, and a Conviction of more punctual and ready Performances,

Performances, were neceſſary to induce the Pope, and ſo many Popiſh Princes, to countenance a Proteſtant's mounting the Throne, to the prejudice of a Papiſt.

I am yet to learn what were the great Merits of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants ſince the Revolution, the freſh Obligations laid upon him, and what were the new Diſcoveries he gave us there of his hatred to Proteſtants, and irregular Arbitrary Courſes. I have ſeen a Book written by Dr. *King*, which theſe Authors refer us to, as ſufficient Evidence to make good their Charge; but it is ſo ſcandalouſly and notoriouſly Falſe, and ſtuffed with ſo many groſs Errors, and willful Miſtakes, in point of Hiſtory and matter of Fact, even in many things which fall under my own Knowlege, that the Doctor ſeems to have Calculated his Book for a Virulent falſe Libel; thereby to merit ſome Benefice from this Government, rather than for our Information by a true and impartial Hiſtory; And the World ſhall be obliged with a particular Account of his Falſhoods and Calumnies, by a full and impartial Account of thoſe Tranſactions. But to come cloſe home to the Charge; Did not the *Iriſh* Proteſtants generally declare for the Prince of *Orange?* Did they not actually either appear in Arms for the Prince, or quit the Kingdom? And thoſe who ſtay'd, were not they rather lookers on than actors, or any ways uſefull towards the aſſerting the King's Rights? I do not deſign this as a *Satire* againſt the Proteſtants of *Ireland*; the Meaſures taken there give them much better grounds for their Fears than any we can pretend; but only to ſhew that the Proteſtants of *Ireland* contributed no Endeavours towards his Reſtauration, but run generally along with the Stream againſt it; and ſo cannot be ſaid to have made any new Experiment of his Kindneſs to, and grateful ſenſe of Obligations performed by Proteſtants. They never deſired, or obtained, any new Securities for their Religion and Liberties, upon the Account of Services performed for him; and ſo have no freſh Breaches of Promiſe to charge upon him, as our Authors do inſinuate, whereby to deter the Proteſtants of *Britain* from contributing towards his Reſtauration.

On the contrary, we have a very convincing Argument, from his Care of his Proteſtant Subjects there, tho' either actually Enemies, or at beſt but idle Spectators; and his conſtant Endeavours to protect them from the Inſults and Fury of the *Iriſh*, of whom he was not fully Maſter; to perſuade us of the Gratitude and kind Returns we may expect from him, when at Liberty, and obliged by our Services, to expreſs it. How carefully did he preſerve their Eſtates and Goods? With how much tenderneſs did he give free Paſſage to the Women and Children from *Londonderry*, when by denying it he muſt infallibly have carried the Town? With what exact Diſcipline did he Govern an Army, ſerving without Pay, until King *William*'s Proteſtant reforming Troops, which were under Pay, by their unheard of Plunderings, Robberies, and Oppreſſions, committed upon the poor Proteſtants within their Lines, gave ſuch Examples of Inſolence and looſe Diſcipline, that the *Iriſh* could be no longer reſtrained, as formerly, tho' they never acted ſo extravagantly as the others. And I dare appeal to all the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, if the greateſt part of the ruine of that miſerable Country be not due to the Plunderings,

Abuſes,

Abuſes, and want of Diſcipline, in King *William*'s Army; which, though Proteſtant, and Reformers, did far outdoe the wild *Iriſh* in deſolating the Country, without regard to Friend or Foe: And I have heard many *Iriſh* Proteſtants affirm, That their Preſervation and Protection was due to K. *James*'s own particular Care over them.

As to the Proceedings of the *Iriſh* Parliament, he did ſo much wreſtle againſt them, was ſo little Maſter of himſelf and Actions, and ſo much in the hands of *Iriſh*, that he is rather to be pitied than blamed for them: And 'tis very hard and unreaſonable, that when a King is forced from a Throne by his Proteſtant Subjects, and oppoſed by them in his Endeavours after the recovery of his Inheritance, and ſo neceſſitated to betake himſelf to the Aſſiſtance, Protection, and Services of Catholicks, unleſs he would Renounce his undoubted Rights, which neither the Laws of God nor Man oblige him to; that Acts of Grace, which his Circumſtances, and the neceſſity of their Aſſiſtance, forced from him, ſhould be charged upon him as Crimes. Let us labour for his Reſtauration; let us get him into our hands, and deliver him from that cruel Neceſſity, which carries him farther than his Inclinations would otherwiſe do; and whenever he is at Liberty to act as an *Engliſhman*, he will convince us that he is ſuch.

The Treatment that *Charles* I. met with is a ſad Inſtance of the Vanity of all human Greatneſs, and a laſting Reproach to our Nation; but reacheth a more pertinent and appoſite Reproof to K. *William*'s Conduct, than K. *James*'s. The moſt conſiderable and important points, which occaſioned thoſe fatal Diſputes betwixt that Prince and his People, were illegal Impriſonments, the undue refuſal of Liberty to Priſoners upon Bail, the free quarterings and Plunderings of Soldiers, and the unwarrantable exacting of Money from the Subject without Conſent of Parliament. Are not all theſe illegal and arbitrary practices frequently repeated in this Government, and without any Precedent from K. *James*'s Reign?

The many Pages imploy'd by the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*, to prove, *That the Non-ſwearing Proteſtants, as well as others, can merit nothing by their endeavours for the King's Reſtauration, but a bare Pardon at moſt*, diſcovers more Logick and Method in dividing of his Text, than true, ſolid and convincing Reaſon: For ſince a few *Scottiſh* Gentlemen, who had acted warmly and vigorouſly againſt him, and could contribute but little to his Service, were able to procure not only Pardon, but thoſe great and important Securities for their Religion and the Liberties of their Country, which K. *William* had refuſed to the Deſires and Addreſſes of a Parliament that had given him the Crown, and pre-engaged his Conſent before the Gift: Is it to be imagined, That ſo many worthy Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and inferiour Clergy, who have teſtified ſo much Zeal, Firmneſs, and Fidelity, by their Sufferings, joyn'd with the early Repentance and vigorous Endeavors of others for his Service, who have been hitherto blinded and miſled, will not prove of more Weight, Importance, and Conſideration, with him; be as kindly treated, and their Country for their ſakes: Or rather, will not all Securities for Religion and Liberty be granted, from a due regard to their Application,

Application, as well as from his own Inclination? Neither is it to be feared that any of their former Measures, which unhappily and accidentally have contributed towards that Ferment which begot this Revolution, will be remembred against them; since the King is sensible how far he himself was imposed upon, as well as his Subjects, by the Cunning and Artifice of wicked and corrupted Ministers which were about him. And whatever Jealousies this Author may labour to infuse into the minds of People, of the fiery and lax Principles of the *Jacobites*, with Relation to the Protestant Religion, Church of *England*, and *English* Liberties; there are *Jacobites*, whose Principles are better, more fixed and rational, who have already, and will upon all occasions never fail to give greater and more generous Testimonies of their zeal and affection for the Establishment and Security of those great Concerns, than any can be brought by our present Ministers and topping Reformers; and who will never be found with this Author in justifying a Conquest of their native Country.

The Caution which is given us against another Revolution, lest the Monarchy receive more Vigour from a Restauration, than is convenient for the Liberties of the Subject, which the Author fortifies from an Instance in the return of *Charles* II. at which Time, betwixt Zeal, Flattery, and Fear, the King increased in Power, and the People lost their Liberties; concludes very strongly against himself, and for what I have been all along pressing. If we do but consider the true Reason of those Concessions made in favour of the Monarchy, upon the Return of K. *Charles*, the Nation was so wearied out, exhausted and undone, by the Tyrannies and Executions, Taxes, Imprisonments, and other arbitrary Courses against their Liberties and Properties, that were practiced during that Anarchy which intervened betwixt the Murder of the Father and Return of the Son, that upon a Prospect of some Relief, by the Re-establishment of the antient Monarchy, the People fell into such Raptures of Joy, which never fails of making Subjects so liberal to Princes, as many Times occasions a hearty but late Repentance. If K. *William* continues a little longer to oppress our Liberties, and drein our Purses; or if the Title of *Conquest* be advanced, we shall be infallibly exposed to the like Hazard again; which cannot be prevented, but by an early Return to our Duty, whilst we have some Patience, Wit and Money, left, to enable us to take Care of ourselves and our Posterity.

The hard and difficult Questions which this Author thinks he hath gravell'd us with, and the Obligation of the Oaths of Allegiance to K. *William*, comes next to be consider'd. The first Question is, Whether we think ourselves bound in Conscience to fight for Popery against the Protestant Faith. I Answer, not; nor doth this Answer make any Thing for King *William*, since in no Sense can the fighting for the Restauration of King *James* be call'd the fighting for Popery against the Protestant Religion; for it is both K. *James*'s Interest and his Inclination to return upon a Protestant Foot; and by assisting him in it, we vindicate the Honour of our Religion, and rescue it from the Dangers which threaten it from this Reign.

The

The ſecond Queſtion is, Whether we think ourſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for our Prince againſt the Laws and Liberties of our Country? I Anſwer in the Negative; and we do aſſure the World, That it is from a tender regard to our Laws and Liberties, as well as from a Senſe of Duty, to repair the Injury done our Exiled Prince, that we reſolve to contribute to his Return. The antient Conſtitution was broke in upon by the *Abdication*, and our Laws, Rights and Liberties, have been more eminently and ſignally over-run during the P. of *Orange*'s Kingſhip, than by any of our moſt violent and arbitrary Princes, even when he was under the greateſt Obligation, cleareſt and diſtinct Barriers placed againſt it; and we are poſſeſſed with reaſonable Fears, nay a Certainty of having 'em quite ruined and extinguiſhed by his future Conduct, which layeth an Obligation upon all true *Engliſhmen* to repair theſe Breaches made upon the Conſtitution, and to vindicate and reſtore their oppreſſed and ruined Laws and Liberties, by returning K. *James* and the P. of *O.* into their proper and reſpective Stations.

But we are deſired and preſſed to have ſome Care of the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of Chriſt, which will be viſibly endangered by the King's Reſtauration all *Europe* over; and a due Regard for the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes of *Europe*, which will be ſacrificed by it; that this ought to be more tenderly minded by us, ſince we are Citizens of the World; and ſo the good of Mankind, or the greateſt part of it, layeth a more ſacred Obligation upon us, and is to be prefer'd to the particular Intereſt of our own Prince and Country. The Security of Religion is a Duty never to be forgotten by good Proteſtants, and is never to be endanger'd and deſperately hazarded by honeſt Men. But, alas! this hath been little regarded by our *late Reformers*. Have they not quite unhinged our Conſtitution, of which the Proteſtant Religion was become a part? Have they not already, and are they not in a fair Way to ruin our Laws and Liberties, which are the beſt Fences about our Religion? After we are become *Slaves*, we may quickly be made any Thing elſe; the Multitude of new Converts in *France*, is an undeniable Inſtance of this. Have they not unneceſſarily expoſed the Proteſtant Religion, to the Hazard of a rude and uncertain War, from the Commencement of which we can form no great Hopes of a ſucceſsful Iſſue, and that in Conjunction with Allies, who are the the greateſt Enemies of our Religion; who, when their particular Intereſts have been ſerved by our Blood and Treaſure, will certainly give us the Slip, and nick ſome Opportunity, which our preſent Circumſtances can never fail to furniſh them with, of eſtabliſhing themſelves at the Expence of our Religious and Civil Rights and Liberties? And finally, have we not dethroned our King upon the Account of his Religion; by which we have commenced a religious War, which may come to be fatally retorted upon us, and may endanger the whole Proteſtant Religion in *Europe*.

A religious War is carefully to be avoided by Proteſtants, ſince they are the weakeſt; and no Pretence ought to be furniſh'd to the Catholicks for the like Meaſure: For tho' particular Animoſities and Intereſt ſeem to divide them at preſent, how quickly may theſe be adjuſted by the Neceſſities of one of the contending Parties, and how eaſy will it be then for the Pope to unite them together

together under the Banners of Religion, to give us, and the Proteſtants of *Europe*, a *Rowland* for our *Oliver?* This is no *Chimera* or Dream; but we may probably expect to ſee and feel it. A far weaker Pretence, *viz.* the Union eſtabliſh'd amongſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*, at *Leipſick* and *Smalcald*, gave Birth to the Catholick League there; which over-run all the Proteſtants, forced ſeveral Princes and Cities from their Communion, and endanger'd *Denmark*. It is upon ſuch weighty Conſiderations, and to prevent the Danger which threatens the Proteſtant Religion both at home and abroad, from our late Meaſures, that all true *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants ought to endeavour the Reſtauration of our King.

As to the Caution given us to beware how we ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe*; the greateſt part of the Princes and States of *Europe* are not engag'd in this War againſt *France*, and conſequently in no Danger by it: The two *Northern* Crowns, *Moſcovy* and *Poland*, *Portugal*, all the Princes and States of *Italy*, except *Savoy*, together with the *Switzers*, are in perfect Peace with *France*; and ſo the Suppoſition of this Author is abſolutely falſe; the Original and Ground of this War is purely private Conteſts betwixt the Crown of *France* and Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſuch other Princes as that Houſe can draw into their Intereſt. Do we not ſee that the Princes of *Germany* themſelves, who ſeem to have the moſt immediate Concern in it, and ſhould underſtand and be more alarm'd at the Conſequences of it than we, do but make Merchandize of their Aſſiſtance, and engage in and withdraw from this War, as it contributes moſt to their particular Intereſts, and according as they are beſt paid by the ſeveral Principals? Do not the *Northern* Crowns, whoſe Territories and Provinces lie more expoſed to the Conſequences of this War than our Iſlands, maintain an exact Neutrality, which will give their Subjects Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of the Trade of *Europe?* We are the only Fools who have been prevail'd upon to engage inconſiderately in this War, to be at the greateſt Charge of it, to drein our Blood and Treaſure, and to hazard our Religion and Liberties by it, without ſo much as propoſing any Return to ballance this Expence and Danger. Our Conduct is ſuch an Inſtance of Folly and Madneſs, as amazeth the preſent, and will not find Credit in future Ages.

As to the Maxim eſtabliſhed by the Author, upon which he buildeth all his fine Reaſoning, it is falſe and Phanatical to Perfection. Can any Man in his right Wits aſſert, That the Intereſt of our Prince and Country muſt give place to the Intereſts of other States, ſuppoſe them to be the greateſt part of Mankind? Much leſs then to thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is the preſent Caſe. Muſt the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Monarchy be poſtponed to the Intereſt of the *Mahometan* and *Pagan* Countries, which make the greateſt part of Mankind: Or muſt the Intereſt of *Britain*, and ſo of the Proteſtant Religion, which makes a part of it, give Way to the Intereſt of the Pope and Catholick Princes, which make the greateſt part of *Europe?* We may quickly gueſs what our Fate would be by following ſuch a Rule, and may eaſily be perſuaded that the Cauſe muſt be very bad, which requires ſuch wretched Maxims and Reaſonings to ſupport it.

The last Question is, Whether we would think ourselves bound to fight for him, did we believe he would promote the same Designs he did before; and what we would think ourselves oblig'd to do in the like Case, and under the same Circumstances, after he had remounted the Throne. The Answer is plain and obvious: By this Revolution, and the Consequences of it, the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition, and share in these Measures with which K. *James* was loaded, being sufficiently discover'd to the World; together with the Roguery of those Ministers, who, to serve the Prince's Design, forced the King unwillingly enough upon those Steps which we complain'd of, with a Design to ruin him; by the *Restauration*, and *Punishment of those Ministers*, the *King* and *People* both will be safe from any repeated Assaults of the Prince's Ambition, being so well caution'd by the first; and succeeding Ministers will be terrified from such Infidelities for the future. The Author supposeth a Case which will not probably fall out, and so is not weighty enough to restrain us from assisting our King in the Recovery of his Rights, which positive Duty obligeth us unto: And whenever the like Case occurs, such corrupt Ministers, who advise such Measures, will become a more justifiable and easier Sacrifice, for the averting such Dangers, than our antient Government and Constitution. And it is pleasant enough to imagine that wise and thinking Men can be imposed upon to continue under much more weighty Oppressions, greater and more visible Dangers, threatning both *Religion* and *Liberty*, by K. *William*'s Government, from a fear we may again fall under those lesser Evils which we suffered under K. *James*, and which were due rather to the Contrivances of the *P. of O.* than the King's own depraved Inclinations. And whereas it is complained, *That such Pangs of Loyalty are unseasonable now, and should rather have been employed for keeping him in his Throne, than restoring him to it*; why, truly few People did suspect that the Prince did really design what he so seriously and solemnly declared against; and every Man was struck into a State Lethargy by the suddenness of the Prince's Attempt, the wonderful Success it met with in the beginning, and the charming Wheedle of securing Liberty and Property; which we are sadly and severely rowzed from at last, by unspeakable Oppressions, by the expiring Groans of Liberty and Property, and by the dreadful View of those Miseries, which threaten us from all hands and in all Events.

As to the Obligations we lie under from the Oaths of Allegiance to the present Government, the Author himself acknowlegeth, That if we be convinced that our Oaths to King *James* are still binding upon us, the Obligation of the second is voided by it, which is a plain enough Answer to his own Argument; especially when we consider, that K. *William*'s manifest Infractions of that *Original Contract* which we made with him, upon the maintaining and preserving of which our Allegiance was expresly founded, doth evidently and unanswerably dissolve and make void the Obligation of our Oaths, and much better solves all Scruples upon that head, than Dr. *Sherlock*'s *Providential Reasoning*: And whereas it is asserted by this Author, That Allegiance can never be expounded to a lower Sense, than to live peaceably under the present Government, tho' we will not fight for it; and not to attempt any thing against their Persons or Crowns, not to hold Correspondence with their Enemies, nor

to

to give any assistance to K. *James* for the recovery of his Thrones; in this he hath forgotten their own Practise: For our *Reformers* have taught us, That Allegiance may be expounded to a much lower Sense, even to the *Abdicating* the Monarch to whom the Allegiance was due, to the filling of his Throne, and transferring of that Allegiance to another: and would take it very ill to be charged with Perjury for it. *Quis talerit Gracchos de seditione loquentes?*

We are exhorted by our Authors to beware of contributing towards K. *James*'s return, lest we engage our Country in a Civil War, and all the dreadful Consequences of it; the Destruction of our People, the utter Consumption of our Estates, the burning of our Houses, the Ravishing of our Wives and Daughters, the Extirpation of Families by Sword or Halter, and the utter Ruining our Cities, Towns and Villages, are the infallible Consequences of it. The mighty deluge of Blood which was shed, and the unspeakable Miseries which overwhelm'd this Nation, during the struggle betwixt the *Two Roses*, and our Contests with King *Charles* I. are undeniable Proofs, and may convince us how fatal and destructive it is to beget and establish a Competition of Titles to the Crown, and to dethrone Monarchs: And the Calamities which over-run *France* and *Germany* by the Civil Wars, which begun upon the Account of Religion, may let us see how displeasing it is to God Almighty, to have Religion made a cover for ambitious and private Designs. This Civil War is already Commenced, and we have established those Grounds and sown that Seed, from which we shall not fail to reap a plentiful Harvest of Blood and Ruin, without a speedy and vigorous Prevention: Nay we have been so fond of entailing certain Misery upon our Selves and Posterities, that we have coupled together two of the strongest Motives in the World for a rude and lasting War; *viz.* repeated Breaches in the Royal Line and Succession, and the vacating the Throne upon the pretence of Religion; either of which separately hath never failed to ruin whole Nations, Provinces and Cities. It is obvious at whose Door this is to be Charged; they who forced away their King, upon the account of his Religion, inverted the Nature of our Monarchy and the Succession, and refused all Treaties and Securities which were offered them, have laid infallible Foundations for those Mischiefs; and they who wish and labour for the return of the King, are the only true and skilful Physitians who clearly discover, and are willing to apply the most proper, nay only Cure, which remains for our Disease: And the Authors Reasonings from the Miseries of a Civil War, doth evidently Arraign their own Practises; and concludes most forcibly against themselves as the Promoters of it, since it is not to be supposed, that a just Right and Title is to give place to Force and Usurpation, and fall a Sacrifice to those Necessities which we first bring our selves under, and then plead for our Excuse.

In the last place we are cautioned against the King's return, from the intolerable Payments we must come under, for refunding those Sums which he hath borrowed of *France*, to maintain Himself, to keep *Ireland*, and to discharge the Forces that come to thrust him on us; which will prove a Ten times greater Tax for many Years, than those we pay for the support of this *Government*, which are not considerable, reckoning the abatement of *Chimney-Money*;

and are much easier than what the *French* are accustomed to; and that we have paid as much formerly for assisting *France* to ruin *Europe*, and maintain Vice at home; and so may be very well satisfied with our present Payments which delivers *Europe*, and secures our native Country and Religion from utter Destruction. Our celebrated Authors could not have finished their fine Pieces with Reasonings, which more perfectly resembled the Pretences, Motives, and Grounds of his Revolution, by their Weakness, Falshood, and Prevarications.

How well our present Payments secure our native Country and Religion from Destruction, may appear from the ruin of *Ireland*, the Plunderings and free Quarters practised in *Britain*, the Breaches made upon our ancient *Monarchy* and *Constitution*, whereby a War is entailed upon *Us* and our *Posterity*; from the Violences done to our *Laws*, *Rights* and *Liberties*, and *Original Contract* made with K. *William*; and from the present visible and imminent Dangers which our *Religion* and *Liberties* are threatned with, by any probable Issue of this War, *under a Prince, who hath quite overturned the Liberties of his own native Country, made fair advances towards the ruin of ours; and was never yet Successful in any Enterprise he undertook, except when he invaded his Father in Law, contrary to all Divine and Humane Rules, (which perhaps God designed as a Scourge to these Nations for our Sins,) and when he fought* Luxemburgh's *Out-guards, at St.* Denis, *with the Peace in his Pocket, contrary to the publick Faith and Law of Nations, as if he were Predestinated to be Successful only in Crimes, but unfortunate in heroick, brave, and generous Actions; such as restraining the ambitious Encroachments of Princes, and vindicating the Rights and Liberties of oppressed Nations; having always practised in his own Case, what he pretended to reform in another's.*

How little the Deliverance of *Europe* is carried on by our present Payments, is but too evident from the growing Successes of *France* in *Flanders*, and the taking their most considerable Towns and Fortresses in the sight and under the nose of our present Monarch and those mighty Confederate Armies. It is equally false, to insinuate, That our Payments during King *Charles* the Second's Reign bore any proportion with the Taxes under this; and that they were employed only for assisting *France*, to ruin *Europe*: For the Subsidies we have already paid to this K. (which Sir *Edward Seymor*, who might very well know it, assured the House of Commons, did amount to 18 Millions, before the last Impositions which were granted) do far exceed all the Taxes paid to K. *Charles*, joyn'd with the several Payments made to our *Edwards*, our *Henries*, and our *Elizabeth*, who raised the Honour and Reputation of this Nation so high, and spread our Conquests so far: And it was to King *Charles* his Authority and Mediation, the Peaces of *Aix-la-Chapelle* and *Nimiguen* were due, which put then a Stop to the *French* Carreer: And I am afraid our present Payments will very hardly bring about a Peace again, upon the Foot of those Treaties; and we are to take it as a very great Favour, for which we are to be thankful to God and our present King, if the Taxes we pay during this Government, fall any thing short of the *French* Oppressions; and Four Millions a Year, over and above an Allowance for the Abatement of

of *Chimney-Money* and the ordinary Revenues of the Crown, are but inconſiderable Payments in the opinion of theſe Authors. It ſeems their Court Preferments are great and rich, that they are ſo little ſenſible of thoſe Taxes, which are already become ſo heavy to this Nation, and of which we ſee no end.

But *the growing Debt to the French King for thoſe Sums already ſpent upon K.* James's *Subſiſtence, and the defence of* Ireland, *and to be farther Expended for his Reſtauration, will quite ſink and undo this Nation.* It appears that theſe Authors take it for granted, That the mercenary Temper of the *Dutch*, in demanding and obtaining Satisfaction for their Expences, which out of a tender regard, forſooth, to our Liberties they beſtowed upon our Deliverance, will be exactly copied by other Princes: But this is the firſt Inſtance of ſuch Merchandiſe; and it is not to be believed, that great Princes who ſtudy Fame, and tenderly regard their Honour and Glory, will imitate ſo baſe an Example. But ſuppoſe they ſhould; our Author is as wide in his Eſtimate of this Expence, as in his other Reaſonings. We are frightned with a Charge Ten times bigger, for many Years, than our preſent Payments, and yet will very much fall ſhort of the half of one Years Tax we pay now. The Sums ſpent upon the King's Subſiſtence and *Ireland*, doth not amount to Three hundred thouſand *Luidores*; and as for the Charge of his return, I wiſh, and heartily pray, that all true *Engliſhmen* would unanimouſly concur together, to prevent the pretence of demanding any ſuch Charges, the neceſſity of Foreign Troops, and even the remoteſt Fears of *French* Popery and Slavery, by returning our King with as general a Conſent as he was forced from us; which will vindicate the Proteſtant Religion from the reproach of Depoſing Principles, and eſtabliſh it for the future; will reſettle the ancient Monarchy, and Conſtitution of this Nation upon its old Baſis; will repair the Injury done to our lawful King, whereby we may legally obtain thoſe Securities for our Religion and Liberties, which we are Courting unſucceſsfully amidſt ſo many deſperate Dangers and Difficulties; will infallibly relieve us from the weighty Oppreſſions and manifeſt Infractions of our choiceſt and moſt valuable Rights, which we at preſent feel, and have ſo much reaſon to be apprehenſive of for the future; will deliver us from the heavy Burthen of ſo many Taxes, which we have already paid, and which yet muſt be continued, if we deſign to ſupport a crazy and unjuſt Settlement any longer; which, after all our Blood and Expence, muſt certainly fall to the ground, and give place to the natural Force and Weight of our ancient Government and Monarchy; to the juſt Title and undoubted Rights of our lawful Sovereign and his Poſterity; to the Love, Affections, and native Inclinations of *Engliſhmen* when the preſent fit is over; and to the Intereſts of our Neighbouring Princes and States, which lie viſibly croſs unto it, ſo ſoon as their preſent Differences are at an end: And laſtly, by this Method we ſhall be ſecured againſt thoſe fatal Influences upon our Liberties, which never fail to accompany all forced, irreſiſtable, and unexpected returns of Exiled Monarchs.

I do humbly beſeech Almighty God, That of his Infinite Mercy, for the good of theſe Nations and of all *Europe*, he would open the Prince of

Orange's

Orange's Eyes, give him a ſight and diſcovery of the Vanity as well as Injuſtice of poſſeſſing his Father's Throne; and incline his Heart to eſtabliſh Religion and Liberty among us, and give Peace to all *Europe*, by doing an Act which would bury in Oblivion the famed Inſtances of *Dioclefian* and *Charles* V. and immortalize his Name, even by reſtoring his old Father to his Right and Inheritance. Was it really the Danger our Religion and Liberties were in which put him upon coming to *Britain*, this would be an infallible way fully to ſecure them by new Laws and Conceſſions, againſt which there lay no Objection: Or was it to put himſelf at the head of the *Britiſh* Forces, thereby to give a Check to the towring Ambition of the *French* Monarch, this would more effectually do it; for either that King would think himſelf obliged, out of Gratitude to a Prince who is truly a Martyr for a ſuppoſed *French* League, to give a reaſonable Peace to *Europe*, in order to King *James*'s Reſtauration; or by a Refuſal, our King was at Liberty to conſult his own Intereſt, and to unite with the Confederates by the Advice of Parliament; which would make ſuch a general and vigorous Application of the *Engliſh* Forces that way, without any fear of Domeſtick Diſtraction, as would quickly oblige that great Monarch to give ear to Reaſon, and a Peace to his Neighbours; And the Glory of having given Peace to *Europe*, and ſubdued himſelf, would place the Prince of *Orange*'s Name upon the higheſt Pinnacles of Fame, furniſh the greateſt Character imaginable for Hiſtory, give a great and noble Example to future Ages, declare him the Benefactor of the Chriſtian World, and oblige all *Britiſh* Subjects to acknowlege, that he had moſt generouſly contributed his beſt Endeavours for the ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, and the free Enjoyment of all our Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government, according to his *Declaration*.

The

The People *of* England's *GRIEVANCES offered to be* Enquired *into, and* Redreſs'd *by their* Repreſentatives *in* Parliament.

By Sir JAMES MOUNTGOMERY.

THE preſent Government, under which we expected ſo much Happineſs, doth ſo ſenſibly decay in the good Opinion and Affections of all ſorts of People, that nothing but the timely Help of the approaching Parliament can prevent thoſe Dangers which otherwiſe the general Want of Affection in too many Men of all Ranks ſeem to portend unto it.

On *Monday*, the firſt Day of the Term, *Weſtminſter-Hall* was filled with loud Complaints and Threatenings againſt the great Men, for Impriſoning Peers and Commoners contrary to Law. One brave Peer, whoſe great Years cannot abate the Fervour of his juvenile Courage, by which he render'd himſelf ſo famous, and enobled his Poſterity, ſpake aloud againſt Foreigners, and foreign Counſels; his Share in the Government could not prevail with him to hide its Defects and wrong Meaſures, to the Aſtoniſhment of the Hearers: And the very ſame Day at the *Royal Exchange*, as if the Citizens had been acted with the ſame Spirit of Diſcontent, they talk'd loudly of their Loſſes by Sea, and the Male-adminiſtration of the Navy, curſing the *Dutch*, and reciting their Loſſes ſince the Revolution, to the Value of ſeveral Millions. The two or three next Days following, and ever ſince, we have heard our Seamen bitterly curſing in the Streets for Want of their Pay; and our Land-Forces, newly arriv'd from *Flanders*, curſing as bitterly for their ill Uſage there: Nay, the very Officers that are come from thence, and ſome of them Members of Parliament, curſe the *Dutch* as bitterly in private, as their Soldiers do in the Streets: They tell us, without Reſerve, of the unequal Treatment abroad of them and the *Dutch*; theſe are paid, while they and their Men ſcarce have Subſiſtance; and yet they muſt be called out to fight the Battles, in Truth, of the *Dutch*, who ſtand looking on, and muſt not come to their Relief.

The Common People are alſo querulous in almoſt all Places; they complain aloud of the Weight and Number of our Taxes, while Books are written, complaining of the Male-adminiſtration from the firſt Overſight in not relieving *Ireland*; as alſo of the Loſs of ſo many brave *Engliſhmen* for Want of being relieved and ſuccour'd at the Battle of *Steynkirk*; as likewiſe the Miſcarriage of the Deſcent. From *theſe Books*, and the *free Diſcourſes* of ſuch *true Patriots* as *wrote* them, the Nation is perfectly inform'd how empty we are left of Stores and Ammunition, by the Conſumption of thoſe King *James* left,

left, to the Value of Thirteen hundred thouſand Pounds, and by ſending abroad great Trains of Artillery. By them we come to know that foreign Commodities are riſen 30 *per Cent.* and that ours are fallen 20 *per Cent.* That great Numbers of Land-men, Natives of this Kingdom, were preſſed againſt Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, for Sea Service, and ſold into *Flanders* againſt their Conſent. That our beſt Coin is exported into *Holland* and *Flanders*, and a great part of it there clipt and demoliſh'd; and that our Forces are there abuſed with the Change of our Guineas, which have eſcaped melting down. That above two hundred thouſand *Engliſhmen* have been loſt by the War ſince the Revolution; and that the Government hath ſpent above two and twenty Millions, and (as pretended) is ſix in Debt, or thereabouts. That Parliament Men have been cloſetted of late, and that in *Flanders*, as well as *England*. That Conſpiracies and Aſſociations have been forged againſt Peers and Commoners; and the Forgers of them, though ſo palbably detected, not proſecuted 'till lately, that the Parliament was ready to meet, who had voted that the Attorney-General ſhould proceed againſt *Fuller* That a free-born *Engliſhman* hath been tortur'd in *Scotland* by Order from *England*, againſt all Law and Example; and alſo againſt Law confin'd, and ſo continues without new Evidence, after he had endur'd Torture. That Men of all Degrees are injur'd and oppreſs'd more than ever, with enormous and exceſſive Fines and Bail, againſt the Articles of Government. That places of Truſt, both Civil and Military, are ſold; and that the Kingdom is full of foreign Forces, to the Terror of our own People. That the publick Monies, given and deſign'd ſolely for the Defence and Preſervation of the Nation, have been miſapply'd, of which, though many Inſtances might be given, I ſhall for Brevity ſake only inſtance in one: It appears by the publick Accompts deliver'd into Parliament, that two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty Pounds were paid to the Earl of *Sunderland*, one excepted out of the *Act of Grace*; and to whom the Nation is only indebted, for the dreadful Calamities (the Effects of his Management and Advices) which have befallen it.

Theſe Things, and many more which might be recited, have bred in many an Indifferency for the Government, who were before well affected to it; and others diſlike it to that Degree, as to wiſh for a Common-wealth, or any Thing that might give them Eaſe. It is the great Zeal I have to prevent the Ruin of my Country, as much as lies in my ſingle Capacity, that makes me write this ſhort Summary of our *Grievances*, and ſet it in the View of our Repreſentatives, who are only capable to make an effectual Enquiry into the true Cauſes of them, and remove them. Some of them indeed are apparently the Cauſes of others; but there is undoubtedly ſome general Cauſe or Cauſes of them all: And if the Voice of the People, by which I underſtand People of all Ranks, ſpeaks Truth, *Dutch Counſels* and *Dutch Meaſures* of acting, are the true Source of all theſe Miſchiefs; or elſe, how come they to curſe the *Dutch*, in the Court and in the Camp, in the City and in the Country, by Sea and Land, both here and in *Flanders*; and the *Engliſh* Hatred of the *French* is turning apace, in all ſorts of Men, into an Hatred of the *Dutch*: Our very Soldiers by Sea and Land, as well as their Commanders, wiſh for a War againſt the

Dutch;

Dutch; and Parliament Men enough complain, that they ſhall never get ſome Bills paſs for the Benefit of this Kingdom, becauſe they are contrary to the Intereſt of the *Dutch*.

I muſt avow, I cannot tell what Need an *Engliſh* King hath of *Dutch* Counſellors: It is enough that he govern by them in the *United Provinces*, and by *Engliſhmen* in *England*; as if he were crown'd King of *France*, (for which ſome hope his good Fortune reſerves him,) he muſt not expect to govern that Kingdom by *Engliſh* Counſels; for the *French* would never endure *Engliſh* Miniſters, or *Engliſh* Counſels, or *Engliſh* Forces; nor do I know why the *Engliſh* ſhould endure the *Dutch*.

It is the Expectation of all true *Engliſhmen*, that the Parliament will at laſt remove this Cauſe of our Calamities, before they give any more Money; but if they do not, they will give to their own and our Deſtruction, and repent when it is too late.

His Majeſty being King of *England*, as ſuch is one of the greateſt crown'd Heads of *Europe*, and it would be an unſpeakable Satisfaction to his People, if he would be pleaſed to quit his Stadtholderſhip in *Holland*; for *England* and the *United Provinces* are Rivals for the Trade of the World, and as ſuch, have mighty croſſing and interfering Intereſts, and will be always jealous of one another.

Another Cauſe of our Calamities, proceeding in part from the former, is, as many ſuſpect, the Corruption of ſome Members of Parliament, who do not give, but ſell their Votes. This is a great Reproach to our Nation, under a *Reforming Government*, and hath been the Complaint of ſome in the Houſe, as well as without Doors; and it is the Deſire and Expectation of all true *Engliſhmen*, before any more of our Money be given, that the Commiſſioners appointed and enabled to examine the publick Accompts of the Kingdom, do take and require an Accompt upon Oath from the reſpective Officers, of all the Penſions, Salaries, and Sums of Money, paid, or payable out of the Revenue or otherwiſe, to *Members of Parliament*, and that Accompt ſo taken be deliver'd into *Parliament*. No ſound Member can oppoſe ſuch an Enquiry, and if upon making of it, any *Penſioners* (as they are call'd) can be found, it will be an Honour to the Houſe, and a Satisfaction to the Nation, to have the Houſe purged of them; or if none ſhould be found, it will yet be a greater Honour to the Houſe, and a full Satisfaction to the People, to know there are no ſuch Members among them in this *Reformed Reign*.

Theſe are ſome among many other Enquiries, which we hope our Repreſentatives will make, and redreſs what *Grievances* they find, before they give any more of our Money; the Love of their Groaning Country, and their Honour as *Engliſhmen*, and as *Truſtees* of the *Engliſh People*, we cannot but think will oblige them to it.

I have ſaid nothing of the *General Exciſe*, becauſe it cannot enter into my Heart to think that the Conſervators of our Liberties will lay Impoſitions upon the Neceſſaries of Life; for though a Nation may endure it, whereof nine parts in ten live on *Trade*, yet it can never be endur'd long in a Country

where the ſame proportion live upon *Land*, and not on *Trade*, as the *Dutch* do. I ſpeak of a *General Exciſe*, which takes in *Bread*, *Fleſh*, *Salt*, *Soap*, *Tallow*, *Leather*, or other Commodities, abſolutely neceſſary for the Subſiſtance of the Poor as well as the Rich of the Nation, which I aver will ruin our Country, and if it be not ſo *General* will not anſwer the Ends for which it is impoſed: The *fourth* or *fifth Penny* will go away in ſuch a *General Exciſe*, which is as much as moſt People lay up, or *can* lay up for their Children; but if that Share muſt go to the *Government*, out of our neceſſary Expences, *God be merciful unto us, and to the miſerable Poſterity which we ſhall leave behind us.* I ſhall ſay nothing of the Legions of Exciſe-men, which muſt then live upon our Vitals. The *French* will be then by much the *happier People*, when this *Gable* ſhall be eſtabliſh'd: Some ſay it ſhall be given but for the Time the War ſhall laſt; but I ſay, if it once be given, the Government will never want a Pretence of Neceſſity to keep it up in Time of *Peace* as well as *War*; and when it is once up, *Adieu to free Parliaments*, and then who ſhall pull it down?

It is already given in the Intention of ſome; for one *Parker*, *Agent* for the *Dutch Bankers*, is come out of *Holland* with a *Plan* or *Method*, there contriv'd, of raiſing it here in *England*; and with a Propoſition, that the *Dutch* Bankers, who cannot but be ſuppoſed to do it by the Direction of the *States General*, will advance ſome Millions on that Fund, as ſoon as granted; by which they will, in a ſhort Time, devour the *whole Treaſure of the Nation*: For in *Holland* Money is put out but at 3 *per Cent.* and for Money put into the Exchequer here 8 *per Cent.* is allow'd: So that the *Dutch* will thereby be clear Gainers 5 *per Cent.* and 6 *per Cent.* for remitting our Money into *Holland*. Wherefore ſuch an Exciſe will not only impoveriſh our Country, but enſlave us to the *Dutch*, by enriching them, and helping to maintain greater Numbers of foreign Forces, who have no Principle, but to *fight for Pay*. It is found by Experience, that they will fight as they are commanded, as well againſt as for our Religion and Liberties. Duke *Schomberg*'s Declaration in *Dauphiny* (as in the original *French*) hath help'd to open our Eyes; and it is moſt certain, that Foreigners in the Confederacy fight more for *our Money* than the *Proteſtant Religion*, and make *new Bargains* againſt every Campaign.

I ſhall not preſume to direct our Repreſentatives what is fit to be levied for the carrying on of the War; but I muſt beg leave to acquaint them, that as it is not to be doubted but that they will be minded of their Promiſe, to make up the *Poll-Bill* 1300000 *l.* which is ſaid not to amount to above 800000 *l.* ſo it is to be hoped, before they give the remaining Balance, 500000 *l.* they will pleaſe to enquire, whether for carrying on the *Deſcent* which was to be made into *France*, the full number of 38000 Men were raiſed and paid, that being the *Quota* aſſigned for that particular Service in the Account of 65000 Men to be raiſed and maintained for one whole year, for the defraying of the Charges whereof the Parliament ſo frankly gave the full Sum demanded.

And before I conclude, I ſhall take liberty to acquaint our Repreſentatives in Parliament, that the Nation expects that they ſhall either appropriate what they give this Seſſion to the uſe of the War, and appoint Commiſſioners to receive

receive it, and iſſue out the payments of it to that intent and purpoſe, and no other; or in caſe they think not fit to do this, then it will be expected, that they will make all Officers whatſoever, appointed to receive and iſſue out any of the ſaid Money, liable to the penalties of perpetual Diſability for any Office, Civil or Military, and an Incapacity to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, if they or any of them ſhall iſſue out or miſapply any of the ſaid Money to any other uſe or purpoſe; as alſo to an Action from any perſon or perſons who ſhall advance Money, or furniſh any Stores or Habiliments for War by Sea or Land upon the Fund of the ſaid Money, which ſhall be appropriated to the aforeſaid Uſe.

It is alſo to be deſired, that they will require all *Engliſh* Officers, Civil and Military, to bring a true Account of the juſt Arrears due to them, and all Perſons employed under them on the publick Service, and vote all ſuch Arrears to be paid out of ſome Branch of the publick Revenue, as may be moſt eaſie to the Kingdom.

But it is to be hoped, when you enquire into the Receipt of the Money brought into the Exchequer this laſt year, and the Diſburſements, there will then remain money, more than ſufficient, to pay all Arrears due to the Land and Sea Forces; for the Cuſtoms have this laſt year clearly brought in Eight hundred thouſand pounds, the hereditary Exciſe Six hundred thouſand, the double Exciſe Four hundred thouſand, the ſmall Branches of the Revenue Forty thouſand, the Land Tax Sixteen hundred thouſand, and admit that the quadruple Poll brought in but Eight hundred thouſand pound, the total of this Year's receipts amounts to Four Millions, two hundred and forty thouſand pounds; which, with Eighteen Millions given before, ſince the *Revolution*, amounts to above Two and twenty Millions, received by the Government: And if that hath not been ſufficient to defray the Charge of the War, and all the neceſſary Expences of the Government, with a Sum remaining in Bank ſufficient to diſcharge all Arrears, then the Nation muſt ſink under the Burthen, unleſs our Repreſentatives can find out a way to leſſen the *Charge* of the Government, and encreaſe the *Riches* of the Kingdom.

And whether or no that will not in a great meaſure be done by opening our Trade with *France*, (even during the continuance of the War) will be worth their Conſideration. A Member of the Houſe of Commons, who is a Commiſſioner for the Revenue in *Ireland*, can teſtifie that the Cuſtoms there encreaſed this year to the value of Twenty five thouſand Pounds, by the Import of 2500 Tun of *French* Wine, brought in purſuant to the Articles of *Limerick*; and if our Trade with *France* be not opened, we ſhall ſtill have *French* Wines and other Commodities from thence brought in to us by the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Dutch*; the laſt whereof, as well as our Allies in *Flanders*, have lately taught us by Experience, that a Commerce of Trade is not inconſiſtent with a State of War. We had much better have in our own Bottoms what have been and will be brought to us by Foreigners: For, not to inſtance in other *French* Merchandiſes, it is notoriouſly known that we have had *Champaigne Wine* (the undeniable Product of *France*) by the way of *Flanders* and *Holland*,

at so great a rate, that it could not be sold in Taverns here for less than 10*s.* a Flask.

Foreigners thus carrying away our Trade, is a great *Grievance*; and if this, with our *other Grievances* be redress'd, and Care be taken that no more *Money* be given than what is absolutely necessary for the Preservation and Safety of the Nation, and that what be given be duly applied for the uses intended, the People will part with their *Money* the more *chearfully*, and more *moderate Taxes* than what we are now affrighted with the Apprehensions of, will defray the necessary Expences of the War.

If any of our Representatives shall not think fit for private ends of their own to do these things, and shall prefer their own private Gain and Advancement before the publick Good; such must expect that the People will never more chuse them to serve in *Parliament:* But we hope for better things, and are willing to believe they will approve themselves to be the true Conservators of the Liberties of *England*, and to take care to redress our *Grievances*, particularly in *dismissing all foreign Forces*, and justly and duly *paying* all our *English* by *Sea* and *Land*, which will so encourage our Soldiers, and unite us all at home, that no true hearted *Englishman* will be terrified or affrighted with the apprehension or rumour of any foreign Invasion whatsoever.

Having in this Paper taken notice of the Barbarity used towards a free-born *Englishman* in *Scotland*, by Torture and Imprisonment contrary to Law; that I may not seem partial, by concealing the Inhumanity lately used towards Prisoners in *England*, I shall give an Instance of such Barbarity, that I was very unwilling to credit the Relation, till I was throughly convinced of the Truth from the solemn Asseverations made by persons of undoubted Credit and Reputation.

Two Foreigners and an *Englishman* were committed this last Summer Prisoners to *Newgate* as Spies, by a Warrant from a Minister of State, and by *Order* kept in *Irons* under so close a Confinement, that no person, except the Gaolers, was permitted for a long time to speak to them, see them, or send them any Relief; and if the *Irons did not enter their Souls*, it did so deeply their Flesh, that *Major Richardson*, now or lately Keeper of *Newgate*, and not much fam'd for *Tender-heartedness*, was moved in Compassion towards them, of his own accord, to strike off their *Irons*, give them *Plaisters* to heal their *Sores*, and move the Ld. Ch. Just. that they might be brought to Tryal; but his Lordship seeing their *Mittimus*, was pleased to say, *Being committed as* Spies, *they were Prisoners of State, and he could take no cognizance of them*; therefore their Names were not inserted into the Calendar of the Prisoners, which every Sessions is presented to the Judges, in order to the *Gaol-Delivery*. *Major Richardson* afterward made Application on their behalf to the *Minister of State* by whose *Order* they were committed, who with a more than usual Clemency was pleased to reply, *KNOCK THEM ON THE HEAD*; and, as if to induce him to obey his Order, said, *No Body knew where they were, nor could any discover but from him what became of them*: And what is become of them is very worthy to be inquir'd into by the *Parliament*, who upon Enquiry will find, that one of the aforesaid Prisoners by his

his barbarous Usage is so distracted, that he is fitter to be an Inhabitant of *Bedlam* than *Newgate*; and if any Humanity hath been shewed to any of them, it hath onely been very lately, upon the approach of the Sitting of the Parliament.

An Argument for *Self-Defence*, Written about the Year 1687, Never before Published, and now offer'd to the Consideration of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are Busie at present enquiring whether any manner of Resistance to the Supream Magistrate is Lawful, which will Excuse me in Publishing the Remains of a Manuscript Discourse of a Worthy Person Deceas'd; but be that as it will, you have it as I find it; only Pardon the Publisher, if, where the Copy is torn or defac'd, he leaves you in the Dark to question the Author's Meaning.

An Argument for Self-defence.

THIS a Fundamental Law of Nature, and Universal Rule of Justice, that Man should be free from Injuries and Violence. This Freedom extends not only to his Life and Limbs, but to his Possessions also, which are a Part of him, and so necessary to him, that take away those and you Rob him, if not of Life itself, at least of those Enjoyments which make it Considerable or Desirable. But so deprav'd is Humane Nature, and so apt are Avarice and Ambition to make Men forget the Obligations they lye under to one another, that 'tis to little Purpose he has a Right to this Freedom, unless he has it in his Power to Preserve it, and Punish the Infringers of it. God has *therefore made* it the Duty and Priviledge of every Man to defend himself from Unjust Force, and to take Reparation for the Injury done him. *

This, before the Forms of Government were fix'd in the World, or Laws invented to be the Rule of Life, before Justice was distributed by one common

* *Dr. and Student*, Cap 2. *Of the Law of Nature.*

mon Perſon, to whom all might Appeal for Redreſs, could be no otherwiſe than every one judging of the Danger or Injury, and oppoſing Force to Force, to Prevent the one, or Repair the other. Such a State of Equality I call a State of Nature, which had abundance of Inconveniencies: For Self-love is apt to make us Partial where we are allow'd to be Judges in our own Caſe; and if the Sentence ſhall happen to be Equitable, perhaps the Injur'd Party is too Weak to Reſiſt his Oppreſſor, ſo that the Innocent may often Suffer; or if a Man be in ſome Meaſure guilty, be Puniſh'd beyond the Nature of his Crime, and the Mighty Triumph in Impunity: It was therefore neceſſary to fix on ſome Standing Rules, which ſhould be the Meaſure of Right and Wrong between Man and Man: Theſe we call Laws; hence we ſee that

Laws were ordained by the General Conſent, and for the Publick Good, which are ſo far from infringing Natural Liberty, that they are the only Means to enlarge and preſerve it; for Liberty is to be free from Violence and Oppreſſion. But, †

Laws being for the better governing Humane Societies are to no Purpoſe, unleſs duly executed, which made it neceſſary that there ſhould be ſome Perſon or Perſons with ſufficient Authority to that End; and this could not be but by entering into Societies, in which every Individual gave up his Natural Right of judging for himſelf, and of uſing Force to Defend his Perſon and Goods, and conſented to ſubmit to the Deciſion of the Laws, and common Juſtice, adminiſtred by One or more Perſons appointed for that End by the Whole, and for the ſame End arm'd with the Force of the whole Society. And hence came Political Power to be veſted in the Magiſtrate, who is Supream to a Particular Purpoſe, *viz.* The Publick Good, by putting the Laws, which are the Publick Voice, in Execution. *

People then entering into Society, the better to be preſerved in their Lives and Properties, muſt be ſubject to the Laws of the Society by which they are protected: And hence it is that it is not lawful for any one under Civil Government to take upon him to judge for himſelf, or to do himſelf Juſtice on the Offender, becauſe there are known Laws and equal Judges, to which he may Appeal.

† Sanderſon de obligatione Conſcientiæ, 103. Leges nulla alia ex cauſa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt. Idem p. 132. Civilis autem regiminis eiuſq; quæ ipſi debita Obedientiæ finis eſt humanæ Societatis ſalus & tranquilitas. Cicero de leg. l. 2 Conſtat profecto ad ſalutem civium civitatumq; incolumitatem vitamq; hominum quietam & beatam inventas eſſe leges. Ex quo intelligi par eſt eos qui pernicioſa & injuſta juſſa populis deſcripſerint cum contra fecerint quam policiti profeſſiq; ſint quidvis ſatius tuliſſe quam leges.

* Forteſcue de laudibus leg. Angliæ, Cap. 13. & 14. Le Mirror, Cap. 1. S. 2. *They (that is, the Saxons in* England) *after great Wars and Troubles which they had been under a long time, choſe 'em a King to Reign over them, or to Govern the People of God, and to Preſerve their Perſons and Goods by the Rules of Juſtice. And, Cap. 5. S. 1. The principal Abuſe is that the King is* outtre le ley, *whereas he ought to be ſubject to it, as is ſaid in his Oath.* Cicero de leg. l. 3 Magiſtratis hanc eſſe vim ut præſit præſcribatq; recta utilia & conjuncta cum legibus, ut enim Magiſtratibus leges ita populo præſunt Magiſtratus. —— Du Hamele Tract. de Philoſophia Moral. Diſſert. de Juſtitia. —— Deinde ne imbecilliores prædæ eſſent validioribus, quam quiſq; habuit vindicandi facultatem in multitudinem aut potius in eum qui præeſſet tranſtulit, uti ille provideret ne cujuſq; jus violaretur.

Appeal. Now this Disability, or rather Right of Appeal, being introduced for the Good of every Individual, and by universal Consent, shall never be extended to the Prejudice of any one, when he can't have the Advantage is design'd him by it. And therefore,

Every one under Civil Gov———t may do what would have been Lawful for him in a State of Nature, in such Cases where he can't have the Benefit of an Appeal to the Laws of the Commonwealth he is under. By a State of Nature, I mean such a State of Equality where there is no Superior Power on Earth, to which a Man on any Injury receiv'd or threaten'd may have Recourse for Relief; and therefore where two Men are without this common Judge, they are with Respect to another in a State of Nature. Now let it be observ'd, that tho' I am in a Country where there are Laws and Judges, yet if I am by Violence put out of a Capacity of taking the Benefit of 'em, it is the same to me as if there were none at all. As for Instance,

The Law says, That whosoever kills another with Malice, without Provocation, willingly, is guilty of Murder, and shall Die for it; the same Law for very good Reasons says further, That the Murderer shall be put to Death according to Law, in a Manner, and by Persons appointed by it, and that if any one do it otherwise, he too is guilty of Murder: Certainly this is better than the State of Nature Punishments, which give Way too much to Malice and Revenge. But if a Villain puts a Dagger to my Throat, or assaults me in so violent a Manner, that flying would inevitably be my Death, in this Case I am excused in killing him in my own Defence; for I can't appeal to the Law, my Life is in extreme Danger, and the Injury design'd is irreparable; I am therefore call'd down to the Exercise of an Antient Power, which I parted with on no other Terms but for my better Preservation.

Civil Laws then never did wholly take away the Right of Self-defence between Equals, which God and Nature have intrusted every Man with. I say Equals, for I am coming to that Self-defence which respects the Supreme Magistrate.

And now by Self-defence I would not be thought to mean a bare running from the Stroke, avoiding the Blow, but doing whatsoever is necessary to preserve my own Life or Property from unlawful Violence. This every one knows when we talk of giving back to the Wall, and then drawing on the Assailant; now as far as a Man can go with Safety is to the Wall, and if the Assault be so violent that 'tis dangerous to retire, I am at the Wall already: In short, I mean active Resistance, when 'tis absolutely necessary to save my own Life; and I dare say no Body denies what has been said as to Resistance between Equals; but the Difficulty with some is how this is applicable to Resistance of the Supreme Magistrate in the Excesses of Power; but it will appear if we remember that

The State of Nature is a State of perfect Equality, none claiming Dominion over another, and so is opposed to a State of Laws; from whence it follows, that no Body has a Right to a Political Power over another, but as he is a Member of Civil Society, and so subject to, and protected by, the Laws of it, the due Execution of which this Superior is intrusted with for good of the

the whole, and as far as is conſiſtent with, that the Preſervation of every Individual. *

Now if a Magiſtrate be Supreme only by Virtue of the Laws; (which are the only ſtanding Voices of the Society,) it will follow that in all Caſes where the Laws don't interpoſe, he is a private Man, and we are Equal. To apply this to an Inſtance like the former: The Prince without any Cauſe aſſaults me in ſo violent a Manner, that 'tis impoſſible for me to defend my Life without returning the ſame Violence; what ſhall I do? I can have no Benefit of thoſe good Laws which he is to execute, or that equal Juſtice he is to diſtribute, and for that End only is put above me, (for it can't be to my Prejudice,) if therefore theſe don't interpoſe to ſave me from unlawful Violence, which was the ſole End of 'em, 'tis abſurd to imagine they ſhall to my inevitable Deſtruction, which they would, did they make it Treaſon or Rebellion, unlawful to reſiſt him in this Caſe; and where the Laws don't interpoſe, we are Equal.

Being Equal then, and he the Aggreſſor, if I can't otherwiſe ſave my own Life than by taking away his, ——————————————†

---

it may be ſaid perhaps, No, you muſt not Kill him, for his Death would be a publick Loſs, and therefore far beyond any Injury he can offer a ſingle Perſon. For this Time I'll ſay, that if he ſo far abandons himſelf to all that is bad, as to Kill a Subject (who certainly was not born for his Diverſion) in cold Blood, there will be no great Loſs to the Publick in his Death. But it ſeems this is not the Caſe, the Prince muſt not be ſuppos'd ſo barbarous as to attempt to murder a Man; yet ſince he is but a Man of like Infirmities, and one that is told he ought to act without Controul, and that but to queſtion his Proceedings, is little better than Blaſphemy, (a Learned King's Words,) we muſt allow 'tis poſſible. However,

There are other Inſtances in which 'tis poſſible for a King to betray his Truſt, endeavouring to ſubvert and extirpate the Laws and Liberties of his People, by aſſuming and exerciſing a Power of diſpenſing with the Laws he is to govern by, and making Uſe of the Force of the Community, in Standing Armies, againſt the Liberty of the Subject, to back his own Arbitrary Proceedings; and if this happens to be the Caſe, how much more juſtifiable is Reſiſtance in the whole Body of the People, ſo as to preſerve themſelves from Ruin, than in one ſingle Perſon, whoſe particular Wrongs may never affect the whole? §

Nobody doubts but the General Good is to be prefer'd by the Publick to any private Man's Advantage; and therefore more Caution uſed to prevent publick Calamities than private Injuries. It follows then, that if it be lawful for a ſingle Man to reſiſt unlawful Force with Force, when his Life is in Danger, 'tis

* Forteſcue de Laud. Leg. c. 13. ad Tutelam namq; legis ſubditorum ac eorum corporum & bonorum Rex hujuſmodi erectus eſt & ad hoc, poteſtatem a populo effluxam ipſe habet quo ei non licet poteſtate alia ſuo populo dominari.

† *Here ſeems to be ſome Lines wanting.*

§ *If the Author had been ſo Happy as to have liv'd to the Revolution, he would have ſeen this in other Words, in the Claim of Rights,* 1 W. *and* M. 2. *ſſ. c.* 2.

'tis much more ſo for the whole Body, or the Majority of the People, when their Laws are Cancell'd, or in apparent Danger of it; and conſequently their Eſtates, Lives, Liberties, and all that is Valuable in this World, ſubjected to the Arbitrary Decrees of one Perſon, arm'd with the Force of the Society, and generally ſupported by all the Arts of Learning and Religion. But the better to ſet out the Heinouſneſs of his Crime, and the mighty Danger of ſuch Practices, 'tis beſt to take a Survey of the Benefits Men receive from Good Laws, and the Miſery that would follow on a Diſſolution of 'em.

And now methinks there ſhould be no Difficulty in convincing the unprejudic'd, that for this very Inconvenience, *viz.* the want of Law, Mankind, weary of the State of Nature, where the Weak were in continual Danger of the Strong; he ſtill inſulting the Weak, in Danger himſelf of a ſtronger Neighbour, quickly came into Societies, and were content to be ſubject to the Laws by which they were protected. *

And if this be the End of Laws, he that deſtroys thoſe brings us back again to a State of Nature, with this only Difference, that whereas then Men were in Danger of one another, but not without Hopes of Remedy, ſince 'twas the Duty and Intereſt of every one to aſſiſt the injur'd Party againſt his Oppreſſor, now they are all Subject to one Man, who, according to the Doctrine of unlimited Paſſive Obedience, is to act without Reſtraint, whatever Miſchief he may deſign. But to be better ſatisfied, that the Happineſs of one People becomes the Envy of their Neighbours; from this Difference, that one has good Laws duly executed, the other none at all, or at leaſt ſubject to the Prince's Pleaſure; why are we here in *England* in a better Condition than the Subjects of *France*, or *Denmark?* I'm ſure we think our ſelves ſo, and are apt to be proud of it, † and our *Engliſh* Liberty; if any one is of another Mind, 'tis a Thouſand Pities he had not his Heart's Deſire, and a Pair of Wooden Shoes there. We here enjoy the Fruits of our Honeſt Induſtry, every one under his Vine and Fig-tree, Solicitous for nothing but the Happineſs of Her that derives theſe Bleſſings on us. In ſhort, if Peace and Quietneſs be the Effect of good Laws, and a juſt Temperament of Power; if Succeſs Abroad, and Liberty at Home, be owing to a Happy Adminiſtration; what diſmal Conſequences has he to anſwer for, that by deſtroying all Order and Rule does what in him lyes to let looſe the Reverſe of all theſe Bleſſings on a Nation, over which he was ſet for their Good. *Merito beneficium legis amittit, qui legem ipſam ſubvertere intendit.*

Obj. To this 'twill be objected, that indeed all theſe Advantages you have been talking of are owing to a good Government, and great is that Prince's Crime that endeavours to rob you of 'em; but for it he is accountable to none but God; and that the Subject ought rather to endure all this, and more, than diſobey God's Command, Reſiſt not.

* Fort. de Laud Leg. c. 4. Nonalio p ſto gens aliqua propio Arbitrio unquam ſe in Regnum Corporavit, niſi ut per hoc ſe & ſua quorum d ſpendia formidabat, turius quam antea poſſiderent

† Forteſcue, cap. 35, & 36. *The Comparison.*

I ſuppoſe they mean that the Magiſtrate is Supream on Earth, and therefore accountable to none but God. In Anſwer to this, I beg leave to ſay, where a Power is given to any Man with a Truſt to the attaining any End, if that End be not purſu'd, and ſo the Truſt broken, the Power ceaſes; therefore if the Supream Power was lodg'd in the Magiſtrate, in order to the well-governing the People committed to his Charge, if that End be not anſwer'd, but, on the contrary, the People are made a Prey to his unbounded Dominion, their Lives and Fortunes depending on his Caprice and Humour, his Power thus abus'd ceaſes, and he becomes a Private Man; and reſiſting him (which here is but Self-defence) can never be reſiſting the Ordinance of God, ſince that is reſiſting the Power, not the Perſon, in the abuſe of it. *

'Twould be little leſs than Blaſphemy to ſay that God ever ſet one Man over Millions for their Deſtruction; or that in this Senſe Power is the Ordinance of God, it muſt be then for their Good. Indeed, for the Sins of a People he has ſuffer'd a prevailing Conquerour to carry 'em Captive, or to oppreſs 'em in their own Country; thus he Sold his People, the *Iſraelites*, into the Hands of *Chuſanriſhathaim*, and of *Jobin*; he ſtrengthen'd *Eglon* againſt 'em, deliver'd 'em into the Hands of *Midian*; but ſtill left a Right in 'em to uſe all the Means they were able to get out of their Bondage, which becauſe they could not be effectual without his Concurrence, (as no Human Endeavours can) he is ſaid to deliver 'em again, but 'twas ſtill in a Way of Reſiſtance, *Judges* 3, 4, 6. 2 Kings 18. v. 7. *And the Lord was with him, and he proſpered whereſoever he went forth; and he rebelled againſt the King of* Aſſyria, *and ſerv'd him not.*

Obj. But 'twill be further objected, that tho' the Magiſtrate exceed the Bounds of his Commiſſion, and that in thoſe Inſtances he can't be ſaid to act by it, and ſo not Supream, yet in other Caſes he is Supream ſtill, and therefore in no wiſe to be reſiſted, ſince any Reſiſtance will affect his whole Power.

To this I ſay, that if it be true, then Reſiſtance in the firſt Caſe, where the Magiſtrate puts a Dagger to my Breaſt, would be unlawful; for that would effectually diveſt him of his whole Power: Beſides, let it be obſerv'd, that the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance is laid down only on a Suppoſition that the Laws are Cancell'd, and the Courſe of Juſtice hinder'd by Force; and if that happens, I ſee no Reaſon why the Prince ſhall deſtroy one part of the Laws that relate to the Subjects Liberty, *&c.* and take Advantage of another Part which makes him Supream, when he is Supream only the better to Preſerve the Subjects Liberty, by putting the Beneficial Laws in Execution.

I confeſs I have in this Argument made uſe of a Suppoſition, that there was once a Time, when there was no Government in the World, and that Men choſe themſelves Governours, and came out of the State of Nature, the better

* Forteſcue de Laud. c. 14, Et ad hoc gravius multo populus talis læderetur ſi deinde Peregrini legibus etiam ipſis forſan exoſis Regeretur. Et maxime ſi legibus illis, *(or any other way the following Reaſon holds Good,)* innovaretur, ſubſtantia pro cujus vitanda jactura ut pro ſuorum tutelæ corporum ipſi ſe Regis imperio, proprio Arbitrio, ſubmiſſerunt; non potuit revera poteſtas hujuſmodi ab ipſis erupiſſe, & tamen ſi non ab ipſis Rex hujuſmodi ſuper ipſos nullam obtineret poteſtatem.

better to live together, and preſerve their Lives and Properties. Indeed, I know no great Neceſſity of this Hypotheſis, for whenceſoever Power be deriv'd, be it from the Conſent of Men, or God's Appointment, it muſt be for the Publick Good, which being the End of it, whoever, let him come by it as you pleaſe, abuſes it to another and contrary End, forfeits it. As for God's Deſignation, if it be lawful to reſiſt a Tyrant that was ſet over a People for a Scourge to 'em, and that was the Sole End of his Promotion; (as by the Places cited out of the Scripture it appears it was,) it is much more ſo when the Magiſtrate was appointed for the Good only of the People, and abuſes the Power he has to their Deſtruction. And no other End can God have in ſetting one above another, but either to execute his Vengeance on a Sinful People, or to diſpence Judgment and Juſtice in the World. However, the Suppoſition of a State of Nature, and of the Original of Government, by the Conſent of the Individuals, will not appear ſo unreaſonable, if we conſider that there has never been any other Satisfactory Account given of the Beginnings of lawful Monarchies, (for I meddle not with Conqueſt and Uſurpation;) and unleſs the firſt Man was immediately Monarch of the Univerſe, which will never be made appear, there muſt have been a Time when there was no Civil Government in the World, and Men were at liberty to fix on what Form they pleaſed. I know I ought not to cite any more Authorities; but I can't paſs by *Cicero de Off. l. 2. Mihi quidem non ſolum apud Medos ſed apud Majores noſtros juſtitiæ fruendæ causa videntur, olim bene Reges Morati Conſtituti. Nam cum premeretur inops Multitudo ab iis qui Majores opes habebant, ad virum aliquem Confugiebant, Virtute præſtantem; qui cum prohiberet injuria tenuiores æquitate Conſtituenda ſummos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Eademq; Conſtituendarum legum fuit cauſa, quæ Regum. Jus enim ſemper quæſitum eſt æquabile, aliter non eſſet jus. Si ab uno juſto & bono viro Conſequebantur, eo erant Contenti; cum id Minus Contingerte Leges ſunt inventæ, quæ cum omnibus ſemper una atq; eadem voce Loquerentur. Ergo hoc quidem perſpicuum eſt, eos ad imperandum dliegi ſolitos, quorum de juſtitia magna eſſet Opinio Multitudinis.* I make no Remarks on this Paſſage, the Reader will be perſwaded there needs none. *

Obj. To what has been offer'd for Reſiſtance 'tis urg'd, that it opens a Way to Rebellion and Confuſion; and that 'tis better to ſuffer the greateſt Tyranny than run into a Civil War.

To this I ſay, admitting my Doctrine be true, I am not to anſwer for the Conſequences of it, which will not be very Fatal, if we conſider that there is no Hazard in a Reſiſtance, unleſs the Majority at leaſt be ſenſible of the Danger they are in, and then no Matter how ſoon 'tis prevented. It can't be ſaid, that by this Doctrine if any one thinks himſelf abus'd, he will take upon him-

* *This is ſtrengthen'd by a late Diſcourſe of a Reverend Prelate of our Church, I mean the Biſhop of* Exeter's *Acceſſion Sermon of* 1705. The Deſignation and Appointment of particular Perſons to the Adminiſtration of the Government, this is Human, and the Diſtribution of the Power of Government into one, or more, Heads, this likewiſe is Human, this is the Ordinance of Man only; *which could not be, unleſs People were at liberty to fix on what Form they pleaſed, and conſequently there had been a Time in which no Form was fixed on, which I always called a State of Nature.*

ſelf to reſiſt; perhaps he has a Right to it; but there is no Danger that he will, unleſs he be Mad, and deſires to be Hang'd. And for the other objection, that 'twill be a Means of Bloodſhed, that will hold altogether as well, if a Ruffian aſſaults me in the Highway, or at leaſt in the Caſe of a Foreign Invaſion; yet there 'tis thought better to oppoſe Force to Force, than bear all the Conquerour can inflict. Now the Peoples Condition of Slavery is the ſame, whether they are ſubject to the Tyranny of a Foreigner, or their own Sovereign; with this only Difference, the firſt is under no Obligation to 'em, has broke no Truſt, as the other has. But if all the Fear be of a Civil War, and Outrages one among another, it may as well be ſaid, an Uſurper muſt not be oppoſed, if aſſiſted by our own Countrymen only, for that might occaſion Bloodſhed and Outrages one among another.

I hope Nobody will think this Argument ſufficiently anſwer'd by producing the Homilies of our Church, or the *Oxford* Decree againſt it; for I muſt beg him to grant me, that No Body of Men, however Learned or Impartial in their Search of Truth, are Infallible; and therefore their bare aſſerting a Thing ſhall never eſtabliſh it for a Truth never to be diſputed. Beſides, till I ſee the Practice of the Church and Univerſity agreeable to thoſe Rules, I ſhall not take much Pains to reconcile my Doctrine to 'em.

P. S. *It may ſeem unſeaſonable in me to publiſh a Diſcourſe of this Nature, at a Time when the Matter in Debate has receiv'd the moſt Solemn Determination, We, of this Nation, ever knew, ; but I know People will not acquieſce in Solemn Reſolutions, nor do I deſire they ſhould, any further than as Rules of Peace; but I hope thoſe Gentlemen who will not allow a Parliament to judge for 'em in Matters of Civil Concern, will never trouble us again with General Councels, or the Power of the Church, to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and its Authority, in Controverſies of Faith.*

Remarks

Remarks upon the PRESENT CONFEDERACY, and Late Revolution in *England*, &c. 1693.

THE moſt formidable Enterprize, no doubt, that ever was levell'd againſt the growing Grandeur of *France*, during the long and ſucceſsful Reign of *Lewis le Grand*, was this late *Confederacy*, form'd by the moſt powerful Princes in all *Europe*: An Undertaking of ſo dangerous conſequence to that Prince, that if their Carreer had not been ſtopt by a ſurprizing Providence, and diverted by the wonderful Vigilance and Activity of that truly greateſt Prince in all theſe parts of the World, that Monarchy by this time had laid expiring. As the Confederates had reſolutely, and with prodigious Proſpects of Advantage to themſelves, agreed upon this Deſign; ſo to facilitate it, had ſagaciouſly enough foreſeen what Remoraes might lie in their way, and as reſolutely determin'd to remove them, *right* or *wrong*. *England*, which had for ſome years paſt ſkreen'd them from thoſe violent, and otherwiſe irreſiſtible, ſhocks they were expoſed to from *France*, was moſt feared at this time would ſtand in their way; and to ſpeak the Truth, from the Experience we have had of the *French* Power and Policy during this War, the leaſt Aſſiſtance from her, or a meer *Neutrality*, had left them to the Mercy and entire Diſpoſal of their Enemy. This, I ſay, was politickly enough foreſeen, and by moſt wicked and unjuſt means for ſome time at leaſt prevented; though by comparing the Succeſſes on both ſides hitherto, cannot in all human probability be long protracted: But more of this afterwards. To accompliſh this Grand Deſign of theirs, King *James* muſt be depoſed, to make way for the Ambition and Pride of another, the moſt likely to carry on the War againſt *France*; if we either conſider that heighth of Malice which he had long ago conceived againſt that Monarch, chiefly from his being ſo frequently baffled in *Holland* and *Flanders*, by the Bravery of his Generals there; or that Natural Malignity in his very Conſtitution, derived from his Anceſtors, who had never been famous for their Loyalty to their own Princes, or Affection for Crowned Heads. This they concluded feaſible enough, not being ignorant of the ambitious Deſigns the Prince of *Orange* had been carrying on for ſeveral years in *England* of mounting that Throne, by having a hand in all the Plots againſt King *Charles* the Second; but eſpecially his *Father-in-law*, to exclude him, and what not; and the Diſpoſitions he had laid in order to that End, by his corrupting the greateſt Miniſters of State under that unfortunate Prince, to take advantage from his Religion, to which the *Engliſh* are naturally averſe, to put him upon ſome Acts which would in all likelihood alienate his Subjects Affections from him, and

and make the P. of *O*'s Acceſs the more eaſie. All this being well known to many of the Confederate Princes, they had no more to do but to ſound his Inclination ſomewhat nearer, and proffer him their Aſſiſtance for the obtaining of what he ſo eagerly deſired, and by all indirect means purſued. To this end having engaged themſelves and him in the ſtrict bonds of a Confederacy, they immediately lent him ſuch Aſſiſtance as was requiſite to land him in *England*, where all things were ready to his hand, and there moſt wickedly *depoſed* King *James* II.

I confeſs ſome are apt to alledge that the Prince of *Orange* exceeded his Commiſſion, and acted directly contrary to the Determination of the Confederacy, their ſole Aim being onely by this Invaſion to draw King *James* in to their Deſigns: But if we conſider thoſe notable Hints in the foreign Papers upon this occaſion, particularly *The General Hiſtory of* Europe, *publiſhed in* French, *at the* Hague, *by the Authority of the States of* Holland *and* Weſt Frieſland, we may be eaſily inclined to believe the contrary, out of which I ſhall preſent the Reader with ſome remarkable Paſſages, and leave it to him to judge, whether what I have laid down for my Principle does not look highly probable.

Hiſtorical Account for the Month of November, *in the Article of Advice from* England, 1688.

" The King's Fleet (that is, King *James*'s,) is about forty three Men of " War, ten Fireſhips; but though commanded by the Earl of *Dartmouth*, " who is entirely for the King's Intereſt, 'tis thought the Seamen, and many " of the Officers, will not perform that Duty which the King expects from " them.

Reflexions upon the Advice from Holland, *the ſame Month.*

" The Expence that has been beſtowed upon the Fleet and Army ſet forth " from *Holland*, is a ſign they are morally aſſured of the Succeſs of the En- " terprize, which I am apt to believe *has been a long time ago in Agitation*, " though it was carried on with that Prudence and Secrecy, as not to be diſ- " covered till it could not be longer concealed.

Advice from Germany, Decemb. 1688.

" The Confederates are arrived in *Franconia*, where they ſtay till General " *Dunewald* comes up to join them with the Emperour's Forces, to the end " they may march together, *&c.* Nevertheleſs when they are joined, there is " great probability they will do nothing, till they hear what the Prince of " *Orange* does in *England*; for he is at preſent the *primum Mobile* of all things.

Reflexions upon the Advice from France, Decemb. 1688.

" 'Tis thought that Monſieur *Seignalay*'s Journey to viſit the Coaſts was " particularly occaſioned by the turn of Affairs in *England*, *&c.* But now all " thoſe Journeys will ſignifie little; for if Heaven continues Proſperity to the " Prince

" Prince of *Orange*, of neceſſity the moſt Chriſtian King muſt quit the " Ocean.

Reflexions upon the Advice from England, *the ſame Month.*

" So ſoon as the Enterprize of the Prince of *Orange* was diſcourſed of, all " Men imagined that he was ſure of the greateſt part of the Nobility of *Eng-* " *land.* Some put the queſtion whether he will dethrone his Father in Law, " or whether, *&c.* he'll be contented with the Honour of having ſaved the " Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty of the *Engliſh* Nation.—For my " part I believe an Accommodation will be a difficult thing.—I make no " queſtion but the next Parliament King *James* will be declared to have for- " feited his Crown.

Reflexions on the Advice from Germany, February 1689.

" I am apt to believe they are not to be called by the name of Politicians, who " imagine that the Emperour cauſed the Marqueſs of *Lucignan* to be ſeized, " that he might have an opportunity to enter into a Negotiation. Then again, " What was befaln the Emperour ſince unknown to us, that ſhould enforce " him to alter his Conduct? If it had been that the Affairs in *England* went " ill on the P. of *O*'s ſide, that had been a Reaſon indeed;——but all the " World knows there is no ſuch thing; the Prince of *Orange* has been crown- " ed, *&c.* To all which I ſhall add a remarkable Paſſage out of the *French* " *King's* Declaration of War againſt *Spain*: Amongſt other Motives he declares, " That he is informed what ſhare the Governour of the *Spaniſh* Low Countries " had in the Prince of *Orange*'s Enterprize againſt *England*; but not believing " what he did was done by his Maſter's Command, his *Majeſty* was in good " hopes to have perſuaded his moſt *Catholick Majeſty* to have joined with him " for the Reſtoration of the lawful King of *England*, &c. To which purpoſe " he made ſeveral Propoſals that were all received whilſt the Succeſs of the " Prince of *Orange* continued doubtful; but when 'twas known at *Madrid* that " the King of *England* had left his Kingdom, then nothing was thought of " but War with *France*. That his *Majeſty* was alſo farther informed, that the " *Spaniſh Ambaſſador* in *England* viſited the Prince of *Orange* every day, and " importuned him to declare War againſt *France*, &c. But finding that, his " moſt Catholick *Majeſty* was reſolved, *&c. Gen. Hiſt. of* Europe, *Vol.* 1.

Month Apr. 89.

As to this laſt paſſage, I am ſenſible many prejudiced perſons will be ready to object the little Reputation the *French* King and his Miniſters have had for their Veracity theſe many Years; but if we reflect on the vaſt Charge he is conſtantly at for Intelligence in all places where he is concerned, and how much it imported him to find out the Myſtery of the Confederacy, it ought in ſome meaſure at leaſt to incline us to credit him, eſpecially when it's notoriouſly known he had intimated to King *James*, ſome conſiderable time before he could give credit to it, the Deſign of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States General* againſt

againſt him; and proffered him ſuch Aſſiſtance, that if he had complied with it, would have effectually prevented this *late Revolution* in *Great Britain*, and conſequently this bloody and deſperate War, which has been the ſad Effect of it. And there are ſome perſons now living, of unqueſtionable Integrity, and ſufficient Intereſt to know the truth of it, who aſſert, that *Don Ronquillo*, the late *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*, plainly told King *James*, that if we would not be induced to join in the *Confederacy* with the *Empire* and *Spain*, againſt *France*, he *would run the hazard of loſing his Crown*; ſo certain it is, that the Revolution here was an immediate Effect of the Conſultations and Reſolutions of the *Confederacy*, though not publickly enough hitherto underſtood, to the great injury of the King, and perverſion of his Subjects.

Theſe Paſſages out of a publick Account of the Affairs of *Europe*, *allowed to be publiſhed*, and (as we are obliged to ſuppoſe) *approved* by the States General for the preſent, (till ſomething more material be offered by more capable and intelligent Perſons,) may ſeem to any reaſonable man a ſufficient Proof of my Aſſertion, that what the Pr. of *Orange* has lately tranſacted there, was not managed by him alone againſt the Intentions of the reſt of the *Confederacy*: If ſo, why did not they remonſtrate againſt his Proceedings, by their *Ambaſſadors* to King *James*, and the Prince of *Orange* too; and, as in Honour bound, contribute their Aſſiſtance, when eſpecially requeſted to it, towards his Reſtoration? Nay, why did they on the contrary by their reſpective *Ambaſſadors* and Envoys *congratulate* the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, and by this means virtually declare to all the World, that King *James* was *juſtly depoſed*, and that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were become the *lawful* and *rightful* King and Queen of *England*? So that the more nicely we examine the methods of the Prince of *Orange*'s Proceedings, the greater reaſon we have to conclude this Objection to be a meer *Sham* and Excuſe. His charging his Father in law with Male-adminiſtration, *Violating the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, with ſetting up the Roman Catholick Religion, impoſing a Suppoſititious Heir upon the Three Kingdoms in order to put by the Succeſſion of his own Children, meerly on the account of Religion*, &c. What was all this to the buſineſs of *France* and the *Confederates*? The only thing in the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, that makes for the buſineſs pretended, is the *Private League* Offenſive and Defenſive between King *James* and *France*; which notwithſtanding could never be produced, and expoſed to the view of the World; and if it had been ſo, could never be any juſt pretence for their aſſiſting to invade him, unleſs it had been contrary to former Alliances between him and them; none of which appearing, it is altogether as frivolous as many other Shams in that Maſterpiece of Villany, the forementioned *Declaration*. Upon theſe Suppoſitions then 'tis apparent, that that which was to give Life unto the *Confederacy*, and bring it into Act, was the pulling down King *James*, and ſetting up the Prince of *Orange*; ſo that before all this was accompliſh'd, the *Confederacy* was but an *Embrio*, and no better than a Conditional Stipulation; and upon the unſucceſsfulneſs of the Prince of *Orange* would have been ſtifled and vaniſh'd into nothing. There was no War declared, before this Gentleman was moſt Traiterouſly Proclaimed King; but by the Duke of *Bavaria*, *Nov.* 10. as

you

you may see in the *London Gazette*: The *Emperor* and *Dutch* did not till *March*—89. and in all probability it had not been done afterward on the Confederates side, if this *Præludium* to all the rest had miscarried. To this effect we may remember that the *Dutch* Ambassador, when charged by King *James* in the behalf of his Masters, the *States General*, with assisting the Prince of *Orange* with Men, Money, Arms, *&c.* for his Expedition, (against the express Articles of Peace and Alliance made between King *Charles* the Second, of blessed Memory, and the *States of the United Netherlands*, 1667. particularly the 11th *Article*, wherein it was agreed, 'That the said King of *Great Britain*, 'and the said *States General*, remain Friends, Confederates, united and allied for 'the Defence, and Preservation of the Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of 'either Ally, and their Subjects, against all who shall endeavour to disturb the 'Peace of either by Sea or Land. And *Artic.* 13. 'That neither the said King, 'nor the said Common-wealth, nor any of the Subjects of either, inhabiting 'or residing within their Jurisdiction, shall cherish and assist the Rebels of ei-'ther party, with any Succour, Counsel, or Favour whatsoever; but shall 'expose and effectually hinder all persons abiding, residing, or dwelling in ei-'ther of their Dominions, from supplying or furnishing any of those foresaid 'Rebels by Sea or Land with Arms, Succour or Assistance either in Men, 'Ships, Arms, or Warlike Furniture, *&c.* And *Article* 14 'That the King 'of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* shall Mutually, Sincerely and 'Faithfully, as there is occasion, assist each other against the Rebels of either 'by Sea or Land, with Men, Ships, *&c.* *Article* 15. 'That neither the 'said *King*, nor the said *Common-wealth*, nor the Subjects of either, shall in 'any of their Jurisdictions, Countries, *&c.* receive any Rebel or Rebels, 'Fugitive or Fugitives declared, or to be declared, *&c.*) pretended to know nothing of it; which is a plain Indication they would have insisted upon that denial, and urged it in their own Vindication, if that Project had not succeeded, to prevent a Storm from King *James* and the K. of *France*; and it would have equally served the rest of the *Confederates* too: But as soon as they heard his Enterprize had its desired effect, the next thing heard of, was the *States Manifesto*, owning the whole business, justifying themselves, and applauding the Heroick Attempt of the Prince of *Orange*. From what has been hitherto said, I shall beg leave to infer, That this *Revolution* was the Contrivance of the *Confederates* in general, and not the Prince of *Orange*'s separately from them, but in Conjunction with them; That all his Motives, of what nature soever, were meerly introductory to it; and that the most principal of them that seemed the most justifiable of his Proceedings, were calculated only to serve the Malicious and Disaffected part of the Nation, and to wheedle and amuse the rest into a Compliance with him; That if those had not been subtily thought on, others would not have been wanting; That he had no design to secure Religion, vindicate Justice, to assert the Liberties, or secure the Properties of the People, but to execute the Designs of the *Confederates* in general, and to serve his own Ambition, and unsatisfied Thirst after Empire in particular; That therefore the *Grand Presumptions* (as he terms it) of the *Supposititiousness* of the *Prince* of *Wales*, of the *Private League* between K. *James* and the K. of

France, the introducing of *Arbitrary Power*, *Popery*, &c. were meer Cant, and nothing to the purpose, he having not performed any thing promised in that *Declaration*, but acted quite contrary; and for corroborating my main Position, I shall proceed to shew what peculiar Advantages the rest of the *Confederates* proposed to themselves by such a *Revolution* in *England*, which may induce all impartial Readers to subscribe to the Truth of what I have hitherto said.

The principal Advantage the *Confederates* in general, exclusive of the P. of *Orange*, proposed to themselves by this Revolution, was to have the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, one of the Strongest and most Flourishing Monarchies in *Europe*, at their entire Devotion, to draw off Men and Money at their pleasure, so long as they could keep this new set-up King in the Throne; an advantage so considerable, that whilst they can do this; and any Wealth remains in *England*, they are sure to make the cheapest Experiment they could possibly devise, and withal the most powerful effort imaginable towards the reducing the growing Power of *France*, and retrieving their former losses: And however the infatuated and easily deluded *Populace* of *England* may seem to despise the *Confederates* in their Discourse; yet it's evident enough, that so long as this *Confederacy* holds, and no longer, shall they keep their new King: it being sufficiently apparent to any one of common Sense, that if the *whole* and *entire Confederacy* have had hitherto enough to do, to oppose *France* even in the lowest degree, it is more than demonstration, that she alone will be able to do it least; for I must take it as granted, that if *England* breaks from the *Confederacy*, the *Confederates* must of necessity knock quite off, and make the best terms at any rate, and consequently unite with *France* against *England*, which we are well assured that King will oblige them to, in order to the compleating that most Glorious Resolution which he has so often made, and will eternize his Memory, of the Restoring that Unfortunate Prince and Martyr for his sake, the true and lawful King of *England*. This supposition, I hope, will without much difficulty be granted me, if we consider the great losses of the *Confederates* on all sides, their apparent Poverty, and Inability to carry on the War at their sole Charge, that *England* is their principal support, and has been all this War, that without the continuation of Assistance from hence, they must break, and *England* compelled to submit to her lawful and most Injured Sovereign again, which all these *Allies* know they would not be easily or suddenly inclined to from the Sense of their horrid Guilt, and dread of his just Resentment; and therefore till meer Necessity and the utmost Extremity drives them to it, they are sure to drain them at their pleasure.

Another advantage the *Confederates* propos'd to reap by the late Revolution here, and by engaging these Nations into the *Confederacy* is this, (supposing their successfulness in Attacking *France*) that whatever Cities or Territories should be recovered, or won from the *French*, should either revert to their old respective Owners, or be acquired to some of the rest of the *Confederates*, exclusive of the Prince of *Orange*, as should be agreed by them. This is natural and easy enough to be supposed; for can any one imagine, should the late pretended Design of the Prince of *Orange* to attempt the taking of *Dunkirk*,

Dunkirk, *Ipres*, or *Namur*, have been effected, that the King of *Spain* would have reſigned his right in them to him, and permitted them to be annext to the Crown of *England*, ſince 'tis evident beyond all contradiction, that the ground of this *Confederacy*, as is publiſhed by them to all the World, was to make War upon *France*, in order to recover what they urged was ſome time ſince ſo unjuſtly raviſhed from them by that *Monarch*; and nothing of this nature could ever be pretended with truth by the Prince of *Orange* as King of *England*, we having not loſt one ſingle Town to the *French?* So that it is manifeſt, all the Prodigious Expence we have been at to carry on the War in *Flanders* and *Piedmont*, was not in order to recover any thing from *France* that we had any right to, but only to aſſiſt the reſt of the *Confederates* in regaining what was lately theirs; and pray what advantage is this to us? And let the War in the concluſion, be as ſucceſsful as can be wiſht, we ſhall only have the honour in aſſiſting to debilitate *France* by weakening our ſelves, and enriching the *Confederates* by impoveriſhing and reducing poor *England*. But perhaps it may be alledged, that what has been urged in reference to the retaking of ſuch places as have been unjuſtly taken from the *Confederates* by *France*, will be readily granted; but what Acquiſts the *Engliſh* ſhall make in *France* it ſelf, will be their own. As to this I anſwer: By the late Project of Invading *France*, we may be ſatisfied that there was no manner of appearance it would be ſo, if it had been attempted, and really ſucceeded: For ſuppoſing they had landed at *Bayonne*, marched into *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, it was with a deſign to joyn the Duke of *Savoy*'s and the reſt of the *Confederate* Forces, to make Repriſals for what the *French* had acted in *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*, or in order to retake ſuch places as formerly belonged to that Prince, now in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*. This is ſo probable, nay, next to certain, that it's non-ſenſe to think otherwiſe, no poſſible Acquiſts on that ſide being anſwerable either to the Charge of taking or keeping by the *Engliſh:* Neither can it be congruous to common Senſe, that it could be of any Intereſt to the Duke of *Savoy* to aſſiſt the others in Subjugating any part of *France* to the *Engliſh*, whilſt moſt of his own Country was already ſubdued, and in the hands of the *French*. Again, granting that the other deſign of Beſieging *Dunkirk* with the Tranſport Forces from *England*, had anſwered common expectation, *Dunkirk* all the World knows was formerly the *Spaniards*, the moſt important Gariſon and Port that belonged to *Flanders*; and can any one ſo much as fancy that the King of *Spain* would ever have been contented it ſhould be an Appendage to *England*, when it was alone of greater conſequence to that Monarch to recover, than half of what he had hitherto loſt in *Flanders?* Or do we think the *Engliſh* Army *alone* was in a capacity to undertake the Siege of ſuch a Gariſon, and carry it; or if it were jointly performed with the reſt of the *Confederate* Army, that they would tamely let the Prince of *Orange* have the ſole honour of *winning* and *wearing* it too? This can never enter into the Head of the meaneſt Dotard, and therefore the direct contrary muſt neceſſarily be admitted.

The next Advantage, and that of no mean conſequence neither, that the *Confederates* have from our *Revolution*, beſides that of making theſe Experi-

ments upon *France* at the vaſt expence of our Blood and Treaſure, is, that if no poſſible hopes remain of attaining their Ends upon their common Enemy, as they phraſe it, they have a fair opportunity of making their Peace, whether *England* conſent or not: This muſt be acknowledged a prodigious one, if duly conſidered; for when the worſt comes to the worſt, the leaving *England* (which in reality has been the moſt powerful as well as the moſt malicious Enemy) to the juſt Reſentments of *France*, will almoſt amount to an Expiation for all the envious Deſigns they have all this while formed againſt her, and by a timely Deſertion of her, or in conjunction with *France* againſt her, will in ſome meaſure attone for thoſe Injuries they have done to her lawful Monarch, and indeed to themſelves, and all the Crowned Heads in the World, by ſo wicked a Precedent as they have given: This is a plain Caſe, and muſt be owned a ſingular Advantage on their ſide. All will agree 'tis no way feaſible for *England*, reſolving to maintain the P. of *O.* in the poſſeſſion of the Crown he has baſely uſurpt, ever to come to any ſort of an Accommodation with *France*, excluſive of *them*; and that they, if neceſſitated, can and will, without him; it being impoſſible for us to wage War againſt *France* and them too, when we with all the united Forces of the *Allies* were not able to make the leaſt impreſſion againſt the former.

The Objection that may be made to this Advantage of the *Confederates*, excluſive of *England*, is this, *viz.* That by the Articles of the *Confederacy* it's ſtipulated that no one of them ſhall make a ſeparate Peace.

To this it may be replied, That this Proviſion or Caution at firſt ſight may ſeem to be of ſome force, to keep ſuch of them who are the weakeſt, and the moſt contiguous, within the bounds of it, for fear of being outraged, and treated as Enemies by the reſt; but as for the more potent or remote, it can be of little moment, eſpecially after the ſad Experience of their declining Condition, and the ſenſible and irreſiſtible Growth of the hitherto ſo much envied Power of *France*. The utmoſt Fury of the *Allies* has been already ſpent, and their utmoſt Efforts by Sea and Land, and all to their own loſs, and the Intereſt of their Enemy. That brave Army under the Command of the Duke of *Lorrain*, a great part of which conſiſted of thoſe veteran Troops that for ſeveral years had ſignalized themſelves againſt the *Turks*, were broken and ſhattered in pieces the very firſt Campaign; by which means the Emperour has been extremely weakened both in *Hungary* and *Germany*, and the Enemy left at Liberty to do what he pleaſes on the *Rhine* and the *Moſell* ever ſince; the ſtrongeſt part of *Flanders* loſt; the Duke of *Savoy* upon the brink of Ruin; all *Savoy* gone; *Piedmont* in a ſinking Condition; the Commerce in all theſe Princes Countries deſtroyed: So that what they took to be one of the ſureſt Methods of reducing *France*, has fall'n moſt heavy upon themſelves; nothing but Miſery and an univerſal Diſcontent, with an utter deſpair of ever ſucceeding in their Enterprizes againſt their Enemy multiplying among them; and *England*, which has been their beſt Support, hitherto growing leſs able and willing to go on with the War, and more diſappointed perhaps than any of the reſt. Theſe Conſiderations laid together, and ſeriouſly weighed, will more than evince my Aſſertion, and confute the Objection, ſince what has

has been for the moſt part practiſed in the like Caſes, may be now; That it has been no unuſual thing for ſome of a *Confederacy* (when altogether worſted, and ready to be over-run by their Adverſaries,) to make their beſt Advantage of a ſeparate Peace, when they could not bring down the haughty and ſtubborn Spirits of the reſt to their Sentiments and Reſolutions; eſpecially when convinced by wofull Experience, that it would be their only Honour and Intereſt ſo to do, whereas at firſt they were really trickt into it againſt *both*: That this may be the Caſe of ſome of theſe united Princes, will be no hard taſk to demonſtrate; as for inſtance: What Honour was it for the Duke of *Savoy* to enter into the Confederacy againſt his Uncle, the beſt and moſt potent Friend he had, whoſe annual *Penſion* to him for ſome years amounted to a greater Sum than the Revenues of his Principality? What Honour to his Religion to entertain a hodgpodg of all Opinions, contrary to the Principles of his own; to permit them to preach up their filthy Cant where ever they go, and to gratifie their *Gothiſh* and brutiſh Zeal in the profaning all that is ſacred, and looks like good, by their irreligious and unchriſtian Behaviour, and ſuch Villanies as are not fit to be named among Chriſtians? What Honour was it for him to let out his own native Country for a Cockpit to the reſt of the Confederates, (and in particular to the K of *Spain*, and the *Dutch*, for I muſt reckon the P. of O among them,) who had violated all their former Leagues with two *Crowned Heads*, to try tricks whether they could by that means divert the *War* from their own doors, to the Devaſtation of his Territories, and Ruin of himſelf and poor Subjects, beyond any Recompence *all* of them together can ever make him, when he had ſuch Advantages at the ſame time offered him by *France*, of encreaſing his own and Subjects Wealth and Proſperity beyond any of his Anceſtors? What Honour is it for him to bring upon himſelf the juſt Hatred and Indignation of all his neighbouring Princes, for the perpetual Inſults, Ravages, and Plunderings they are expoſed to in quartering Foreigners upon his Account? What Honour for that miſerable infatuated Prince to be complemented by the *Empercur* and the King of *Spain* with the empty Title of *Generaliſſimo*, and yet be over-ruled in all his Projects and Deſigns by their Generals, as is evident from their refuſing to attack *Briancon* and *Queiras*, where he might have put in ſtrong Gariſons, and from thence have ſummoned in the Country to bring in their Contributions, and have ordered every thing to better Advantage, and with more Reputation than he has done; and all this perhaps with as little loſs as the taking of *Guilleſtre* and *Ambrun*, which he has been forced at laſt to quit ſhamefully? What Honour was it to him, that the *Germans* againſt his Conſent, and Remonſtrances to the contrary, ſhould commit ſuch horrid Barbarities by their burning and deſtroying, for which he and his half ruined Country muſt be accountable, to the utter Deſtruction of it; or at leaſt be forced to ſuch an Accommodation (unleſs the *French* King be ſuperlatively generous) as will in all probability leave only the empty Title of Dukes of *Savoy* to him and his Poſterity? To conclude, What Honour has it been to him, by the Importunities of his perfidious and impotent *Allies*, to perſiſt in his Stubbornneſs, and to refuſe ſo many good Overtures as have

been

been made him, (ſince the loſs of all *Savoy*, and the perpetual Diſappointments of competent Succours articled for in the very Alliances between him, the Emperor, and *Spain*, &c. after his moſt preſſing inſtances made for them at their reſpective Courts, and as many empty Promiſes from them,) and opportunities of healing himſelf again in due time, (the *French* King having proffered him blanks to write his own Conditions,) and this ſince he was, humanly ſpeaking, paſt all hopes of regaining any thing by the greateſt Oppoſition he could make? Since then 'tis evident, that this Prince has engaged himſelf againſt his Honour and Intereſt, unleſs we will ſuppoſe him uncapable of the leaſt degree of good Senſe, and irrecoverably deſperate, he will not after ſo many fruitleſs Attempts, and the baſe Diſappointments of all that Aſſiſtance promiſed him from the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *England*, reject thoſe Offers which are now made him of an Accommodation by the *Fr. King* and his *Holineſs*. All that he can expect from the Confederacy is only a little *Subſiſtence-money*, to act defenſively, ſince the *French* Forces daily augment upon him, and all imaginable Care is taken to ſtrengthen the Gariſons on that ſide by new Works, and to ſhut him out of *Provence* and *Dauphiny* for the time to come. And ſince the reſt of the Confederates have been hitherto, notwithſtanding their utmoſt Endeavours to encreaſe their Forces, inferiour to their Enemy, and he grows ſtronger, and they weaker, and out of condition either to repair his Loſſes, or prevent their own; there's no other Method left him, but either to comply, or fall diſhonourably and unpitied. There is no great difficulty to ſhew this to be the State of that deluded Prince, ſince all the World is convinc'd, that he had the beſt proſpect of diſembaraſſing his Affairs this laſt Campaign that ever he could or can expect. The P. of *O* promiſed him to land an Army at *Bayonne*, thence to march into *Provence* and *Dauphiny* to join him; as did likewiſe the K. of *Spain*. *England* by that *caſual* Advantage at Sea was entirely Miſtreſs in that Element all the year, (at leaſt for that purpoſe,) had a powerful Navy wholly at leiſure ever ſince to proſecute it, there being no probability of any Oppoſition, and 16000 Men, with a vaſt Train of Artillery, and Munitions of both ſorts, originally deſign'd for that Enterprize, which if it had been put in Execution, would in the opinion of all Mankind have exerciſed the Fineſs and Politicks of *France*, more than any thing that ever was, or can be attempted for the future. This, I ſay, was the only nicking Opportunity for *Savoy*, while the *French* were viſibly weak at Sea, and altogether unprovided to make any *reſiſtance* at Land on *that ſide*; but by what Fate I cannot tell, all theſe Proſpects utterly vaniſh'd, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*, without leaving the leaſt Effect but want of Policy, and the indelible Character of a *panick Fear*, downright Cowardice or Deſperation, and more than an Improbability of ever having the ſame opportunity again; beſides the ſad *Prognoſtick*, that all's running down on the Confederates Side, and *Providence* clearly on that of *France*. As to what may be pretended, that the *ſame Deſigns* may be proſecuted the next Campaign, *&c.* it is eaſy to urge that there's no manner of likelihood it can be, ſince 'tis well known that *France* will be provided of as good, or a much better Fleet than ſhe ever had, by that time; and that ſince the World is now convinced that they

they can and will fight, and dare attempt any thing; and that 44 of their Men of War were able to make good their parts againſt 99 of their Enemies, and with the Addition but of 20 more in all probability had worſted them; that a Fleet of the *French* by 20 inferior to the others, for the future, will be match enough for them: Nay, if we may credit our foreign Advices, they'll have by the next Spring a Fleet every way equal to that of *England* and *Holland*, let them both build, and put out what they can make; and then it's a clear Caſe that the *Deſign* of landing an Army to join *Savoy*, or any where elſe on the *French* Coaſts, will be impracticable. But then again let us conſider, Is there any greater likelihood that the *Confederates* will be ſuperiour to the *French* by Land the enſuing Campaign than this laſt? They had made, we all know, their utmoſt Efforts in order to it before, and yet the Pr. of *O.* told the *States* at his parting, that the cauſe of all the miſcarriages of *this* laſt muſt be imputed to the *Inferiority* of their Forces to thoſe of *France*; and we may modeſtly ſuppoſe, that 30000 Men will hardly recruit the *Confederates* Loſs, by the *Sword*, *Sickneſs*, and *Deſertion*; and that their *Augmentation* will not be near half part ſo great as that of their Enemy; ſo that they muſt be inferior yet in a double reſpect, both in Men, and Conduct; and if ſo, of doing leſs than ever: For *France* has not loſt a quarter part ſo many as *they*, and it's reaſonable enough to ſuppoſe they have raiſed near as many ſince the Campaign was opened, upon the Account of the Deſcent from *England*, beſides the ſtanding regular Troops of *Iriſh*, &c. in *Normandy*, and other Provinces, that never came into any Service; and his Augmentation, beſides Recruits, our *Monthly Account* tells us will amount to above 40000 Men, (though I am inclined to think, by comparing the foreign Accounts, they cannot amount to much leſs than 80000.) Beſides, his *Cavalry* will be prodigiouſly reinforced: We are told the *Jews* at *Metz*, *Treves*, and *Luxemburgh*, have engaged to procure him 20 or 30000 Horſes, which with the 2000 the Marqueſs *d' Harcourt* took from the *Lunenburghers*, thoſe taken by *de Lorge* in the Defeat of the Prince of *Wirtenburgh*, and which *Bouffleurs* drove away from the Territories of *Liege*, *Bois le Duc*, &c, will be able to mount 40000 Men, without reckoning what *France* and all his new *Conqueſts* will afford him. Add to theſe laſt Conſiderations the *vaſt Wealth* of *France*, as may appear by the free Gift of ſeveral Provinces, the *numerous Edicts* for erecting *new Offices*, (which we hear never want Purchaſers,) *Augmentations* of *Salaries*, and his *Standing Revenues*, beſides the great Sums of Money, or Equivalents to Money, brought in by way of *Contribution*, the multitudes of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Prizes, the Prodigious Warineſs and Sagacity of that Prince in providing all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions for the uſe of the Fleet and Armies at the loweſt Rates, and managing all to the beſt Advantage; here are ſuch Funds laid up for the carrying on all his Deſigns, that humanly ſpeaking he cannot readily miſcarry in the Execution of them, and ſuch a Proſpect of Succeſs as all the Power and Malice of the *Confederates* can never defeat. In ſhort, the Inference I draw from the Premiſes is this, That in all probability *Savoy* muſt break off from his hitherto unfortunate *Alliance*, and ſubmit; that if he will do it, it is his true and only Intereſt; that his *Allies* have moſt ignominiouſly, and contrary

to

to their Treaty expoſed him to Ruin, by failing in aſſiſting him in thoſe Enterprizes which were moſt likely to ſerve him; by over-ruling his wiſeſt Reſolutions and Methods in managing the Expedition into *Dauphiny* for his Advantage; the Confederacy cannot obſtruct an Accommodation between him and *France*, neither can they propoſe to themſelves or him to be in a better Condition to aſſiſt him, having loſt their only Opportunity, and being leſs able to ſtand upon their own Defence for the future, much leſs to *protect him*.

To return: As to the *Confederates* that are more contiguous, it being a Point of ſomewhat leſs Importance, though I firſt propoſed it, yet ſhall take leave to ſpeak to it now. I ſaid in reference to them, that they could not ſo eaſily enter upon a Treaty of a *ſeparate Peace*, without being liable to the Inſults of their neighbouring *Allies*: This is true; but then we ought to conſider what may be done in ſuch a Caſe, and that honeſtly and juſtly; if a *Confederate Prince* finds himſelf expoſed to the common Enemy, by the Negligence or Perfidiouſneſs of the reſt, (*Confederacies* generally importing mutual Defence and Protection,) in ſuch a Caſe common Reaſon and Equity will dictate that he is at Liberty to make the beſt Proviſion he can for himſelf; and if upon reiterated Applications and Entreaties he finds no Relief, his Intereſt will compell him to make the beſt Terms he can with his Enemy. So that all that can be pretended from the *Articles* of the *Confederacy* providing that no one of them ſhall make a ſeparate Peace, can be of no Obligation to any one of the *Allies* to expoſe himſelf to certain and inevitable Deſtruction againſt the Dictates of Reaſon and Self-preſervation, nor can any of the *Confederates* be ſuppoſed ſo devoid of all ſenſe of Juſtice to themſelves. All this being, as I humbly conceive, undeniable, we are in the next place to conſider what is proper to be done in ſuch inſtances in order to prevent their being treated by their Fellows as common Enemies, and then make a particular Application of it to thoſe of them who ſeem to be under ſuch Circumſtances as render it altogether neceſſary, and their only Intereſt to act accordingly. In theſe Caſes the moſt ſecure Method is to join with their Enemy, or at leaſt to endeavour to maintain themſelves in a Neutrality; by which means they'll eaſily ſecure themſelves, and perhaps reap ſuch Advantages by a timely Conjunction with the prevailing ſide, as may in a great meaſure compenſate their former Loſſes both from their new *Ally*, and their *old ones* too, in the concluding a Peace: By the former they'll be in a condition to make Repriſals on their perfidious ſelf-Intereſted *Confederates*, who compelled them, or wheedled them into the War to their great Detriment; or at leaſt be enabled with their *new Ally* to drive them to the neceſſity of making a Peace, from which they may exceedingly profit themſelves: By the latter maintain themſelves in preſent Security, and gain by both; which is far more eligible than to be devoured by their *Friends* and Enemy too. This is all I can imagine at preſent adviſable in this point; and this ſeems to be the preſent Caſe of ſome of the *Allies*, in particular the Bp. of *Liege*, the Elector Palatine, the Adminiſtrator of *Wirtenbergh*, the Electors of *Treves* and *Cologne*, and the K. of *Spain* himſelf. What Devaſtations have been in thoſe parts, and what Acquiſts the *French* have made, is too notorious to be recited here. How

meanly

meanly the *Confederates* have acquitted themſelves in defending thoſe Countries, is ſo well known, particularly in relieving *Mons* and *Namur*, when beſieged; in preventing Excurſions into the Territories of *Liege*, the *Palatinate*, the Dutchy of *Wirtenbergh*, *Juliers*, &c. is a Shame, and grand Reflection upon them to recount. And what Motives ſhould induce theſe reſpective Princes to go on with the War, is the greateſt riddle in the World. We have not one ſingle Inſtance of the *Unity* of their Councils yet in making one generous Attempt on this ſide, in attacking or relieving any place of Moment for theſe three years; ſo that hitherto they have done nothing anſwerable to the *Deſigns* they have given out, and *common Expectation*; and there are but ſmall hopes, as has been hinted already, that they will ever be more *unanimous* or *capable*. So that if theſe laſt mentioned *Allies* ſhould yet be inclinable to proceed with the War, it ſeems to be againſt all appearance of Reaſon, and what Prudence and Foreſight cannot perſuade them to ſubmit to, Time and Neceſſity will compell them, to their greater Diſhonour as well as Diſappointment.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove my firſt Aſſertion, That the Revolution in *England* was the Contrivance of the *Confederacy* in *general*, and not the P. of *O*'s *ſeparately* from the reſt of the *Allies*, or effected by his *ſole* Intereſt, and inſiſted upon thoſe *ſingular* Advantages they propoſed to themſelves by it. But hitherto, I confeſs they have not obtained any but the firſt; they have indeed drained our Wealth, and occaſioned our Blood to be ſpilt moſt profuſely; but as to their Acquiſts upon *France*, or regaining their former Loſſes, not a tittle is to be bragg'd of, they having not been able hitherto to defend themſelves: All *Savoy* gone, *Piedmont* in danger, *Mons* and *Namur*, with moſt of their Dependencies, in the Hands of the *French*, and the reſt of *Flanders* in a tottering Condition; the *Palatinate*, Territories of *Liege*, and the Dutchy of *Wirtenberg* moſt miſerably haraſſed and impoveriſhed: In a word, the State of the *Confederacy* ſo feeble in all parts, that although they had exerted their *utmoſt* this laſt Campaign, and given out ſtrange Reports of grand Attacks to be made upon *France*, nay in the *ſenſible part* too, they have been able to do juſt nothing. So that inſtead of carrying on a *vigorous War againſt* France, and *humbling* her, they have ſtood merely upon the *Defenſive*, which is only to ſuffer and endure the Evils of War, Waging War implying aſſaulting, attacking, or offending; but nothing of this hitherto, unleſs lately in *Dauphiny*, which has been ſenſibly retaliated in *Germany*, *Liege*, and the *Palatinate*, and without all peradventure will be in *Piedmont*, unleſs prevented by a ſudden Compliance.

But what ſhall we ſay to poor *England?* What Advantages will ſhe get by engaging her ſelf into the *Confederacy*, and by the late *Revolution?* Why truly I believe it would puzzle Men and Angels too, to name one at preſent; but ſince we are taught to call things by falſe names, I ſhall mention that preſumed and moſt celebrated one, *The Happineſs of having a Prince of the greateſt Reputation in the whole World for Juſtice, Religion, Valour, Conduct, and an indefatigable Studiouſneſs in promoting the Good of his* natural-born Subjects. This is an Advantage indeed, and no doubt worth the purchaſing at the deareſt Rate. Theſe are great Characters, I confeſs, and would be extremely charming, if as

true as eaſily ſaid. If his *Invading* his Father's Throne was rather owing to the *Contrivance* of the *Confederacy*, than the Pretences he made in his Declaration; then it's manifeſt to all Mankind, that he acted ſuch a Maſter-piece of injuſtice as can ſcarce be parallel'd, and beyond all Apology: To name ſome; he charged his Father and Mother with impoſing a ſuppoſititious Heir upon the three Kingdoms, which himſelf never made the leaſt doubt or ſcruple of, before he publiſhed his *Declaration*, and he had invaded the Kingdom; upon whoſe Birth he congratulated the King and Queen, and cauſed him to be prayed for by name in his own Chapel at the *Hague*, till a little before his Expedition hither; and although in the aforeſaid *Declaration* he promiſed the Nation he would refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and all things relating to it, and to the Right of *Succeſſion*, to the Parliament; yet it's notoriouſly known, the Parliament never ſo much as went about it, nor himſelf ever moved it to them; neither could the reiterated Petitions and Deſires of a great many Perſons of Quality ever procure any ſuch Favour from them or him, to the great Diſſatisfaction of no inconſiderable part of this Kingdom. Beſides, let any one compare his *Declaration* with the *Original Contract* with him, or *Inſtrument of Government* ſince, and I challenge all the World to produce ſuch an Inſtance of Injuſtice, and Violation of Promiſes, as this *pretended Saint*, and *Mirror* of Juſtice has afforded us. And though three preceding Kings have been blackened by a ſet of Villains and Profligates, that are a ſcandal to all the reſt of Mankind, as *Neroes*, *Julians*, and Imps of Hell, to ſet off their *dull, gloomy Hero*; yet we may with truth defie them to produce ſuch Inſtances of *Arbitrarineſs*, and *Violation of Property*, ſince *Henry* the VIII, as his four Years Tyranny have produced. It may be ſaid, I own, he is a ſevere Puniſher of *Thieves* and *Clippers*; but then if we do but reflect what a neceſſity he has reduced ſome thouſands of People unto for want of Trade, and the ill Example he has given himſelf, by invading three Crowns, and ſending the Wealth out of the Nation never to return again, and notwithſtanding cried up by the *Theologo-Politicoes* for a *Saint*, a *Saviour*, a *Deliverer*, &c. he has contributed exceedingly towards the taking off the edge of all Religious Reſtraint, and the fearing Mens Conſciences, and confirming them in Wickedneſs; ſo that nothing but the Terror of civil Puniſhment remains to put a ſtop to all manner of Injuſtice: And ſince it's undoubted that by the ſevere Infliction of Puniſhment in ſuch Caſes he chiefly aims at his own Intereſt, as *Uſurpers* and *Tyrants* ſeldom do otherwiſe, I am afraid, notwithſtanding ſuch pretended *Juſtice*, he will hardly avoid the imputation of being guilty of their Blood, as well as in a great meaſure acceſſary to their Crime. And I believe it will not be forgotten in haſte, how one poor Fellow laid his Death to his Charge at the very Gallows, as being the ſad occaſion of it; and prayed for his true Maſter, intimating, that if he had not been driven away, in all probability he had never come to that diſmal end. Again, let us call to mind the many Sham Plots that have been forged by his Mirmidons, to keep up the Rancour and Malice of the People againſt their King and his Friends, the illegal fining of Perſons beyond their known Abilities, contrary to the *Inſtrument of Government* he ſubſcribed as the Condition of his having the Crown, for meer Trifles, as drinking

drinking K. *James*'s Health, or praying for him; in murthering that worthy Gentleman and excellent Christian, Mr. *Ashton*, the poor Chairman, and Mr. *Cross*; in suborning and protecting from Justice those bloody Rascals, *Blackhead*, *Young*, and *Fuller*, Fellows that were selected out of all the Gaols in Town by one *Pearson*, and at his Expence no doubt discharged of their Debts, *&c.* and afterwards allowed Salaries on purpose to swear all that he hates or fears out of their Lives, when he thinks it expedient; the frequent illegal Imprisonments of Persons of the greatest Quality, as well as others, and by all that does appear to the contrary, himself alone being the *Evidence*, *Accuser*, and *Judge*; his shamefully detaining the Soldiers and Seamens Pay, by misapplying it, contrary to the very Acts of Parliament that granted it; his vast Debts to the Transport Ships ever since the beginning of the Revolution; the frequent Embargoes; the refusal of Convoys to secure the publick Trade of the Nation, notwithstanding the Custom and vast Taxes granted upon that, as well as any other Account; the ordering the publick Monies to contrary uses in general than originally design'd, against the frequent Promises in his Speeches to both Houses of Parliament: These are such notorious Violations of *Justice*, that we may with as much Truth give him the Reputation of the handsomest Man in the World, as the Character of *just*.

Then again for his *Religion*: According to the Rules of Method I should have mentioned It first; but it's no great matter whether it be considered first or last, or indeed at all. What mortal *Wight* can tell what *Religion* he is of; or rather, Is it not a contradiction to say he has any? It's impossible he should be of the Communion of the true Church of *England*, which he found established by Law, because he persecutes those with the utmost Violence he can, whose *Defence* he made one of the most specious *Pretences* in his Declaration. *Decl. Parag.* 15. and so readily consented to the rooting out *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, settled by several Acts of *Convocation* and *Parliament*; and though he with his usual Arts of Dissimulation seemed to be very squeamish, when he came to that Clause of the *Scotch Coronation Oath*, *We shall be careful to root out Hereticks*, by declaring *he did not mean by those Words that he was under any Obligation to become a Persecuter*, yet never made any scruple to set on foot and encourage one of the most violent Persecutions we ever read of against the Episcopal Clergy there. Neither can we indeed with any certainty determine to what side he is really most inclined, whether the *Presbyterian* or *Episcoparian*, he constantly varying his Favours to either, according to the Emergencies of his present Interests in *Scotland* itself. Sometimes he would seem to have good Inclinations towards the *Episcopal Party*, when he has any just reason either to fear them or cares them; for we are all sensible enough that the main Body of the Nobility and Gentry, and the better sort even of the Commonalty of that Kingdom, are most addicted to them, and though in the hurry and Confusion of Affairs there in the beginning of the Revolution, to gain the *Presbiterians*, and other *Sectaries*, he underhand encouraged them to fall upon the Bishops and regular Clergy in a tumultuous manner, which was the most blessed juncture they could wish to vent their innate Malice, and over boiling Zeal, against a Party they hated, if possible, more than the Devil himself, that he might have

an opportunity to make good his Engagements to those their Agitators, who had been for some years plotting and juggling with him in *Holland*, to bring about this *Great Deliverance*; yet finding at length the impossibility of maintaining his Interest there upon that foot, he has several times endeavoured by his Letters, *&c.* to procure an Accommodation between them, by settling some of the Episcopal Clergy in Livings, *&c.* resolving, no doubt, assoon as he can conveniently, to determine himself for that Party which he can most safely rely upon. Neither has his Management here in *England* been much different; he found the greatest part of the Nation addicted to the Principles of the Church of *England*, as established by Law, and some of their Principles and Doctrines opposite in the highest degree to his Designs; therefore like a *true Machiavelist*, he found it absolutely necessary to bring those Principles into Disreputation, and extirpate them, if possible, right or wrong; and to this purpose set up the noted *Latitudinarian Gang*, by the easie Allurement of his Favour, and the assurance of the best Preferments, to decoy the rest of their Brethren into a ready Compliance with him, who immediately in their Preachings and Writings confessed and owned their former Errours to the People, and in a short time rendred their so much celebrated *Passive Obedience* and *Nonresistance* the most ridiculous Doctrine and dangerous Error in the World, gave us new Comments on *Rom.* 13. telling us that higher Powers must be obeyed, without any regard to *lawful* or *unlawful*; that *Allegiance* and *Submission* were all one; that in some Cases it is lawful to violate the Commandments of God; that *Religion* and the *publick Good* knew no Relations; that it is lawful to swear with Reservation, or to take publick Oaths in private senses; that an Oath to the present Government did not interfere with the former to K. *James*, *&c.* Nay, any Pretences in the beginning were allowed and admitted of, provided they could but hook them into the Interest of the Government, and bring them off in some measure from their former Principles; so firmly had it been resolved by this Gentleman, and his *Cabinet*, to ruin the old Church of *England*, and let loose her Discipline, and by all imaginable Arts and Devices to render her odious and contemptible. Neither has this wicked and atheistical Project wanted it's Success; in a moment of time her Face was so altered, and scarce to be known again, her Priesthood perjured and turn'd schismatical, and like Renegades, their new Zeal and Malice boil'd up to that degree, that the Liturgy must be alter'd, her ancient Creeds expung'd, her Ceremonies left at Liberty, or laid aside, and a *Comprehension* established for bringing all their *Reverend Brethren*, the *Gifted Coblers*, *Tinkers*, *Taylors*, *&c.* with the Foreign Reformed *Schismaticks* into Church-Preferments; all the *Fences* and *Hedges* must be pull'd down in order to unite these Brethren in Iniquity against the common Enemy, tho' indeed the only design was to extirpate and run down those Principles, which, whenever it pleases God Almighty to pull off the Scales of the Eyes of the honest and well-meaning tho' deluded People of this Nation, would set his Worship a packing, notwithstanding that Security which he has promised himself from those horrid Perjuries he has been the occasion of, and which themselves in all their common Discourses own to have so little Obligation, and shamefully call *Garison Oaths*. Thus having,

ing, as far as poſſible he could, diſſolved the True Old Church of *England*, and erected a new One upon a meer civil Baſis, ſuch as 'tis, of Rebellion, Perjury and Uſurpation, and rendered it impoſſible to retrieve the Diſcipline of the Church, and her Sacred Offices during his Government here; the next thing he endeavours is to profit himſelf of all Parties in Religion (notwithſtanding his popular Pretence of uniting them all againſt the common Enemy, *viz.* Popery,) to this purpoſe he ſtudies privately to daſh them one againſt the other, by reviving old Stories under the former Reigns, and to keep up ſome *neceſſary Feuds* amongſt them, for fear of a good Underſtanding, and Union, perhaps in time to throw him out of the Saddle, when once they perceive their true Intereſt; and therefore never omits to careſs them, as his only Friends he can rely upon when he has a proſpect of making a particular Advantage upon them, as in the management of the Election of Mayors, Sheriffs, and Aldermen in the City of *London*, (and in the *Elections* of Burgeſſes for *Parliament* all over the Nation) is too notorious to be inſiſted upon, in order to oblige them to lend or grant Money, *&c.* When one Party begins to grow cold and indifferent, by Diſappoiniments, *&c.* then he underhand applies himſelf to another, and by ſtirring up Animoſities and Quarrels among them, caſts Miſts before their Eyes, that being intent upon their private Revenge, and little Plots and Contrivances one againſt another, they may take the leſs cognizance of the more publick Concerns, and be the more eager and emulous of ſerving him, in hopes of drawing him in to favour and aſſiſt their Party. Thus he plays Tricks, and juggles with Religion, and that is the moſt Orthodox which conduces moſt to the eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Government, and is always ready to vary his Religion with his *Fortune*, let it be what it will; and I dare engage *Arch John*, and the reſt of the *Johns* ſhall readily concur with him at any time to ſet up what Religion he pleaſes, provided it will ſuit their Turn, as well as his. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more to this Point afterwards, and therefore ſhall proceed to enquire, whether *Valour* ought to be admitted as an Ingredient of his Reputation.

And as this Quality, which I muſt grant never wants its Charms to get into the Affection of the Nobleſt as well as Popular and Meaneſt Minds; I would fain know what Right he can put in for it? or what gallant Proofs he has given of Perſonal Bravery, eſpecially ſince his being amongſt us? The Victory at the *Boyne* indeed has made a great Noiſe among his deluded bigotted Mob: But its well known he never ran the leaſt riſk in it, or paſs'd the River (which was the greateſt danger) till moſt of the Army were over, nor ever was within reach of, much leſs *gently kiſs'd* with a Cannon-Ball, or received the leaſt hurt there, whatever his Paraſitical *Mufti*, and the pretended Thankſgiving Prayer roar'd out among the Mob by his Atheiſtical Prieſts, a clear Evidence of his and their Religion to dare to affront Heaven ſo profanely, meerly to delude the poor Innocent Sheep, as if they believed there was no God to take Vengeance of ſuch open Blaſphemies, as well as of the reſt of their Impieties. Juſt ſuch a ſilly Story we had of his Deliverance laſt Year, when he lay encamp'd near *Beaumont*, of a Bullet that fell in the very place where he ſtood under an Oak the very inſtant after he went from it, tho'

tho' I have been inform'd it was several Hours after, which was cryed up too for a Signal Deliverance. And as to the Engagement at *Steinkirk*, tho' all the *Dutch Courants* are full of Encomiums of his Bravery in leading up of Battalion after Battalion, and of Thanksgivings, and many Godly Ejaculations for his wonderful Deliverance, we never for all that could be assur'd he was in the Action at all, or in the least Danger; and some who had reason enough to know, positively assert he was not. So that these are all nonsensical silly Stories, made on purpose to keep up the Hearts of the King-making Rabble, and to instil into their credulous Minds, that easily digest every Report that makes for their Side, without considering the Truth or Probability of what they hear, and to preserve the Reputation of their Idol's being the Darling of Heaven; and two or three such whisking Romances is all the return for four Millions *per Annum*, and all we must look for.

As little as we have to alledg for his Personal *Valour*, and Bravery, yet I am sure much less can be produc'd for his pretended Masterpiece, *Conduct*, which we are all told strikes such Terrour on all occasions into the *French King*. Pray what Instances have we of it? As to the Business at the *Boyne*, the grand Divertisement for the *Bartholomew Mob*, and not worthy to be taken notice of any way else, all sensible People are convinc'd that advantage was got by mere Treachery, by the *Germans* laying down their Arms, and absolutely refusing to fight, consequently betraying their Posts, the Treachery giving such reason of Distrust to the poor *Irish*, that they turning Tail, the General Officers with much ado perswaded the King to consent to a Retreat, and leave the Field to his usurping Son-in-law, though with such Order, that the *great Hero*, with his crue of *Rebels*, could not do any considerable Damage upon them, or have the Honour of a pursuit to any effect; and besides, as his *own Officers* are not afraid to own, after *Schomberg*'s death, a sensible want of Conduct attended all his Enterprizes all the remaining Campaign. Was ever any thing more weakly undertaken than the Siege of *Limerick*, more foolishly and inexpertly attackt? Or did ever any Army under such an *incomparable General* come off so basely? What warlike Policy to undertake such a piece of Work without heavy Cannon and Ammunition, *&c.* and to commit them to the care of so slender a Guard? To lose about 8000 Men to no purpose, and at last through a pannick fear to run away *incognito* from his Army, and steal over in a *Meal-boat?* He who never saw Siege in his Life might have managed it in all points to better purpose; and yet, to our mortal Grief, all this owing to the sage Management and Bravery of our *Hogan Mogan William*. But the next *Campaign* must make Amends for former oversights: The P. of *O.* was to be early at the *Hague*, to consult in all haste of the most effectual means to humble the Pride of *France*, and while a parcel of grave, dull *Germans* and *Dutch* were sucking their Whiskers, and stuffing their Paunches, the *grand Hector of* France had the confidence to sit down before *Mons*. The noise of this bold Attempt reaching the Ears of the Butter-boxes, and the Profound *thinking Noddle* of the *Britannick Hero*, away he goes to *Hall*, and before he could bethink himself what to do, or get out of his Amuzement, the Town was surrendred; which so confounded his Intellectuals,

and

and ſtunn'd his conſidering Pate, that he never could come to any Reſolution what to do the whole *Campaign* after; but *march'd* and *countermarch'd* from place to Place, *advancing*, *retiring*, and *running away*, till he had ſpent all his Money and Proviſions, and cunningly took his leave of the Army as ſoon as he perceived *Luxemburgh* had pounded 'em up near *Leuſe*, and was ready to give them a Parting Blow, nois'd it about immediately after, that this Miſcarriage was owing to the Miſconduct of the Generals in his abſence, the cowardly *French* taking the Advantage of it, and ſo returned to his Parliament, and told them, *That truly the* French *King was very powerful.* And yet we may remember that in the beginning of that Summer it was rumour'd about that *Mons* was to be retaken, *Dinant* or *Philipville* beſieged, the *French* Army to be beaten, the *Confederates* having got together a much more powerful Army than the Enemy, who was reported all along the *Campaign* to be hard put to it for want of Money, Forrage, Proviſions, and the Lord knows what; but then, as Miſchief would have it, they always had the luck to be ſo ſtrongly intrencht, (which our unthinking Slaves were made to believe was out of fear to be attackt by his *Britannick* Majeſty as they call him, and his Bear-ſkins,) that the *Confederates* could not come at them; as if that could be a Diſgrace to the *French*, which was ever the Glory of the greateſt Generals, to encamp themſelves ſo as not to be compelled to fight without a great Advantage, eſpecially when inferiour in Forces, and merely defenſive, which is well known was *Luxemburgh*'s Caſe all along the two laſt Summer Campaigns; and yet in the former of theſe, though much inferiour in number, he made a ſhift to fall upon their Rear, and put them to the rout, killing a conſiderable number, and taking divers Priſoners, and to conclude the *Campaign* gloriouſly; and this laſt, by a ſudden March to take Poſſeſſion of the very Ground, where there was plenty of Forrage that was untoucht, which our brave *Generaliſſimo* deſigned for his Army, who wanted it exceedingly, entrencht himſelf; and in regard it could not be well avoided but our *Proteſtant Knight Errant* muſt either paſs that way, or march round about, (which would have proved a horrid Diſgrace to him,) by this means forced him to attack him with his own Men, his Allies poſitively refuſing to ſecond him, and looking on the whole time; himſelf in the mean time being ſenſible of the great danger, and very prudently keeping out of harm's way: So that this attacking of the Enemy was merely the Effect of an abſolute neceſſity of his doing ſomething, though to no purpoſe, and the Conduct and Foreſight of the *Crook backt General*, as this *Thirſites* call'd him, and his own Folly beſides in making an unaccountable (and ought to be an unpardonable) Experiment too, in ſacrificing the Lives of ſo many thouſands of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Danes*, to make an empty flaſh, and to keep up the undue Opinion of his Valour among the abuſed *Mob*; for in one word, all the Politicks he is guilty of lies in careſſing them; and ſo little ſenſe he has, that ſo long as he can keep them on his ſide, he concludes all is ſafe and well. Here is conduct with a Vengeance, and puts me in mind of a ſhort paſſage in an excellent Author, who comparing *Alexander* the *Great* and *Cæſar* together, writes thus: *The Prudence of a General has two parts; the firſt reſpects the Conſervation of his*

own

own Forces, and the other the Deſtruction of his Enemies. Alexander *was defective in the former, becauſe he frequently led his Army into places where they ſometimes died of Hunger, or Thirſt, or by Stones, (as in ſome narrow Paſſages, with Mountains on each ſide,) where he was forced to engage his Enemies at all Diſadvantages of Ground,* &c. *and conſequently brought his Men oftentimes meerly to be butchered: Wherefore that Speech of the* grand Scipio *will ever be applauded,* That he had rather ſave one Citizen, than ſlay a thouſand of his Enemies. *Again,* Alexander *was wanting in the ſecond; for whereas two things are neceſſary to the Deſtruction of an Enemy, Force and Conduct, he ordinarily depended upon, and ſucceeded by the former; which connot be ſaid of* Cæſar; *foraſmuch as he took as much care of his Men, as a Father of his Family, nor ever went upon any Enterprize without great Stores of Proviſions and all Neceſſaries; if he had not Corn enough he made it up with Fleſh, and having an advantage over his Enemy, choſe rather to defeat him by Policy than the Sword: and in all occaſions endeavoured to add Induſtry to his Force.* This is but one part of the Compariſon of theſe two Great Men, and ſince our Boobies will be thought to have made a wiſe Choice of their King, as they call him, and he muſt be a great Champion, let him be dreſt up with all the Imperfections of *Alexander*, with whom they are pleaſed ſo often to compare him; for I am ſure nothing really honourable and commendable in that Great Man can ever ſuit their puny *Hector:* and then for a Concluſion, let them but be ſo juſt withal, as to apply the Character of *Cæſar* to his Adverſary, and judge what they may expect for the future from either.

Another famous Inſtance of his Military Policy, is the tender Care he takes in making Proviſion for, and paying his Soldiers by Sea and Land. It's not unknown to us all what numbers of Seamen died of ſtrange and unaccountable Diſeaſes the firſt Summer after this *Revolution*, through his notable Frugality in furniſhing the Navy for the moſt part with old and decayed Stores, and that abominable Lie that was ſpread abroad in excuſe of it, that their Meat and Salt were poiſoned with Nutgalls; whereas all Phyſicians will grant, if a quantity of them was really mixt with them they could not produce ſuch Effects, but would rather have proved an excellent Medicine to have prevented, or cured the Bloody or any other Fluxes, which were very frequent among them, being a great Aſtringent. But not to inſiſt upon this ſenſeleſs Story, theſe old Stores however decayed were thought a good expedient to ſave Money to hire Foreigners and many other neceſſary uſes. What Care did he take to ſend over Proviſions for the Army in *Ireland*, whereof at leaſt ten Thouſand periſhed through want of all manner of Neceſſaries, and were ready to leap at what our very Dogs would refuſe, while the *Dutch* and other Foreigners, wanted nothing, but were fat, and well liking? And becauſe this Prince muſt be call'd and own'd as *Generaliſſimo* of the Confederate Forces in *Flanders*, and all Advantages againſt the Enemy there aſcribed to his Conduct, ſo it is not unreaſonable to lay all the Miſcarriages there to his Charge, as Evidences of his ſiniſter Conduct. Whence proceeded that great ſcarcity nay abſolute want of all ſorts of Proviſions, even of *Tents* and *Straw*, in the beginning of the *Campaign*, which occaſioned a great deal of Sickneſs, and the Death of many Men

Men and Horſes, but from his Negligence, or want of Money to provide them, which is as inexcuſable as the other; ſince that General who will go upon any Enterprize without all things neceſſary, has been ever condemn'd as raſh, and void of all Military Prudence? What a Reflection is it upon the Politicks of this *Mighty Warrior* to be unprovided in the beginning of that *Annus Mirabilis*, which raiſed the expectations of all *Chriſtendom*, and was to decide the Fate of all *Europe*, when he had engaged himſelf to be early in the Field, and ſeem'd reſolute to oppoſe the *French* in all they could pretend to; and yet tamely to ſtand ſtaring at the Head of 100000 Men, without making the leaſt Attempt to raiſe the Siege of *Namur*, the moſt important Town in all *Flanders*, or to give the leaſt Diverſion; and to ſerve only for an Evidence of one of the braveſt Actions that ever was perform'd by any Prince, and that indelible Diſhonour and Loſs to him and his Allies, which they in all likelyhood can never retrieve. Now, I ſay, the P. of *O.* committing ſo great an Overſight in not making timely and competent Proviſions for his Army in ſuch a difficult time of the Year, his Army muſt be more than ordinarily fatigu'd, diſpirited, and unfit for Action, and never ready on the ſudden to act offenſively or defenſively; and one thing which argues this was not a ſingle Error, but a perpetual Miſcarriage on the Confederates ſide all this War, is, That whereas the Foreign Prints have conſtantly given us an Account of the early and indefatigable Preparations of the *French* all this War, they ſeldom afford us the like Inſtances in the *Confederates:* let the true Reaſon lie where it will, its an Argument of a double Weakneſs, and that their Succeſs, whenever they have any, is an effect of Chance, and not of their Politicks and Diligence. For want of timely and ſuitable Preparations for an Enterprize, its odds but it muſt miſcarry, eſpecially when it cannot be relieved by Prudence or Stratagem; and how ſagacious he is at a dead Lift, let the World bear him witneſs, unleſs it be in throwing his Miſcarriages upon others, without any regard to *Truth* and *Honour*. We have not found yet that he has been early enough out either by Sea or Land, but only by a *meer Accident* at Sea this laſt Year, the croſſneſs of the Winds favouring, which is an Advantage he cannot always promiſe himſelf; and had it not been for that, in all Human Probability, he would have for ever loſt all opportunity of playing the Fool again.

But this is not the only Defect remarkable in the P. of *O* as to *Military Prudence*, (or Providence,) but his *Pay* has been all along bad. Money is called the *Nerves*, and the *Belly* of War; the *Nerves*, becauſe it gives Motion to, and maintains Armies in their Motion; (hence *Thucydides* obſerves, that few of the *Grecians*, in reſpect of the extent of their Territories, went to the Wars againſt *Troy*, and could never keep themſelves long together, through want of Money; and that the People of the *Morea* made ſhort *Campaigns* upon that account. It's generally for Money and Subſiſtence that Men liſt themſelves into the Wars, and when once that fails, they ſenſibly grow weary and dead hearted;) and it's properly call'd the *Belly* of War, becauſe like as the *Belly* diſtributes Nouriſhment to all parts of the Animal, ſo does Money to an Army. How far this P. has diſcharged himſelf in this Point, no Body

is ignorant from the higheſt to the loweſt amongſt us. The preſent Arrears to the Army in *Ireland* is an Inſtance of Injuſtice without Parallel. Men that had ventured their Lives, and indured all the Hardſhips poſſible for Human Nature to ſuſtain, in hopes at leaſt of good *Pay*, if not ſharing the Country for their Service, having never received any other than a little Subſiſtence Money, and forced thereby to commit all the Villanies in the World, by Plundering and Murdering, to the Deſtruction of near a third part of the People, and three parts in four of the natural Riches and Product of the Country; and at laſt told by their Officers they muſt never expect their *Arrears*, but exact Pay for the time to come, and then immediately to be tranſported to *Flanders* to be made *Forlorns*, is ſuch a Monument of Inhumanity as we can ſcarce find in Hiſtory, though at the ſame time a *juſt Reward* from God for their *Rebellion* againſt their *Lawful King*, who ever tender'd them as his Children, there being not one part of four alive of all thoſe Villains who had ſo baſely deſerted him, and betrayed him.

This Matter of Fact about the *Arrears*, if occaſion ſhould require, will be readily acknowledged by ſome hundreds of Officers, particularly by *Colonel Bierly*, whoſe Caſe being ſingular, I ſhall beg leave to inſert it, which in ſhort is this; The Colonel was a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, and formerly very zealous for the P. of *O*'s Intereſt, and *Colonel* of a Regiment of Horſe from firſt to laſt, and hath expended between 5 and 6000 *l.* of his Eſtate in his Service, and there being an Arrear of above 4000 *l.* due to him; for ſeveral Months he ſolicited diligently for it, but without Succeſs: in concluſion, he told the *Lords* of the *Treaſury* that his private Affairs obliged him to go into the Country to ſettle them, having been ſo long abſent, therefore deſired that he might know whether he might expect an *Order* for his *Arrears* or not, and he would ſtay a Week longer to adjuſt that Buſineſs. The Lords Commiſſioners told him that he might go into the Country when he pleaſed, for he was to expect nothing from them, for they had no *Orders* to pay any *Arrears*: So he's gone into the Country, where he ſpares no occaſions to ſet forth the *Injuſtice* and *Ingratitude* of him, who was never guilty of doing a *juſt* or *honourable* Action in his whole Life. What a Scandal and burning Shame is it, that the poor Seamen (whereof a great many have two or three Years *Arrears* due to them, and all the reſt proportionably, having been expoſed to all Dangers, kept out at Sea, and on Shipboard, longer than ever was known, and been inſtrumental of that *Grand Deliverance* he had only to brag of in his *Speech*) ſhould be defrauded of their Pay; nay, not having ſo much as Subſiſtence Money; and yet tied up to the Service by ſevere and repeated Proclamations, without and againſt all former Precedents, oblig'd to be at Sea moſt part of this Winter, and utterly forbidden their ancient Priviledg of making a ſhort Voyage or two to get Bread for their poor Wives and Families, who having Bankrupt their former Credit with Shopkeepers, Bakers, *&c.* are forc'd to beg and ſtarve! This is ſuch a Hardſhip as they and their Fore-fathers never knew before, and ſuch a Yoke as none but a *Dutch Boar* could ever have fixed upon *Engliſh* Necks. The Cowardly, and juſtly to be abominated *Dutch* by all of our Nation, after the Defeat at Sea two Years ago, were taken into our Hoſpitals

pitals before any of our Countrymen were put in, tenderly provided for, and had a Gratuity given by the *Princeſs* of *Orange* for their Encouragement, were entertained, and got Money from all ſorts of People; and beſides all this, This *Gracious Governeſs* promiſed to refit all their diſabled Ships at the publick Charge, to have Penſions for the Widows of the Men that were loſt in the Fight, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the *London Gazette* of *July* 21. 90. in the Article from the *Hague*, *July* 25. *On the* 22*d Mr.* Harbord *arrived here from* England, *and the ſame Evening had Audience of the States General,——to whom he repreſented, that he was commanded by the Queen to let them know how much her Majeſty was concerned at the Misfortune that had befall'n their Squadron, in the late Engagement. and that their not being ſeconded as they ought to have been, which Matter her Majeſty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompence thoſe that had done their Duty, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found to have deſerv'd it. That her Majeſty had given Orders for the refitting the* Dutch *Ships that were diſabled, at her own Charge, and had commanded that all poſſible care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded Seamen, and that Rewards ſhould be given to the Widows of thoſe that were kill'd, behaving themſelves bravely in the Fight, to encourage thoſe that do well for the future.* Here is a ſtrange Partiality and Tenderneſs for the *Dutch*, *Rewards for their Widows*, *Encouragement* promiſed to thoſe of them that ſhall *do well for the future*, beſides particular *Care* of their *ſick* and *wounded* in our Hoſpitals; while our own Men were permitted to periſh for want of neceſſary looking after, and under the unſkilful Hands of Country *Surgeons* little better than Country *Farriers*. What Inſtances of ſuch *Grace* and *Compaſſion* to the poor *Widows* and *Orphans* of the *Engliſh*, which are numberleſs in *Wapping*, *Chatham*, and many other of our Ports, who never as yet could get the juſt Arrears due to their Deceaſed Huſbands; and yet which is moſt barbarous and unjuſt, the *Dutch* muſt have *Rewards* and *Encouragements* out of our Pay, whilſt the *Engliſh* are neglected and permitted to ſtarve. This is a Specimen of the Affection our New Governours have for the *Engliſh* Nation, and a clear Forerunner of our Slavery, if God Almighty does not timely prevent it, which none but a degenerous and infatuated People to their own Deſtruction would ever ſuffer themſelves to groan under? But this is not all, the ancient Encouragement of *Smart-Money* to the wounded is moſt fraudulently detain'd, the maim'd expoſed to meer Beggary, for want of their uſual *Penſions* paid to them by the reſpective *Counties* they belong to, and are become a publick *Nuſance* in our *Cities* and great *Towns*. What is become of the wounded and maimed in *Ireland* and *Flanders*, who, no doubt, were very numerous? God only knows; the moſt reaſonable Conjecture is, they are either ſuffered to periſh abroad, by being refuſed Paſſage Home, or knock'd on the Head to ſave their Pay, and that they might not come Home and tell Tales of their hard Uſage, to the diſcouraging their *Fellow Slaves* from entring upon the Service. The Story of 50 wounded *Engliſh* being burnt in a Barn by the *Dutch*, at the Command of the P. of *O.* in *Ireland*, upon the abſolute refuſal of an *Engliſh* Officer, who had ſome remains of Compaſſion and natural Affection for his own Country men, is real matter of Fact, and ought not to be forgotten; which was done, as is ſaid, meerly to avoid the *Trouble* and

Charge of curing them. These are some of the Hardships the Soldiery groan under, and a Specimen of the *Brutish Temper* as well as *Unpoliticknes's* of our *Usurper*; and sooner or later he must expect to reap the just Fruits of his *Cruelty* and *Folly* both. What Glorious Atchievements can he ever pretend to do with Soldiers, who must in due Time (if there be so much Mercy reserved in Heaven, have their Eyes open'd,) see their Error, and resent such ill Usage and Partiality? However our dull and unthinking *Bigots* may flatter themselves with great expectations of what he has most sillily given out in his *Speech* to *both Houses*, of his Resolution to make a Descent, and do Miracles in *France*; the Soldiery are of the contrary Opinion, and through meer Despair of ever getting their Pay, or effecting any thing upon their Enemy, have deserted considerably, and really entertain low and mean Thoughts of his *Conduct*, see through the Cheat, and are only hindred by the strictnes's of his Discipline from running unanimously to their Old and Best Master. They own, as many as get over, that they are hated in *Flanders*, abused at all rates by the *Dutch*, exposed upon all accounts as *Forlorns:* They can tell you how divers of their Officers were cashier'd, and Soldiers hang'd immediately after the Battle at *Steinkirk*, for avoiding being knock'd on the Head by the *French*, when a numerous Army stood looking on, and not one single Troop or Company permitted (though some of the *English* desired it, and were ready to hazard their Lives to rescue their poor Countrymen) to go in to their assistance. By several Letters from Officers in *Flanders* in the *English* Army, we have been informed, how the poor wounded Men, thro' the intolerable Pains they endured, curs'd and damn'd to the Pit of Hell, with their Breaths, *him* who brought them to that *horrid Butchery*. They can tell you likewise what great Numbers deserted his Service immediately after the Fight, chusing rather to run the hazard of being hang'd, and loosing all their *Pay* and *Arrears* than to continue in his Service. They can tell you how the *English* are universally hated by the Country People there, that they'll scarce let them have Necessaries for their Money, and that the *Flanderkins* have more respect for the Enemy than from their pretended Friends the *Allies*, and much better usage for them. They can tell you that their Wounded and Prisoners, that fell into the Hands of the *French*, were more kindly treated by them than among their Friends; and how far such Usage may work upon the Minds of a People naturally Generous, though at present bereav'd of their Senses, Time may demonstrate. They can tell you how the P. of *O.* is under-valued and nos'd by the *Confederates* in general, distrusted by the *Dutch*, despised by the Inhabitants in all the Cities and Towns in *Flanders*, and hated by all, and for want of those Qualifications we are made to admire, and so foolishly and superabundantly have hitherto magnified in him. What wonder then is it that our *English* Seamen and Soldiers mutiny, run away, *&c.* they can neither get their Pay, nor good Words but at a dead lift; if they modestly demand their own, though incited to it by the keenest Necessity, they are immediately hang'd or shot to Death without the least Remorse or Pity! Had we ever such unjust Acts of Parliament made in any Kings Reigns, for enslaving and punishing of Seamen or Landmen, as since this *Revolution*; so many brave Men hang'd or

shot

ſhot to Death for Trifles; ſuch Kidnapping our Landmen, under pretence for Sea Service, and ſent the Lord knows whither? Nay, I am credibly informed, it has been no unuſual thing to preſs Landmen, and ſell them for 3*l.* a Head to the *Dutch*, or into other *Foreign* Service. What Apology can be made for the wicked abuſes of the *Mariners*, a parcel of brave young Fellows, who were kept on Board till they were almoſt all dead of the Small-Pox and other Diſtempers, the remainder cheated of and denied their Pay, and then forced in a ſickly and moſt pitious Condition to beg from door to door, as *London* and other Places can ſufficiently teſtify? To recount all the Miſeries of our diſtreſſed Countrymen, who are actually engaged under this Government, would be an endleſs Taſk; all I ſhall add under this Head, is, that this ill Uſage looks more like the effect of Malice, and a perfect Hatred, and Diſtruſt, than of any neceſſity upon our Governours; but if it be, our Condition is deplorable and remedileſs, by all the Supplies we are able to give, though never ſo willingly, and without our moſt juſt and preſent Reſentments, a certain Forerunner of inevitable Ruin; but if we have but one grain of Senſe, or Reflection left, and be not benumb'd all over, is an infallible Indication of the Stupidity of the *Generaliſſimo* of the beſotted and dull *Confederates*; and what the effects of ſuch Politicks may be, with relation to himſelf, I leave to the Judgments of all ingenuous Men to conjecture.

Thus we find his Politicks are by no means adequate to his Deſigns, or proportionable to thoſe great Undertakings, his Reputation, and the neceſſity of his Affairs, as well as of theſe three Kingdoms unhappily under his Management, do abſolutely require: and in reference to this laſt particular, I ſhall now enquire, whether an indefatigable and ſincere ſtudiouſneſs to promote the *publick Good* of theſe Nations, ought to be admitted as a juſt Ingredient of his Character or Reputation: I need not much enlarge upon this Point, the direct contrary being eaſily deducible from what has been ſaid all along, only for the aſſiſtance of our Memories ſhall recapitulate. Our Conſtitution both of *Church* and *State* are revers'd and quite disjointed; our *Liberties* and *Properties* moſt unjuſtly invaded, and more Inſtances of *Arbitrary Power* daily committed than in ſeveral of the former Reigns. Trade in general decreaſing, baſely and deſignedly betrayed, and rendered almoſt impracticable. A great part of our current Coin either Tranſported in *Specie*, or melted into Ingots, and recoined into Dutch *Schellings* in *Holland*, and irrecoverably loſt, to our vaſt impoveriſhment, and the enriching our ſworn Enemies. A Million at leaſt *per Annum*, by the confeſſion of Favourites of the Government, loſt ever ſince this War, in Shipping and Merchandize, beſides the Produce of it in Trade at Home, to the undoing of Multitudes of Families in a ſhort Time; and this loſs like to continue as long as we have any thing to loſe, or the War laſts. *Ireland* a third part depopulated, and more than half of the intrinſick Riches, or Product of that Kingdom, embezzel'd and waſted; and a third part of our Seamen dead or deſerted. The Flower of our *fighting* ***Engliſh*** deſtroyed to no purpoſe. What excuſe can be made for the detaining our *Turkey Fleet* above twelve Months, nay after our never to be forgotten Victory at Sea, when we could have well ſpared half our Fleet for Convoys? the remainder with the

Dutch

Dutch being more than ſufficient Guards to the *Deſcent* (a Deſign ſo ſenſeleſsly managed, and ſhamefully mentioned at this Time of day, as the only thing to buoy us up to ſpunge 5 or 6 Millions more out of our Purſes) and yet by their idleing in our Ports and Harbours, and doing nothing but louſing themſelves, have ſuffered more Ships to be loſt ſince than in any one Year ſince the War. I defy all Mankind to ſatisfy us in this Affair of ſo near conſequence to the very Being almoſt of the *Engliſh* Nation: And if the Deſcent be urged as a proper excuſe, What has been the occaſion of its miſcarriage, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe?* It muſt either be occaſioned through its Impracticableneſs, or for Want of Neceſſaries to ſuch an Expedition; but neither of theſe can apologize for ſuch an unpardonable Fruſtration, being a certain ſign of the *Incapacity* of the Authors and Contrivers of it, neither foreſeeing the Difficulties nor Charges neceſſarily attending ſuch an Enterprize; and thence we may conclude the great Infelicity, and Diſadvantages theſe miſerable Nations lie under, to be engaged in a War that our Governours have no ſkill to manage: And then what can we expect but to be perpetually worſted, and to come off with infinite Loſs and Diſreputation, and in the end be forc'd to ſubmit. So that unleſs our Parliament, by their Omnipotence, can ſupply them with more Brains and better Conduct, and inſtil into their Sculls more Wit to improve a Victory when they can get it, it will be equal to us whether we *beat* or be *beaten*, and then how deplorable will our Condition be?

The laſt Bleſſing of this Revolution that I ſhall mention theſe unfortunate Nations enjoy under the P. of *O.* (which is a plain Inference from what has been hitherto inſiſted on) is this, That they ſhall not, or cannot enjoy their Idol any longer than the Confederacy holds tight with us, or we with them; this is ſo neceſſary a deduction that it cannot be evaded, becauſe he is their Creature, ſet up meerly for their common Intereſt, and his downfal may become an Advantage to them in time, as well as his Proſperity and Grandeur, (as had been ſaid.) Whatever Figure of *Generaliſſimo* we may fancy he makes among the *Confederates* in *Flanders*, it's certain he has not the command of any Forces (if really of thoſe) but what he carries over from hence. How often has he been over-rul'd in Councils of War by the *Spaniſh* Governour *Caſtinaga*, and *Bavaria* ſince, Prince *Waldeck*, *&c.* is too notorious to be recounted here. So that his Buſineſs is rather to be their *Providitore-General* than any thing elſe, to furniſh them with Men, Money and Stores, to build them *Forts*, and repay their Loſſes, (as in that Inſtance lately produc'd of the *Dutch Squadron*:) Nay, ſo unwilling are they ſo much as to find his Soldiers Quarters, that he is forced to Tranſport part of his Quota back again, and to be at the expence of fortifying two Towns, *Dixmuyde* and *Furnes*, to lodge part of the Remainder, ſend over Proviſions, and even Coals for their Subſiſtence; *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and ſome other places refuſing poſitively to entertain the reſt, if not prevailed upon by the Duke of *Bavaria*. All the Reward he has for the vaſt Sums he annually pilfers for them out of our almoſt exhauſted Coffers, is to King it here, and all he deſires; and upon that account it's his Perſonal Intereſt to keep the War on Foot whatſoever it coſts us. From whence it's proper enough to infer, that if we be able or willing to furniſh as many

many Millions yearly as the Support of the *Confederacy* will require, we may yet keep the *Dutch Stadtholder* for our King, and if not, we muſt part with him, and there's an end of the *Raree Shew*.

As a Corollary to this laſt Advantage, we ought not to forget another as remarkable, (for we do every thing aukwardly, and pray and hope, as they ſay, backwards, and in oppoſition to all the reſt of Mankind that are not infatuated or grown mad,) and that is the Bleſſing of never enjoying Peace ſo long as the P. of *O.* Lords it here. I confeſs in his Speech the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, and in his Diſcourſe to the *States* before, or after that, he promiſed he would do his utmoſt to humble *France*, and procure an Honourable Peace to all *Europe*; but in this as well as in all other Promiſes he has deceived all our Hopes, and none but half-witted People would ever be ſo deluded. 'Tis Demonſtration he can never do the one or the other now; *France* was never ſo powerful as at preſent, nay, is grown *exceſſively Powerful*, as he tells the Parliament in this laſt Speech; and I may add, the *Confederacy* exceedingly weak, and *England*, that muſt give Life and Vigour unto all, not exceſſively rich, nor I hope for ever abandon'd to the higheſt degree of Sottiſhneſs and Inſenſibility. And as for a Peace, himſelf is the only Obſtacle of it, and will firſt or laſt be curs'd by all *Europe* on that account. The *Confederacy* muſt of neceſſity have dropt long e're this, if we, through our Zeal and Malice againſt our Lawful King, whatever we roar againſt *Louis le Grand*, had not been ſo prodigal of our Wealth, and Blood, to maintain the abominable *Uſurpation* of a *Foreigner*, and through all the Courſe of his Management a ſworn Enemy and Hater of the *Engliſh Nation*. And now forſooth, in this laſt Speech (after all his ill laid Projects and Deſigns baffled, and fruſtrated at *Sea* and *Land*, and that he had at the long run diſcovered, that the *Power* of *France* was *exceſſive*, *i. e.* in plain *Engliſh* inſuperable, by all the Force and childiſh Politicks of himſelf and the *Confederates*,) he very humbly craves *the Advice* of the *Parliament* at a dead Lift, when all lies at ſtake, which he never thought worthy of adviſing with before, and modeſtly aſks *at leaſt an equal Force to that of the laſt Year*; as if a Force that was able to do nothing the laſt Year, either by Sea or Land (but by a meer Accident) would be able to do Wonders the next, againſt the augmented Forces of his Enemy by *both*. What pitiful Cant is all this? Is it not plain by his *Speech* that he dares not ſo much as flatter us with the hopes of any Succeſs againſt *France* the next *Campaign*, ſince he is fearful even of aſking ſuch a Supply as all intelligent Men foreſee will be abſolutely neceſſary to oppoſe the prodigious Preparations of the Enemy? And can we hope with the ſame *Aſſiſtance* we gave him the laſt Year, which we experimentally found was inſufficient even for the *Defenſive* part, by Land eſpecially, will be ſuperiour to him the next? We are certainly informed of the great Preparations of all ſorts of Ammunitions the *French* are making in all their Frontier Gariſons upon the *Sambre*, the *Maes*, the *Moſelle*, and the *Rhine*, the vaſt *Magazines* of *Hay*, *Straw*, *Oats*, and other *Grain* and Proviſions they are erecting in thoſe parts; their Forces ſo diſpoſed of in Poſts upon the *Sambre* and the *Maes*, that 30000 can be got together at any time upon any Enterprize at a ſhort warning; and upon the *Moſelle* 20000

on

on any occaſion, and all without doubt to execute ſome great Deſigns very early before the *Confederates* can be in a condition to oppoſe them. And will it be ſufficient for the *Confederates* to ſtand upon the *Defenſive*, which they never could do to any effect? And is this the way to *humble France*, to reduce her to her ancient Limits, and to reſtore Peace and Liberty to *Europe?* And then as for *Savoy*, what Meaſures are concerted to preſerve his Territories from the *French* Reprizals, or even to hinder them from being ſwallowed up? It's true indeed there are ſeveral of the *Emperor*'s Troops quartered in *Italy*, beſides thoſe of ſome of the *German Princes*; but then if we do but remind our ſelves of the *Winter Campaign*, which the *French* King has already begun in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*; his Reſolution (as we are informed by all the *Foreign Gazetts* and *Courants*) to act in concert with the *Turk*, and to puſh on the War with all imaginable Vigour during this Seaſon, while the other does the ſame in *Hungary*, (where as we are told the *Ottoman* Forces encreaſe daily; and by their Motions and Preparations it's generally conjectured they have *preſent* and great Deſigns in Hand, having lately aſſembled in great Bodies between *Belgrade* and *Semandria*, as (it's thought) to fall into *Sclavonia*, or attack *Peterwaraden*;) in ſuch a *Caſe* as this, it's but reaſonable to ſuppoſe that both the *Emperor* and the foreſaid *Princes*, will be neceſſitated to recall the greateſt part of their Forces; and then let the World judge whether 50, 60, or as ſome accounts ſay 70000 *French* will not probably prove too great a Match for that *Prince* to encounter, and eſpecially in the Winter time; for theſe *Prints* do poſitively tell us, that all the Troops in *Dauphiny* and thereabouts, with all the Magazines that have been erecting for ſeveral Months ſince, are actually removed towards the Frontiers of *Piedmont*, and that the *French* deſign in the Month of *February*, if the Seaſon favour them, to beſiege *Coni*, or *Turin* it ſelf. The *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing Inſtances of the D. of *Savoy* to detain them, are march'd into their Quarters; *Bavaria* had recalled two of his Regiments, if he had not been prevailed upon by the P. of *O.* to let them ſtay, upon his promiſe to maintain them this Winter at his own Charge, which by the way is a certain Sign of the *French* Forces encreaſing on that Side; and therefore could not be conveniently ſpared: So that the only preſent Security he has is the Winter Seaſon, and the deep Snows; and as ſoon as the Weather breaks, a Force by much ſuperior, and in all Points better provided for, will fall into his Country, and in all probability put a ſpeedy period to the War on that Side, either by an entire Conqueſt, or by forcing him into a ſudden Compliance. We hear of no Preparations anſwerable to thoſe of *France* on the *Confederates* Side, all being at a ſtand, waiting for the lucky News of more Money from the Parliament in *England*; and e're that be done, and Preparations made, the Enemy will have done his Buſineſs, and have little to do but to dodge with them, and play with their Noſes the whole Summer, and ſhew the World what Fools they are Again, what a piece of kindneſs is it to our Parliament, and an honour too to tell them, the *Inconveniency* of ſending out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money for the payment of the Troops abroad, (he dares not ſay the *Engliſh* or *Scotch*,) is very conſiderable, and *ſo much*

wiſhes

wiſhes it could be remedied, that if they can ſuggeſt to him any methods for the ſupport of them, which might leſſen that Inconveniencey, he ſhould be ready to receive them with all his Heart. Why truly the Caſe is plainly this, he finds it's no concealing any longer the Tranſportation of all our Money for the ſupport of Foreigners, and is afraid this Trade will not hold long, either that *England* can pay the *Confederates* unreaſonable Penſions, or that the *Confederates* can be held together, notwithſtanding the exacteſt payment of what he is engaged to them; therefore he is willing to go on with them, or knock off as the Parliament will adviſe him, (provided he mentions theſe Things *bona fide*, and does not impoſe upon the reſt, and the whole Kingdom beſides, *by an aſſurance of a Majority that will carry all right or wrong for his Intereſt,*) any thing ſo he may continue King, or have the ſatisfaction at leaſt of ruining the Nation with himſelf when he muſt fall. This is downright, (if he be in good earneſt) and the Nation has a fit opportunity to look to her ſelf. No means can be found out to avoid *this Inconvenience*, and to maintain an Army abroad at the ſame time: The only way is to take him at his Word, recall our Forces, break off the *Confederacy*, and to ſtand upon our own Legs, maintain a good Army here at Home, pay them well, and augment our Navy. But yet this Method has its Difficulties too; ſo hard a thing it is to enſure any the leaſt degree of Mundane Felicity: For ſhould we leave the *Confederacy* in the Lurch, (which his preſent Circumſtances ſeem to encline, or neceſſitate him to conſent to, if the Parliament think fit,) then the vaſt Arrears owing to the Allies, which they could never expect to get from him, would oblige them to unite with *France*, declare the P. of *O.* the common Enemy, and *England* the Seat of War. (That he is indebted to the *Confederates* ſeems highly probable to me, by the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s preſſing the *States* and the King of *Spain* ſo hard for the Subſidies, or *Penſions*, due to him the laſt Spring, repreſenting to them, that without them he ſhould not be in a condition to maintain the Forces he had on foot, which the Elector of *Saxony* did likewiſe the ſame time; and 'tis not unlikely, that was one principal reaſon of *Hanover*'s ſlow Proceedings the laſt Campaign: And if I be not much miſtaken in my Conjecture, the P. of *O.* muſt come in for a Snack in that Affair, as well as the *States* and *Spain*, eſpecially if he be the *Primum Mobile* of the *Confederacy*, as the Monthly Account and one of the late *Slips* term him) But to return, the latter would be inſignificant, for Reaſons formerly mentioned; ſo that our Caſe looks deſperate. But if we ſhould break up the *Confederacy* by conſent, theſe Arrears muſt be paid, which no doubt will ariſe to a large Sum, which would be hard for us to part with in theſe Circumſtances, and to ſupport the Charge of a War beſides.

But, Oh the *Deſcent!* This muſt be carried on yet. *None can deſire more than I that a Deſcent ſhould be made into* France, *and therefore notwithſtanding the Diſappointment of that Deſign the laſt Summer, I intend to attempt it the next Year with a much more conſiderable Force*, &c. What a parcel of Stuff and Contradiction huddled together, as if the Noiſe of the Cannon from *Mons* and *Namur* was not out of his Head yet! To talk of a Deſcent ſo publickly, ſo long before-hand, enough to fruſtrate the beſt laid Project in the World. If

it were impracticable the laſt Year, much more the next. There are the ſame Difficulties at leaſt this Year, if not ten times greater; but nothing will ſerve our Turns, or be worth our Noble Attempts, but Impoſſibilities. By the next Year there will be a potent Fleet to obſtruct us, if not powerful enough to defeat and ruin us; more powerful Diverſion by Land; early notice of this Deſign; all poſſible means found out to prevent us by Sea and Land; and it may be, a Deſcent to anticipate ours, and what then? Ay, but *I intend to attempt it — with a more conſiderable Force.* Is not this a palpable Contradiction to his modeſt Requeſt he had made before, of a Force *at leaſt as great by Sea and Land as we had the laſt Year? i. e.* If we may be permitted to underſtand him, he deſires, if it can't be otherwiſe, but the ſame aſſiſtance of Men and Money he had the *laſt Year*, and he will *attempt it*; and if they enable him with a much more *conſiderable Force* he'll attempt it; if notwithſtanding all the forementioned greater oppoſition he's like to meet with the next Year than the laſt, he intends yet to attempt it, though with equal Forces to thoſe he had before; Why was it not attempted then when there were far leſs? Will he engage to be wiſer next Year than the laſt, or that the *French* ſhall be more Fools, or that *they* ſhall be *leſs able* to oppoſe him with a *more powerful Navy*, and a greater number of Land Forces the next than they had the laſt *Campaign*, and he be ſtronger and abler to attack them with the ſame Forces he had before? And ſuppoſe he be enabled with a more *conſiderable Force*, can he aſſure us that their *Diligence* in *repairing their Loſſes at Sea*, and the *conſiderable Augmentation* of their Land Forces will not exceed his *more numerous Forces*, and render his *good Intention* as impracticable as ever? This is juſt ſuch a paſſionate deſire as he had to fight *LUXEMBURGH* Hand over Head, without the leaſt ſhadow of Hope to get any Advantage, but meerly to keep up the Opinion amongſt Fools of his being a *Fighting Spark*, and ſcorning to paſs a whole *Campaign* with doing nothing; ſo he is reſolved to attempt ſomething by Sea, though he is ſure to get nothing but hard Blows, and expoſe ſome thouſands of his *Engliſh* to be knock'd on the Head, or to die like Fools to their *immortal Honour:* And this is all he ſeems to promiſe in his Speech, to attempt a landing in *France*, which was ever *laugh'd* at by ſenſible Men before, and ought to be *hiſs'd* at now.

Well! but here are grand Motives to ſtir us up to ſupport him with all the ſpeed imaginable: *We are expoſed to the Attempts of* France *while the* French *King is in a condition to make them*, and therefore *the great Advantage we have at this* very nick of *Time* of *being joined with the moſt of the Princes and States of* Europe, *againſt ſo dangerous an Enemy, ought not to be ſlipt*, eſpecially our *Country* and *Religion* lying at ſtake, *&c. and we have the ſame Religion to defend*, &c. What Advantage have we now that we had not before? Are we but juſt now entered into the *Confederacy*, or have we or they been aſleep or drunk all this while? Why an Advantage now? Are they ſtronger now, or more politick, or reſolute than before; Or if we have had little or no Advantage in being joined with them all this while, what aſſurance have we of any from henceforward? I am ſure ſome wiſe Stateſmen, who have tranſmitted to us the Experience of former Ages, do aſſure us if a *Confederacy* does not make ſome

notable

notable Impreſſion upon the common Enemy the firſt or ſecond *Campaign*, they are never like to do it afterwards, but grow weaker and weaker till they ſink into nothing; and as to theſe *Confederates*, notwithſtanding they have ſerved almoſt an Apprenticeſhip under one of the wiſeſt Maſters of his Craft in the whole World, have added ſo little to their Skill, and approved themſelves ſuch *notorious Dunces*, that we have no hopes of ever ſeeing a Maſterpiece from them, to their grand Diſparagement, and our infinite Loſs. And after all this Pother, are we *expoſed to the Attempts of* France, and is *France* a *dangerous Enemy*, and the *Power of France exceſſive?* Who may we thank for all this? Was it not the P. of *O*'s *being joined with moſt of the Princes and States of Europe*, that brought us into theſe Snares, upon a parcel of ſham Pretences, and Bugbear Stories, with his *Bearſkins and Laplanders*, and the Devil knows what? And has not their ſenſeleſs management of their Affairs againſt their *common Enemy*, as they call him, made him ſo ſtrong and dangerous as he is? And is there any proſpect they will be ever more *politick* and *powerful* for the future, and have better Succeſs in all their Enterprizes? Can all the Speed they make in getting Money, providing Neceſſaries for the War be anſwerable to his Preparations, which are at this Time ſo forward, as to wait only a proper Seaſon to employ them? And if from the nature of things they muſt be later, ſince all the World is convinc'd of the Agility and Diligence of the *French*, and that they are never guilty of loſing Opportunities; do we imagine that *all* the *Confederates* can do will ſignify any thing? Then to what purpoſe is it to throw away our Money, and to impoveriſh and weaken our Selves? All the good that our Money is like to do the *Confederates*, is only to diſcharge part of the *Contributions* they are obliged to pay the *French* to ſave their *Towns* and *Villages* from being laid in Aſhes; ſuch *Brave Fellows* they are in defending their own Liberties and Properties, that continually *ſponge* the Money out of our Pockets under the *Sham* of being our *Saviours* and *Deliverers:* And ſo far from *humbling* their *Enemy*, and carrying the War into his own *Bowels*, that what he does not think worth the taking from them, they are forc'd to redeem from being deſtroyed at any rate, and we like F —— depoſite the Money. Again, how ſtrangely are all our Meaſures, and thoſe of our Allies, broke in pieces in a *trice*? Our *Doughty* P. of *O.* demands but modeſtly *at leaſt as great Force at Land and Sea as the laſt Year*, conſequently at leaſt as much Money, *&c.* and no doubt the *Allies* do what they can on their parts at the ſame Time. Now if we conſider the vaſt Expences and Loſſes the *Common Enemy* is like to put them to by this *Deviliſh Winter Campaign*, (being deſtitute of Magazines, of Proviſions for Horſe and Man, Ammunition, Carriages, and all Neceſſaries, as we are well aſſured by the late Inſtance of *Charleroy* being bombarded almoſt to Aſhes before they could get up to its Relief, the carrying *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days playing upon *Rhinfelden* and the *Kat*, before they were in any condition to attempt the Relief of them,) by *falſe Allarms*, *taking their Towns*, and the *bare* attacking others to give them Diverſion, while they are in good earneſt in other places, and (which at the ſame Time ſhews they have not Men enough to ſecure themſelves on all Sides, though the *French* have to beard them, and keep them in play, while they

assault them in their *tendereſt* and *weakeſt part*) we ſhall find in the upſhot that theſe *at leaſt* as great Sums of Money will go near to be half expended before the Summer *Campaign* begins, (their Deſigns reaching no farther;) and conſequently all their Hopes, if they have any, and Projects of effecting any thing upon *France* cruſh'd, in the very Shell. I know the ſaving of *Rhinfeld* is look'd upon as a very great *Deliverance*, and that *Te Deum* has been ſung in *Germany* on that occaſion, which is an Argument of its great Importance; but yet at the ſame Time we are not ignorant that it was owing to the badneſs of the Weather, more than to any thing elſe; and for all I can ſee to the contrary, the *Confederates* have no reaſon to think themſelves ſecure, even as to that point; the *Town* and *Caſtle*, and the *Kat* are miſerably ruin'd, and before they can put them into any defenſible condition again, an indifferent good Seaſon may give the *French* an opportunity, if they have no better Fiſh to fry, to attack it the ſecond Time, as undoubtedly they will, and with a ſtronger Force; and then it muſt go How the *Germans* will be able to ſupply their late Loſſes in thoſe Parts, the whole Country round having been moſt miſerably plundered and harraſſed during the Siege, and forced to pay ſwinging Contributions; the vaſt Expences in ſupplying that place with Ammunition and Proviſions, to repair the Breaches, add new Works, provide for the Subſiſtence of their Forces, and thoſe many ruined Families in the Towns burnt by the *French* in their Retreat, I cannot divine: But if we reflect upon the Monies and Monies worth raiſed by the *French*, in the ſeveral Excurſions made during that Siege into divers parts, forceing the Country to ſupply them with whatever they had for their convenience all the Time, and what they have extorted from them ſince; I am morally aſſured the *Germans* have paid the whole Charge of the *others* Expedition. But to all this let us add, that ſince the taking of that place would have been of vaſt conſequence to the facilitating of the *Deſigns* of *France* upon the *Empire*, (as generally was acknowledged and dreaded,) and the early taking of it yet would be ſo ſtill upon the former ſuppoſition, (eſpecially if the *Turk*, taking the Advantages from the *Emperor*'s weakneſs and unpreparedneſs, make ſome early and vigorous Attempt in *Hungary* or *Sclavonia*:) the effect will be this, the *French* will be able to penetrate ſo far into the *Empire*, as to put all *Germany* into a Convulſion, force that *Prince* to draw all his Forces out of *Italy*, (by which the Duke of *Savoy* muſt fall off, and conſequently the War draw on to a period;) and though he ſhould, by the adding thoſe Forces to the Army in *Hungary* or on the *Rhine*, make ſome tolerable defence, yet being unable to do the ſame on the other Side, he would be compelled to accept of any Terms from the *Turk* and *French King*; and then farewel *England* and *Holland* too; the one muſt be glad to ſubmit to her old Maſter, and the other to ſuch Conditions as ſhe can get. This is the Game we are likely to ſee in a ſhort Time, the effect of our *Weakneſs* as well as *Wickedneſs*, notwithſtanding our profuſeneſs and readineſs to ſupport ſo wretched a Cauſe to the ruin of theſe Nations, if God be not the more merciful: Of our Weakneſs, I ſay, abſtracting all other Conſiderations, becauſe we will not learn Wiſdom and *Forecaſt* from our Enemy, in making Proviſions againſt the Winter, when he's always moſt active; and we may take it for a certain

certain Maxim, grounded upon our Experience all this War, that if we can't prevent the *French* from doing their Buſineſs in the Winter time, or very early in the Spring, all our Summer's Expedition ends in nothing but marching and countermarching, running away or getting a kick on the A—, and ſo Home again, and tell our Loving Subjects ſome dreadful Story of the *great* or *exceſſive Power* of *France*, and deſire *more Money*.

Thus we are fool'd and cajol'd from Year to Year, with the perpetual Outcries of the *growing Power*, and *exceſſive Power* of *France*, their *augmenting their Forces by Sea and Land*; put in mind of our being *expoſed* to *their Attempts*, *the danger of our Country*, *Liberties* and *Properties*; and to animate us to open our Purſes the wider, and bleed the more freely, he aſſures us in the Word of a *True Proteſtant Dutchman*, he has the *ſame Religion to defend*. What pitiful Nonſenſe is all this? It has been pretended all along this War, that the *French* King in his Negotiations with the *Pope* and the *Italian Princes* and *States*, to encline them to uſe their Intereſt to procure a Peace among the Catholick Princes, or to take part with him, has made it his Buſineſs to perſwade them, that the War carried on againſt him ſo far as the *Proteſtant Princes* or *States* were concerned, was on the ſcore of *Religion*, which has been denied by the ſaid *Proteſtant Princes*, and moſt of their *Writers* on this occaſion, and particularly by the *Author* of the *General Hiſtory of* Europe, *publiſhed by the Authority of the States General*, in the P. of *O*'s *Declaration* publiſhed by *Schomberg* in *Dauphiny*; and in the Articles of *Limerick* we find the P. of *O.* to the regret of many of our *Proteſtant Rebels*, has granted greater Liberty and Priviledges to the *Roman Catholicks* in *Ireland*, than ever they enjoyed in the Reigns of any of our *Proteſtant Kings*. But to come nearer, he uſes ambiguous Terms, which look very ſuſpitiouſly, *We have the ſame Religion to defend*. What ſame Religion? The new *Latitudinarian Religion*, *Preſbyterian*, or the *Oliverian Independent*, or what? Even what you pleaſe We are *Preſbyterians* in *Scotland*, *Epiſcoparians* in *England*, *Calviniſts* in *Holland*, and (if ſome intelligent Perſons are not miſtaken) *Roman Catholicks* in *Flanders*, and after all, every where *Atheiſts*. There are thoſe in the World who fear not to aſſert, that it was publickly enough reported at *Rome* by divers of the *Cardinals*, and particularly the *Auditor* of the *Rota*, ſome time before the Revolution, that he was reconcil'd to the Ch. of *Rome*; and ſome ſtick not to aſſert, that he made his *Proteſt* in the Royal Chapel at *Bruſſels* before the High Altar, at his Admiſſion into the *Confederacy*, that he would inviolably perform the Articles of it, whereof one is this, if we may credit a Copy printed here in *England*, of the *Reſolution* of the *Princes*, *Allies*, and *Confederates*, which *has been taken in the Aſſembly at the* Hague, *&c.* Art. 1. Having reſolved to make a Deſcent into *France*, &c. *We will make no Peace with* Lewis XIV. *till he has made reparation to the Holy See for whatſoever he has acted againſt it, and till he has annull'd and made void all thoſe infamous Proceedings againſt the Holy* Innocent XI. if this be really one Article of the Confederacy, as there is a grand Suſpition, if we conſider the Lukewarmneſs of that Pope towards King *James*, as was frequently buzz'd amongſt us formerly, what Figure he made in the Confederacy, and his Inveterateneſs againſt the *French* King, the *Bigotry* of the Emperor, and the inflexible

flexible Temper of the *Spaniard* as to matters of Religion, it's not to be conceived how they ſhould enter into a Negotiation of this nature with the P. of *O.* without an aſſurance of his coming over to their Perſuaſion, and Reſolution of promoting the Rom. Catholick Intereſt in theſe Kingdoms. Neither is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would contribute their Aſſiſtance to remove a Prince of their own Principles, tho' with a grand Proſpect of advancing their civil Intereſts, to the hazard of impairing their Religion to make way for an heretical Prince. Beſides, how can we imagine they would ever communicate ſuch a ſecret to him, if they were not firſt ſure of him, or could be ſure of him without ſuch an Engagement? The ſole Refuſal or Diſcovery of it would have infallibly prevented all their Deſigns, brought an indelible Diſhonour and Scandal upon their Religion, as well as their Perſons, and provoked K. *James* and the *French* King to take the utmoſt Vengeance upon them, and made them juſtly odious to all the reſt of the Chriſtian World, of whatever Perſuaſion; What a Blemiſh would it have fixed upon the *Emperor*, commonly characterized as a Prince of a moſt devout Temper, and actually engaged againſt the Common Enemy of Chriſtianity, to be found in a Deſign to depoſe a *Catholick Prince*, and at the ſame time to cut off all the Hopes of ever propagating the Catholick Religion in three Kingdoms? Neither is his uſual Partiality towards *Popiſh Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and the *Roman Catholicks* in general, one of the ſlighteſt Arguments for this Suſpicion, though it's uſually objected, that by his Alliances he was obliged to ſhew ſome favour to them. Why was it not as well cautioned he ſhould not ſet the Mob upon their Houſes and Chappels? and why did not thoſe Princes by their Intereſt with him prevent the iſſue of ſo much Blood, and put a timely ſtop to thoſe horrid Barbarities, and irreparable ruin of vaſt Numbers of their own Perſuaſion then, as to ſhew ſuch favour and marks of diſtinction ſince? No, ſome Severity was abſolutely neceſſary in the beginning to get the Affections of the People, and to his ſurer eſtabliſhment in the Throne; but ſince he has gained his Point, and dipt all Degrees and Orders of Men ſo deep in Guilt againſt their *Lawful Soveraign*, that they fancy themſelves beyond all hopes of Pardon, he rides them at his pleaſure, makes them believe what he liſts, and readily ſtops their Mouths, and entirely ſatisfies them with this Excuſe.

There might be ſome other very conſiderable Arguments offered on this Head if neceſſary or prudent; all that I ſhall add is this, That for my own part I ſhall ever believe him to be a *Papiſt*, as much as any others fancy him either a *Preſbyterian*, or of the Communion of the preſent pretended *Church of England*, till he ſatisfies the World to the contrary, by taking ſome ſevere Teſt, and moſt ſolemn Oath; and if this ſhould prove true, (as it may notwithſtanding his communicating publickly according to the Form of the Church of *England*, as many have done formerly to our knowledg before *the Teſt* was adviſed to make the diſtinction;) How finely are we trumpt upon? However, let him urge this Motive as far as he pleaſes, it's little to the preſent purpoſe; as the Buſineſs of *Religion* has been managed ſince his *Uſurpation*, 'tis no great matter *what Religion* he or we profeſs; we have as good as renounc'd our Chriſtianity already, to make and receive him as King; and I am ſure nothing

nothing can be more contrary to it, or affrontive of the *Great God of Heaven and Earth*, than our very Prayers and Devotions, wherein we beſeech him to ſupport and proſper one of the grandeſt pieces of Villany that ever was acted upon the Face of the Earth, to confound all Juſtice and Probity; which is as great an Indignity to an *Holy* and *Juſt God*, as *Idolatry* in the higheſt degree of it. Nay, more than that, all our *Preaching* and *Prayers* tend directly to nothing but the hardening and encouraging Men to perſevere in the horrid Sins of *Rebellion* and *Schiſm*, with their Concomitants, and by conſequence in the Eye of Reaſon give an inlet to all other Vices, it being as juſtifiable for a Man to plead a neceſſity for *Whoring*, *Theft*, *Murder*, *&c.* as to incur the guilt of Perjury and Rebellion for the preſervation of Religion; and the conſequence is ſo viſible and intelligible by all the *Debauchees* and *Atheiſts* of the Age, that we to our great Sorrow perceive the viſible growth of both dayly; and one *John Tillotſon* has contributed more to the ſpreading and rooting of *Atheiſm*, than 50 *Spinoſa*'s, *Hobbs*'s or *Vaninus*'s: So that let him inſiſt as long as he pleaſes upon that old ſtale Cant of *Religion* to cover all the reſt of his profligate Deſigns, we are certain he has the leaſt reaſon to name it of any Perſon in the whole World; one may as ſoon with his *Arch-Heretick*, and *Schiſmatick*, *Don John*, *find out a place for the Damn'd in the Manſions of Eternal Bliſs*, *after a certain period of ſuffering Hell Torments*, or that the Devils and the Damned ſing *Hallelujahs* in Hell, or that they ſhall at length merit a Releaſe from thoſe dreadful Torments, by their ſuppoſed Blaſphemies againſt, or Execrations of God Almighty, as the leaſt ſpark of Religion in him, if we reflect upon his Practiſes, (which are ever the Fruits of good or bad Principles;) or as ſoon demonſtrate that the *Emperor*, the King of *Spain*, Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Savoy* entered into the *Confederacy* with him and the reſt of the *Proteſtant Princes*, out of no other Deſign but to preſerve the *Church of England* againſt the Attempts of King *James* and the *French* King, as prove it ever was the leaſt part of his Intentions. For 'tis viſible to any one that knows the difference between *Schiſm* and the *Unity* of the Church, that he has perſecuted ever ſince he came hither the Members of the True eſtabliſhed Church of *England*; and the firſt effort that he made was to let looſe all manner of Schiſms and Hereſies upon her to worry her to Death, if poſſibly, the preſervation of which he moſt impudently makes one of the plauſible Pretexts of his *Invaſion*; and if the *Latitudinarian Gentlemen* had not out of a great Zeal to preſerve their Preferments more than their *Religion*, ſwallowed the Oaths againſt their *known Duty and Allegiance*, had put the *Preſbyterians* and *Independents* into the actual Poſſeſſion of all the *Churches* in the Kingdom, as is conſtantly urged by them in private as the only Reaſon of their complyance, and ſo turned R——, as they ſay, *to keep Rogues out*. And here I muſt not forget to give them their *Due*, they prov'd apt Scholars and out-witted him: Nay more than that, by compelling them to Complyances againſt all that they formerly taught and profeſſed to believe to be their indiſpenſible Duty, he has been the occaſion of ſuch new Lights and Diſcoveries to them in matters of the neareſt Concernment to them, that in effect he has given the ſham to the ſo *Glorious Deliverance it ſelf*, and rendered himſelf for the future altogether *uſeleſs*. How

natural

natural is it now for them to urge, and indeed in some of their Writings they have already, that though there might be some pretence in the late dark Age of their Immaturity and Childhood for his Heroick and Generous Undertaking, there can be none now for his *Continuance*, which by his Unsuccessfulness, and the vast Expences he puts the Nation to, without any colour of hope to accomplish the remainder of his Designs, has already dimn'd the Lustre of his first Enterprize, and sunk it almost into Oblivion. 'Tis not Change in Religion, let it be what it will, can affect them now; they've got a *Clue* that will readily extricate them out of all such *Labyrinths*, with the new Arts of *higher* and *lower Sense*, the Distinction between *Submission* and *Allegiance*, as Circumstances shall determine it: No Oaths can now enslave them and tye them up, and no pretence of Religion impose upon them. Christianity is not the same thing now that she was in her Swadling Cloaths, one thing is to be done in propagating the Faith, another when she has taken firm rooting. That Self-denial and Passivity of the first Ages was really necessary for the propagation of the Faith; but now it's setled it's become an useless Topick, especially since the State has added her Sanction, and stampt it into Civil Property; and Christianity as to the *Agenda* requires little more than what the pure Light of Nature clear'd up from Passion and Prejudice suggests of her self: *Self-Preservation* is her *prime Law* and Dictate, and all the Religion in the World cannot null it without committing the greatest violence upon Humanity it self. Besides, since Salvation is not confined to any Party or Sect of Christians, but allowances must be made for Human Frailty, it must be diametrically opposite to the *Great Law of Charity* it self to be strait-lac'd in a point of such deep importance. Therefore let the P. of *O.* talk what he will as to *Religion*, Ours is as *Comprehensive* as his, let it be what it will; we want only the much desired Opportunity to reap the Blessings of our happy Change, which if it cannot be obtained under him, we are ready for the next propitious Providence; and let it come from whence it will, *modo hic sit bene*, if we may but continue *Vicars of Bray still*, we'll call it and celebrate it as the *Greatest Deliverance* we ever had yet.

These short Reflections upon some Passages of his Speech, I thought fit to subjoin to my Considerations on the last mentioned Disadvantage these Nations have by this Great *Revolution*, viz. *the unlikelyhood of ever enjoying Peace* under the present Government. I might, if it were not to avoid being over tedious, enlarge my self upon a Subject of fatal Importance to these Islands, the *Daily Decay* of *Trade*; all that I shall say in reference unto it is only this, that it's impossible for us to retrieve it so long as the P. of *O* continues here; because we can never hope to be at Peace, or Masters of the Seas so as to secure it; and we must allow a Million and a half at least to be yearly lost during this War, in Shipping and Goods, and all the possible Product or Encrease of it in the way of Commerce, near a third part to be deducted out of the Trade in general, occasioned by excessive Taxes, and scarcity of Money; a considerable part whereof is near lost already for want of *Seamen*, *Convoys*, and *Ships* themselves, by such vast numbers being taken for *Transportation*, the frequent Embargoes, and unhappy detaining of our Fleets, to the loss of their Markets, wasting

waſting their Proviſions, and raiſing Commodities to ſuch high Rates, that we had as good be without them; particularly the *Newfoundland* and *Bank Fiſhery* ſuſpended, if not loſt, to the impoveriſhing of divers of our Port Towns, by reducing numerous Families to downright Beggary, to the exceſſive Charge of the reſpective Pariſhes they belong to. Then again, for our Comfort, let us but conſider the Encreaſe of the *French Shipping*, by their perpetually ſnapping ours and the *Dutch*, the Encreaſe of their *Seamen* by the vaſt Encouragement of the Privateers, the addition that will be made by the next Summer to their Navy, and we ſhall find *Trading by Sea* will in a little Time be rendred almoſt *impracticable*. Add to this the P. of O's certain Deſign to betray our Trade to the *Dutch*, for it's impoſſible to avoid ſuch a Reflection, ſince no other Reaſon can be given for the detaining our *Turkey* Fleet above twelve months for want of Convoys, after they were ordered to be in a readineſs. What other account can be given of the Ineffectualneſs of the Petition made by divers Merchants and Enſurers to the Houſe of Commons now ſitting, wherein they ſet forth their Loſſes of 190 Veſſels taken by the *French* ſince the laſt Fight, (and I ſuppoſe they mentioned only ſuch as belonged to the Port of *London*,) they were only ſlighted by the Committee, telling them opprobriouſly, *they* were not the *chief Merchants* of *London*, and demanded whether they would ſwear on their own *Knowledge* to the number of the Ships, and the particular *Time* and *Place* of their *Taking*, &c. whether they had applied themſelves to the *Lords* of the *Admiralty* for Convoys, and when they anſwered that they *had*, they referred them to the *Council Board*, and the *Council* told them they could ſpare them *none*; the Committee quell'd the buſineſs, ſaying, the Council muſt have ſome Reaſons why they could not grant them any. Does not all this appear to be a real *Deſign* to ruin our Commerce, and to gratifie the *Dutch*? And are not we forced by this means to Trade with them for ready *Caſh*, or *Bullion*, for thoſe Commodities which we uſe to fetch in our own Bottoms from abroad? And if we do but reflect what a prodigious Sum of Money the Spices we annually take off from the *Dutch*, which we were wont to barter for with our *Tobaccoes*, *Sugars*, &c. from the *Weſt Indies*; and the Loſſes we have ſuſtained during this War in our *Jamaica*, *Virginia*, and *Barbadoes* Fleets, by which means we are neceſſitated to part with our Coin *in ſpecie*; the Interruption in our *Eaſt-India*, *Streights*, and *Levant* Trade, being hereby obliged to take thoſe ſorts of Goods at the ſecond hand from them; the Decay in our Traffick, and the great hazard of utterly loſing it, it will appear, to the eternal Reproach of our *Mock-Deliverer*, the manifeſt Treachery of the *Conſervators* of our *Liberties* and *Properties*, and the Terror and (I hope in God) the juſt Regret of all thoſe who are not willing to have their *Noſes* and *Ears* cut off by the *curſed* and *never to be forgiven Dutch*. This is not all, let us reflect upon his endeavours the laſt Seſſion of Parliament to diſſolve the *Eaſt-India* Company, which part of our Trade has been ever envied by thoſe greedy *Mammoniſts*, and for many Years has been attempted to be engroſt by them; and you will eaſily foreſee to what a weak condition the Trade of the Nation will be reduc'd, if not ſpeedily prevented, which muſt require many Years to recover her priſtine Wealth and Glory. In one Word,

All that's valuable to us runs to wreck, Our *Religion* dwindling ſenſibly into downright *Atheiſm* and *Profaneneſs*, Our *Liberties* into *Slavery*, Our *Property* into *Beggary*, the *Honour* and Reputation of the *Engliſh Nation* into the utmoſt Contempt; the Conſtitution of our Government broken, and the People running more and more into Factions, the greateſt part of them however diſagreeing among themſelves, diſſatisfied with the preſent Government. Add to theſe Conſiderations the certain *Prognoſticks* of a decaying State; the loſt Reputation of him who ſits at the Helm; the growing Lukewarmneſs and Deſpondency of the People in general, occaſioned by *immoderate Taxes*, *want* of *Trade*, the barbarous uſage of our Soldiers by Land and Sea, *unſucceſsfulneſs* in all the late noiſy Projects, and the *known Strength* and *Policy* of the Enemy. Then conſider and weigh ſeriouſly the *looſneſs* of the preſent *Clergy* both in *Principle* and *Practice*; as to the former, Atheiſts more than Chriſtians, aſſerting, in effect, that *real* and *acknowledged* Evil may be done to good Ends, preaching up and practiſing Rebellion, *reviling* in their Sermons and *blaſpheming* the *Lord's Anointed*, applauding the Wickedneſs of the *Uſurper*, and blaſphemouſly equalizing him to our *Bleſſed Saviour*, as ſome of them have moſt impudently done; and by juſtifying all his moſt flagitious Proceedings, make themſelves *acceſſary* and *Parties* to all he does, imbruing by that means their Hands in all that Innocent Blood of their Fellow-Subjects that has been ſpilt by that *Deteſtible Murtherer*, to the ſubverſion of the Monarchy, and all the Calamities that have enſued upon it, let them be of what quality ſoever, (ſince if they had done their Duties, all theſe Miſeries had, morally ſpeaking, been infallibly prevented, to the grand Honour of themſelves and their Religion;) and ſo render themſelves unfit to approach the Holy Altar of God, and to intercede for a Bleſſing upon his People: Thus by *their* means the Gates of Heaven are barr'd againſt us, and inſtead of *Bleſſings* we have *Plagues* and *Judgments*. The Degeneracy of the Prieſts has been ever lookt upon as a direful Forerunner of enſuing Deſtruction; and I am ſure it muſt look very horridly, when the *Prieſts* ſhall pray and praiſe God for nothing but what's the effect of his Indignation, cauſed by the Sins of themſelves, and the People miſled by their wicked Examples, when they ſhall endeavour to harden and confirm them in the Sins they have drawn them into, and as much as ever they can, prevent their Repentance; when they ſhall exhort them to take part with *Diſobedient* and *Rebellious Children* againſt their *Parents*, to violate their *Allegiance*, expoſe their Bodies and Souls in a moſt *Unnatural Rebellion*, and pray to Heaven to proſper them in the very heighth, *&c.* of Impiety; What a Diſhonour is this to God and Religion! What a Curſe to the World! What an Injury to Men's Souls! And what can it portend but Vengeance, and (without a timely and extraordinary Repentance) inevitable Ruin? Neither can I omit putting my Fellow-Subjects in mind of that raging Peſtilence in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which has ſwept away Multitudes of our People; the never to be forgotten *Earthquake* in *Jamaica*, and thoſe late *Monitory Shakings* which ran through all this Iſland, as well as a great part of the Territories of our *Wicked Confederates*: I ſhall not pretend to divine what may be the Conſequence of them; but we never heard of an

Earthquake

Earthquake in this Iſland but did certainly fore-run ſome very remarkable *Calamity*.

All I ſhall farther add is this, The only Refuge this Government has (for I find they don't think it ſafe to ſtand upon their own Legs,) is to keep up the *Confederacy*; This in reality will prove a rotten Reed, we may lean upon it, but it will run into our Hands and wound us, but never ſupport us; it's grown already feeble and contemptible, and being originally founded in *Villainy* there's little likelyhood it will proſper. By the Experience of former Ages, *Confederacies* ſeldom or never performed great Atchievments. Their *Religions*, *Manners*, *Intereſts*, being for the moſt part different and contrary, their Conſultations for that very Reaſon ſeldom prove effectual: And *Montluc* tells us, that *two Princes* deſigning to overcome a *third* never agree long; and gives you his own Experience, and that of preceeding Times for it. And the moſt acute and judicious *Guicciardine* tells us, That *Confederacies* can never be ſo *knitted* and *united*, but that ſome or other of them will grow remiſs, or go off from the reſt; and then all is ſpoiled. And *Comines* adds, That if there be not *One* to over-rule and govern all the reſt of the *Confederacy*, their Deſigns will be fruſtrated, and end in nothing but their own *Shame* and *Weakneſs*, and the *Glory* and *Advantage* of the *Common Enemy*. I might, if I dare take that Liberty, have produced a multitude of Examples of this Nature, but I hope any One's Reflection upon the Inſtances of this Age will ſave me that Trouble; and therefore will addreſs my ſelf to thoſe of my Countrymen who have had the misfortune to be miſled, that ſince they have found all their Expectations deceived, themſelves gull'd out of all thoſe real Bleſſings of Government they formerly enjoyed, *Peace*, *Plenty*, *Liberty* and *Property*, and all that could render a People happy, by *One* whom a Man would be tempted to think could never have been *procreated* of *Human Race*, void of all ſenſe of *Religion*, *Juſtice*, *Honour*, and every Qualification that is apt to conciliate Love or Veneration from Mankind; who has really forfieted the Crown by his own Act, having violated the very *Inſtrument* of *Government* he ſubſcribed: One that has been the occaſion of ſhedding more Chriſtian Blood, on both Sides, than was ſpilt in the ten Perſecutions, and meerly upon a *Sham Pretence* of Religion to us; that it is their Intereſt and indiſpenſible Duty, if they have any ſenſe of Goodneſs remaining, any fear of God before their Eyes, any reſpect for Religion, or love for their Souls, *any remorſe for the Evil they have done*, *any Bowels for their own Country*, *any Charity for the reſt of the World*, *to free theſe Nations of ſuch a Plague and Curſe*, and if poſſible, *to redeem all thoſe Bleſſings* which have been ſo long with-held from us by his Means, by atoning God Almighty, by doing Juſtice to their highly injur'd *King* and *Queen*, to themſelves, and to all *Europe*, and averting thoſe *diſmal Plagues* which otherwiſe e're long will fall upon their Heads: Otherwiſe let them do what they can, be as *obſtinate*, *malicious* and *revengeful* as they pleaſe, if they be reſolv'd yet to act wickedly, *they ſhall be conſumed*, *both they and their King*.

The History of RESISTANCE, *as Practis'd by the Church of* England: *In which 'Tis proved, from most* AUTHENTICK RECORDS, *That in every* Reign *since the* Reformation of Religion, *the said* CHURCH *hath Aided and Assisted, Justified and Approved of, such* Subjects *as have Defended themselves against the* Oppressions *of their Tyrannical, tho' Natural* PRINCES. *Written Upon Occasion of Mr.* AGATE's *SERMON at* Exeter *on the* 30*th of* January; *and in* DEFENCE *of the Late* Revolution, *the Present* Establishment, *and the* Protestant Succession. *By* JOHN WITHERS. 1710.

LUKE XI. 46. *Ye lade Men with Burdens grievous to be borne, and ye your selves touch not the Burdens with one of your Fingers.*

Quis tulerit Gracchum de Seditione querentem?

The Judgment of the present Archbishop of *York*, concerning this Doctrine, in his Sermon preach'd before the LORDS, on *Jan.* 30. 1700. p. 20.

AS the Laws of the Land are the Measures of our Active Obedience, so are also the same Laws the Measures of our Submission; and as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws and Constitution require our Obedience, so neither are we bound to Submit, but as the Laws and Constitution do require our Submission. ———

———If indeed a Preacher should in the Pulpit presume to give his Judgment about the Management of Publick Affairs, or to lay down Doctrines as from Christ about the Forms and Models of Kingdoms or Commonwealths, or to adjust the Limits of the Prerogative of the Prince, or of the Liberties of the Subject in our present Government: I say, if a Divine should meddle with such Matters as these in his Sermons, I do not know how he can be excused from the just Censure of meddling with Things that nothing concern him. This is indeed a Practising in State Matters; and is Usurping an Office that belongs to another Profession, and to Men of another Character; and I should account it every whit as undecent in a Clergyman to take upon him to deal in these Points, as it would be for him to determine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in Dispute in *Westminster-Hall Page 6th.*

The

The preſent Biſhop of *London*, and the Clergy of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, in their Addreſs preſented to Her Majeſty, *Auguſt* 22. 1710. *Say they*,

WE thank God, from the Bottom of our Hearts, for the Legal Proviſions, in this regard, made, to ſecure us from Popery and Arbitrary Power, which we once, thro' the Divine Aſſiſtance, vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully *withſtood*, when they were breaking in upon our Conſtitution; nor ſhall we fail to manifeſt an equal Zeal againſt them, whenever, and by what means ſoever, they ſhall meditate a Return.

The HISTORY *of* RESISTANCE, *&c.*

HISTORIANS tell us, *That when the Tongue-ty'd Son of* Cræſus *ſaw the fatal Sword juſt ready to be ſheath'd in his Father's Bowels, his Surprize and Indignation raiſed ſuch an Emotion in his Blood and Spirits, as tore aſunder thoſe little membraneous Fetters, which held the grand Organ of Speech a Priſoner from his very Birth.* I doubt not but every True *Engliſhman* will readily confeſs Her preſent *Majeſty* to be the *Common Mother* of her People; when, therefore, ſuch *Doctrines* are divulged from the *Pulpit*, as will blacken Her *Conduct*, and weaken Her *Title*, I need no other Apology to juſtify this preſent *Eſſay*, in Vindication of them both.

It might have been expected, that Mr. *Agate*'s Splenetick Temper ſhould have been fully eaſed by that Torrent of *Gall*, which he has poured forth on the *Diſſenters*; and that the Members of his *own Church* might have obtained a fairer Quarter from him: But ſo flagrant is this *Gentleman's Zeal*, that it burns up every thing which ſtands in its way. Of this the City had a notable Inſtance on the Thirtieth of *January* laſt, when taking for his Text, *God's ſending his Prophet to a Rebellious Nation*; and having a *Fling* at the HOUSE OF COMMONS, by remarking, *That God's Miniſters muſt tell People of their Faults, tho' Fin'd and IMPEACH'D for their Labour:* He undertakes to prove this Propoſition, *That* Reſiſtance *to the* Higher Powers, *upon any Pretence whatſoever, is abſolutely Unlawful. But ſuppoſe* (ſays he, in the midſt of his Declamation) *the* Prince *ſhould endeavour to overthrow the* Conſtitution, *and bring in* Popery, *may he not be Reſiſted in ſuch a Caſe? Oh No! God forbid! For he that Reſiſteth, reſiſteth the* Ordinance of God, *and ſhall receive to himſelf* Damnation.

Now, 'tis known to all the World, that the late King *JAMES* did endeavour to *bring in Popery*; that in this Attempt he was *reſiſted* by the Prince of *Orange*, with whom concurred our QUEEN, our *Nobles* and *Biſhops*, our *Gentry*

Gentry and *Clergy*, who if this Doctrine be true, are all involved in the Guilt of a *Damnable Rebellion*. Besides, if the Nation was guilty of a *Damning Sin* in *resisting* King *JAMES*, they are obliged to *Repent* of it as they value the *Salvation* of their own *Souls*. Now, *Repentance* is the *undoing* what was *done amiss*: If I have wronged and cheated my Neighbour, 'tis a vain Thing for me to pretend *Repentance*, unless I make him *Reparation* as far as I am able. Mr. *Agates*'s Friends, the *Non-jurors*, will tell him of a *Gentleman* on the other side the Water, who was acknowledged in all the Churches in *England* to be King *JAMES*'s Son, and that in the most solemn Acts of Worship, when Men can never be excused if they *speak* what they do not *think*. And that the Nation can never Repent of *resisting* King *JAMES*, but by making Satisfaction and Restitution to——Accordingly the Grand Patrons of *Passive Obedience* actually refuse to Recognize *Her Majesty*'s Title, and reserve their *Allegiance* for the *Pretender*. 'Tis to promote his *Interest*, no doubt, that these *High Fantastick Principles* have been so zealously inculcated by the *Rehearser* and his Party; and I wish that others may not espouse them for the same Reason.

But let us hear a little more of Mr. *Agate*'s Oratory: *If any* (says this *Declaimer* on the Thirtieth of *January*) *who have been Baptized into our Church, are for the* Doctrine of Resistance, *I PRONOUNCE them to be Enemies both to our* Church *and* Constitution. And so made it the main Drift of his *Discourse* to persuade his Hearers, That none but *Atheists* and *Deists*, *Papists* and *Dissenters*, ever thought it *lawful to* resist *the* Higher Powers *upon any Pretence whatsoever*.

I have read, that before the *Reformation*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was called *alterius Orbis Papa*; the Pope of another World: But that the Curate of St. *Mary Arches* should set up for a *British* Pope; that he should assume to himself a Power of *pronouncing* who shall be esteemed a *true* Churchman, and who not, this, I confess, is *new*, and would surprize me, were not the *Humour* of the Man pretty well known, and that he is remarkable for nothing more than an *uncommon measure* of *Assurance*.

The Design, therefore, of these *Historical Collections*, is to convince this Part of the World, that the *Church of England* in former Ages, did not espouse those Slavish Principles, which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be its *standing* Doctrine: And that no more is now said by *Whigs* or *Dissenters* on the Point of *Resistance*, than what has been formerly practised by *Bishops* and *Convocations*. To make this Matter clear, I would premise Two or Three Things, which no Reasonable Man can deny me.

First, Men's *Actions* are the best Expounders of their *Intentions*, and their *Principles* may be best discovered by their *Practices*.

Secondly, If all *Resistance* of Subjects to their Princes be *Rebellion*, then all such as *aid* and *abet* such Rebels involve themselves in the same Guilt. Our *Lawyers* will tell us, 'That in Treason there are no Accessaries, but all are 'Principals *. We may partake in other Men's Sins, by administring Counsel, 'Direction or Assistance towards them; as the Famous Dr. *Sacheverell* has 'very

* Hale's *Pleas of the Crown*, p. 215.

'very truly determined †. When therefore, our *Church* gave *Aid* to such as *defended* themselves against the *Oppression* of their own Princes, this is the same thing as if they had themselves *resisted*. These things premised, I come to prove the Point proposed by me in these Sheets.

As the *Reformation* of *Religion* in the *Church of England* may be dated from the short Reign of King *EDWARD* the Sixth, so that the *Protestants* of that Age did not look upon *Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever* as absolutely unlawful, may be demonstrated from the Conduct and Demeanour of these very Persons under his immediate Successor Queen *MARY*. 'Tis known to every one who has the least Acquaintance with our *English* Histories, how that Young *Prince* was prevailed upon by the Artifices of the Duke of *Northumberland*, when in a Languishing Condition, to nominate the Lady *Jane Grey*, for his Successor to the Crown; a Young *Lady* of most incomparable Parts and Virtues, and a zealous Lover of the *Reformation*; but who, tho' she had Royal Blood in her Veins, yet had no Title to the Crown, either by Virtue of Heirship, or any Parliamentary Settlement. That which principally influenced K. *Edward* to this Act, was the known *Bigotry* of his Sister *Mary*, and her passionate *Devotion* to the See of *Rome*; which made him fear that she would destroy what he had done, as accordingly it came to pass. Upon the Death of this Excellent Prince, the Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in *London*; but the Generality of the Nation adhered to the Princess *Mary*, on whom the Succession was entail'd by the Estates of the Realm in *Parliament* assembled. Whilst the two *Rival Queens* were contending for a Diadem, Dr. *Ridley*, at that time Bishop of *London*, renowned for his Piety and Learning, and above all things for his Constancy in Martyrdom, and the Generous Testimony which he bore to his *Redeemer*'s Cause; this great Man preached a Sermon at St. *Paul*'s Cross, to advance the Title of Queen *Jane*. Amongst other things, 'He pressed the Inconveniencies which might arise, by receiving *Mary* for 'their Queen; propheſying that which after came to pass, namely, that she 'would bring in a Foreign Power to reign over this Nation; and that she 'would subvert the True Religion, then established by the Laws of this 'Realm *. So that this great *Prelate* was so far from believing all *Resistance* to be a Damnable Sin, that he publickly exhorted the People to defend their *Religion* and *Liberties* against the Right Heir to the Crown. Nor can it be pretended that he was a *Puritanical* Bishop; his Contest with Bishop *Hooper*, in Defence of the *Habits* and *Ceremonies* of the Church will evince the contrary.

Q. *Mary* had not long been in the peaceable Possession of her Kingdom, before the Promises made to those who drew their Sword in her Quarrel were quite forgotten, and she display'd the perfidious Cruelty, not so much of her *Nature* as her *Religion*. The Protestant Bishops were displaced; the Supremacy of the Pope recognized; and that Structure which her Brother had been so many Years in raising, was in a little time razed to the very Ground. In one Word, the Goals were quickly crowded, and the *Roman Vultures*, those Birds of

† *Sermon at* Derby, p. 10. * Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, &c *Edit.* 2. *pt.* 1. *page* 162.

of Prey, were whetting their greedy Beaks and Talons, and preparing their Stomachs for a Bloody Banquet. This, together with the *Queen*'s throwing her self into the Arms of the King of *Spain*, created a general Diſſatisfaction throughout the Kingdom; inſomuch, that *Conſpiracies* were formed, and *Inſurrections* intended, in divers Parts; all which came to little, except that headed by Sir *Thomas Wiat*, a *Kentiſh* Gentleman, of great Eſtate and Intereſt, who marched up to *London* with an Army of ſome Thouſands at his Heels: And if the Iſſue proved abortive, 'twas becauſe his Treaſon fell in Labour 'ſome Weeks before the full Time thereof; as Dr. *Fuller* expreſſes it †. Dr. *Heylin*, who was one of *Laud*'s Chaplains, and a moſt bitter Enemy to the *Preſbyterians*, aſſures us, That it cannot be denied 'but that the Reſtitution 'of the Reformed Religion, was the Matter principally aimed at in the Re-'bellion of theſe Men, though nothing but the Match with *Spain* appeared 'on the outſide of it ∴; and that Dr. *John Poinet*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in K. 'Edward's Days, was not only of Council in the Plot, but put himſelf into 'their Camp *. So that here was one Biſhop *preaching* againſt the *Queen*'s *Title*; another actually joining with ſuch as were in Arms againſt her; and ſurely *abſolute Non-Reſiſtance* could not be an Article of their Faith. Nay, the *Proteſtants* of the Church of *England*, at that time, were ſo far from thinking it their Duty to ſtand ſtill, whilſt their Throats were cutting, that if this *High-Church* Hiſtorian deſerves any Credit, they were generally diſpoſed, throughout the Nation, to defend their *Religion* and *Liberties* with their Swords: For, ſpeaking of *Wiat*'s Inſurrection, he tells us, 'That all they that wiſhed well 'to the Reformation, were hooked in [to *approve* his Deſign,] upon the like 'Hopes of Reſtoring that Religion which had been ſettled by the Care and 'Piety of the good King *Edward*, but now ſuppreſſed, contrary to all Faith 'and Promiſe, by the Queen and her Miniſters. The *Doctor* adds, That the 'Contagion was ſo generally diffus'd over all the Kingdom, that if it had not 'accidentally broke out before the Time appointed by them, it was conceived, 'by many Wiſe and Knowing Men, that the *Diſeaſe* might have been incur-'able ∴. If this be a *true Relation*, we may conclude that our *Firſt Reformers* had not imbibed thoſe *ſlaviſh Principles* which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be the *ſtanding Doctrine* of his Church.

To Queen *Mary* ſucceeded Queen *Elizabeth*, to whoſe Auſpicious Influence and Wiſe Conduct the *Church of England* owes its preſent *Eſtabliſhment*. During her *Glorious Adminiſtration*, both *Biſhops* and *Nobles*, *Clergy* and *Laity*, concurred in *Lending* their Helping Hand both to the *French*, *Scots*, and *Dutch*, when *defending* themſelves againſt the *Violence* and *Oppreſſion* of their own *Princes*. A Demonſtration, that the *Doctrine* of the *Bowſtring* was not at that time the *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*. To give ſome Inſtances.

In the Year 1559, ſuch of the *Scotiſh Gentlemen* as had embraced the *Reformation*, and who were called the *Lords of the Congregation*, thinking they had juſt Reaſon to *defend* themſelves againſt the *Oppreſſion* of the *Queen Regent*, and her *Popiſh Faction*, took up Arms, and craved Aid of Queen *Elizabeth*. Mr. *Cambden*

† *Church Hiſt. l.* 8. *p.* 11. ∴ Heylin's *Hiſt. of Reform. pt.* 2. *p.* 34. * Ibid. *p.* 33. ∴ Ibid. *p.* 33.

Cambden tells us, *That this Matter was ſeriouſly conſulted of in* England, *and the Reſult of all was, that to fail the Profeſſors of the ſame Religion, ſeemed a Point of* IMPIETY §. Hence I infer, that the *Scots* at that time profeſſed the ſame Religion with the *Engliſh*; and that the *Reſiſtance* which the *former* made, was not look'd upon by the *latter* as a Damnable Rebellion; for then it had been *Impiety*, not to *deſert*, but to *aſſiſt* them: Whereas a ſtout Band of Soldiers, with a Train of Artillery, was ſent into *Scotland* to their Aid.

In the Year 1562, the *Proteſtants* in *France*, being made deſperate by the many *Butcheries* and *Maſſacres* that they were exerciſed with in divers Parts of the Kingdom, thought it Lawful for them to ſtand upon their Guard, and repel *Force* by *Force*. This they did, being headed by the *Prince of Conde*, and the *Admiral de Coligny*: In theſe Circumſtances they addreſs themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent over the Earl of *Warwick*, with a well-appointed Army, to their Aſſiſtance †; and, at the ſame time, 'Earneſtly ſollicited the 'Proteſtants of *Germany* to relieve *Conde*, and defend the Common Cauſe of 'Religion. ∴ In the latter End of this Year, the *Eſtates* of the Realm were aſſembled in *Parliament* and *Convocation*, 'Who granted the *Queen*, the 'ECCLESIASTICAL Men one Subſidy, and the Laity another, with 'Two Fifteenths and Tenths; and this Grant was declared to be made, 'amongſt other Reaſons, for the LAUDABLE ENTERPRIZE 'in *France* *. That the Reader may have a clearer Notion of this Matter, he muſt conſider, That tho' at preſent our *Clergy* are taxed by *Parliament*, and pay for their Benefices as *Gentlemen* do for their Eſtates, yet before the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* the Second, they were taxed by their Repreſentatives in *Convocation*. In the Inſtance now before us, the *Biſhops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church were ſo far from looking upon that *Reſiſtance* which the *French Proteſtants* made to their Perfidious *Queen Regent*, (the *King* her Son being then a Minor) to be a *Damnable Rebellion*, that they called the deſign of Aiding and Abetting of them a *Laudable Enterprize*, and contributed largely thereunto. And now, let Mr. *Agate* tell us what he will *pronounce* of theſe Men, who were the *Fathers* and *Founders* of his own Church.

Upon the breaking out of the Second *Religious War* in *France*, in 1569, 'The Queen of *England* failed not to relieve the *Proteſtants* in that Kingdom, 'and exhorted the *Princes* of the ſame Profeſſion to take upon them the *Defence* 'of the Common Cauſe. ∴ The Sieur *d' Aubigne*, a *French* Hiſtorian, tells us, *That ſhe remitted over an Hundred Thouſand Angelots*; by which, I ſuppoſe, he means *Engliſh* Angels; for I can't learn that there is any *French* Coin ſo called, (a very conſiderable Sum in thoſe Days) *with a Train of Artillery*. ‖ And no doubt but ſhe was encouraged hereunto by the Determination of her own *Biſhops* and *Clergy*.

The Story of the Unfortunate *Scotiſh Queen* is known to moſt, who being driven out of her own Kingdom, took Sanctuary in *England*, where ſhe was kept a Priſoner many Years, and at laſt loſt her Head on a Scaffold. During her Captivity, the Duke of *Norfolk* had formed a Deſign to marry her, and

§ Cambden's *Hiſt. of Q.* Eliz. *Edit 4th, p* 36. † Ibid. *p.* 62. ∴ Ibid. 64.
* Cambden's *Hiſt. of Q.* Eliz. *p.* 64. ∴ Ibid. *p.* 137. ‖ *Hiſtoire Univerſelle, l.* 5 *c.* 10.

ſo raiſe Diſturbances in the Nation. This alarm'd the *Parliament*, who made very ſevere Votes and Petitions againſt her; in one of which they thus addreſs themſelves to Queen *Elizabeth*: *We your* Majeſty's *moſt humble and faithful Subjects aſſembled in* Parliament——*A* Queen *of late Time, and yet through her own Acts now JUSTLY no* Queen, *a nigh Kinſwoman of your* Majeſty's, *and yet a very unnatural Siſter, Lady* Mary Steward, *late* Queen *of* Scots, *&c.* * I find by the *Queen*'s Anſwer, reported to the Houſe by Mr. *Treaſurer*, *That the* Lords *joined with the* Commons *in this* Petition; † which I deſire the Reader to remark for the *Biſhops* ſakes. Should any Perſon affirm, That King *Charles* was *juſtly* put to Death, Mr. *Agate* would repreſent him as much a Regicide as *Cromwel* or *Bradſhaw*; and no doubt but he would be a Sharer in their Guilt. 'We may be Partakers of another Man's Sin in commending, ap-'proving, excuſing, or defending it afterward, as the High-Church Hero, Dr. *Sacheverell* has very orthodoxly determined. ∴ In the Inſtance juſt now cited, we have the *Biſhops*, the *Nobles*, and *Gentry* of the *Church of England*, with all Solemnity declaring, That the late *Queen* of *Scots* was *then juſtly no Queen*; that is, in other Words, ſhe was *juſtly* deprived of her Regal Dignity. And by this Declaration they did *juſtify* that *Reſiſtance* which her Subjects made unto her: This they could not have done, had they then look'd upon all ſuch *Reſiſtance* as an *Enormous Crime*.

A little after this, the Natives of *Flanders* and *Holland*, being haraſs'd by the *Terrors* of the *Inquiſition*, and the *Barbarity* of the Duke of *Alva* their Governor, thought it lawful for them to defend their *Lives* and *Religion* againſt thoſe *Inſtruments* of *Cruelty*, that were made uſe of to Oppreſs them. Under theſe Perſuaſions, ſeveral *Provinces* and great *Towns* revolted from the King of *Spain*, their Natural Sovereign, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and the better to ſecure themſelves againſt the formidable Power of that haughty Monarch, they offer'd to transfer their *Allegiance* to the Queen of *England*, and become her Vaſſals. But though *Her Majeſty* did not think fit to accept of this Propoſal, yet after ſerious Deliberation ſhe reſolved, 'That 'it was CHRISTIAN PIETY to Relieve the *Afflicted Netherlanders*, 'Embracers of the ſame Religion which ſhe profeſſed. * And accordingly, a well-appointed Army, both of Horſe and Foot, was actually ſent over to their Aſſiſtance: This was done about the latter End of the Year 1585. The next Year there was a *Seſſion of Parliament*: I find in the printed Journal of the *Houſe of Lords*, 'That the *Commons* made humble Suit to their *Lordſhips*, to 'join with them in a *Contribution* or *Benevolence* for the *Charges* of the LOW-'COUNTRIES WARS. ‡ The *Lords* appointed a Committee of their own Body to conſider this *Motion*; of which Number were the Two *Archbiſhops* of *Canterbury* and *York*, the *Biſhops* of *London*, *Winchester* and *Salop*. Upon Conference amongſt themſelves. 'Twas reſolved and agreed 'to by the whole Houſe, That a Subſidy of Two Shillings in the Pound, 'ſhould be granted by the Temporal Lords, in as much as the Lords Spiri-

'tual

* D'Ewe's *Journal of Parliaments*, &c. *p.* 215. *p.* 219. ∴ *Sermon at* Derby *Aſſize p.* 11.
† D'Ewe's *Journal of Parliaments*, &c.
‡ D'Ewe's *Journals of Parliaments*, &c. *p.* 366.
* Cambden's *Hiſt. of Q.* Eliz. *p.* 321.

'tual had made former Offers of *Contribution* to Her Majesty, [*i. e.* in *Convocation*] ∴ I must leave the Reader to judge, whether *absolute Non-Resistance* could be a Doctrine of the Church at this time, when the *Bishops* and *Convocation* of *Clergy*, laid a Tax on themselves and their Brethren, for the *Charges of the Low-Countries Wars*. That is, in other Terms, for the *Aiding* and *Abetting* those very Persons who were at that time actually *Resisting* their own Lawful, but Tyrannical Prince. I would crave leave to make this one Remark more; That the Clergy were not at that time headed by *Sacheverel's Perfidious Prelate* Grindal; but the Metropolitical Dignity was then possessed by Dr. *John Whitgift* *, whose Zeal against the *Puritans*, and for the *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* of the Church, are *notorious* to all such as have the least Acquaintance with our *English* Records.

In the Year 1593, the Estates of *England* were again assembled in *Parliament* at *Westminster*; 'Who taking into their Consideration the Bent of the 'Enemies to work the Destruction of *England*, by Suppressing its Confederates 'in *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Low-Countries*, and the great Expence *Her Ma-* 'jesty had been at, not only in Defending her own Kingdoms, but also in 'JUSTLY Relieving her Confederates according to Contract; they with 'most Thankful Hearts granted, the CLERGY Two Entire Subsidies, 'and the Laity Three, with Six Fifteenths and Tenths †. Here again, we have the *Convocation* and *Parliament*, the Representatives of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of *England*, declaring, in the most publick solemn Manner, That Qu. *Elizabeth* did JUSTLY in *relieving her Confederates* [the *Dutchmen:*] (for Mr. *Cambden* assures us, that these are the very Words of the Act of *Parliament* ∴) Whereas, had they looked upon that *Resistance*, which these Men made to their Natural King, to be a Damnable Rebellion, the *Aiding and Assisting of them in such an Enterprize*, would have been a most barbarous *Injustice*. And the Clergy would have been guilty of a most inexcusable Prevarication, in approving a *known Injury*; but if they had any thing of Sincerity in them, as I hope and believe they had, they must be Strangers to Mr. *Agate*'s slavish Doctrine.

I have one Remark more to make on this *Parliament*; It was so far from being a *Puritanical Assembly*, that this is the *very Parliament* which made that severe Law, which inflicts *Death* or *Banishment* on those who *absent* themselves from the Service of the *Church* for a *Month's Time*, and will not *recant* their *Nonconformity*. I hope the *Authors* of such an Act may pass for *True Sons of the Church*; and yet these *very Gentlemen* gave large Supplies, to enable the *Dutch* to *resist* their own Prince.

The Instances I have given, are a Demonstration that Mr. *Agate*'s *Notions* were not the *standing Doctrines* of the *Church* during Q. *Elizabeth*'s Glorious and Triumphant Reign.

To Q. *Elizabeth* succeeded King *James* I. in 1602, who delighted to be called a *Pacifick King*; and a little after his Access to the *Throne*, made Peace with the King of *Spain:* However, he still maintain'd a fair Correspondence

∴ D'Ewe's *Journal of Parliaments*, &c. *p.* 387. * *Vid.* Cambden's *Hist of* Q. Eliz. *p.* 288. † Ibid. *p.* 469. ∴ Ibid. *p:* 468.

with the *Revolted Hollanders*; and as they had put into the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth* the ſtrong Fortreſſes of the *Brill*, *Fluſhing*, and *Ramechins*, as Cautionary Towns for the Money ſhe had lent them; ſo King *James* kept them Garriſoned with *Engliſh* Soldiers till the Year 1616, when he delivered them up to the *States General* *. Whereas, had he looked upon the *reſiſting Dutchmen*, as involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion, he ought in *Conſcience* and *Honour* to have ſurrendred them to the King of *Spain*, their Rightful Owner.

I find it affirmed by an unexceptionable Hiſtorian, *That the chiefeſt Strength of the* United Provinces *conſiſted in* Engliſh *and* Scotiſh *Soldiers, who were in their Army* †: This was in the Year 1607 ∴, when K. *James* had been ſeveral Years poſſeſſed of the *Engliſh* Crown. An Argument that the *Britiſh* Subjects were permitted to Liſt themſelves in the *Dutch* Service, which I hope our *Government* would not have allowed of, had they looked upon this as the *Aiding* and *Abetting* a pack of *Rebels*, and the hardening them in a DAMNING SIN.

In the 1609, I find mention of 4000 *Engliſh*, commanded by Sir *Edward Cecil* at the Siege of *Juliers*, aſſiſting the *Dutch* in the Recovery of that Town out of the *Spaniards* Hands *; and in the Year 1624. four *Engliſh* Regiments of Foot, of 1500 Men each, were ſent into *Holland*, to countenance the ſame *Reſiſters* †. One of the *Colonels* commanding theſe Regiments was the Lord *Willoughby*, ſince Earl of *Lindſey*, who was ſo far from being a *Puritan* or a *Roundhead*, that he was King *Charles* his General in our late Civil War, and loſt his Life whilſt fighting under the Royal Banner ∴.

About this time there were Commotions in *France*, and the Duke *de Soubiſe*, one of the Proteſtants Generals, being routed, made a ſhift to eſcape into *England*; and though he failed in his Attempt of perſuading King *James* publickly to eſpouſe their Quarrel, yet the *French* Hiſtorian aſſures us, *That he was ſo much favoured by the* Engliſh *in general, that they gave him ſuch conſiderable Succours as enabled him to lade Ten or a Dozen Veſſels with all ſorts of Neceſſaries for the Relief of* Rochel, *at that time Beſiged by the* King's *Forces* *. It can hardly be conceived, that this preparation ſhould be made without the Connivance of our Court. I muſt leave the Reader to judge, whether the Inſtances produced are not a Demonſtration, that Mr. *Agate*'s ſlaviſh Doctrine was a Stranger in the Gates of *Engliſhmen*, during the Reign of King *James*.

To him ſucceeded K. *Charles* I. in the Year 1625, who being diſguſted with the *Spaniard*, reſolved upon a War with that Crown; but having diſſolved his Parliament abruptly, (who were willing to ſupply him in a Legal Way) becauſe they claſhed with his mighty Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, his ill-adviſed Counſel perſuaded him to raiſe Money by way of *Loan*; that is, particular Men had Privy-Seals ſent to them, requiring them to lend the King ſuch Sums of Money as his Commiſſioners thought them capable of ſparing. This had a harſh Sound in the Ears of *Free-born Engliſhmen*; and therefore, that

* Heylin's *Coſmography, Edit. 2d p.* 385. † Bentivoglio's *Hiſtory of the Wars of* Flanders, *p.* 373 ∴ Ibid *p.* 369. * *Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 2 *p.* 683. † Ibid *p.* 787. ∴ Ibid. *p.* 790. * Hiſtoire de l' Edit. de Nantes, Tome 2. liv. 8.

that they might be charmed into a Compliance, his Majeſty was adviſed to *tune the Pulpits*, as Dr. *Heylin* calls it; and accordingly *Inſtructions* were order'd to be drawn up, in order to be communicated to all the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* in *England*, according to which they were to govern themſelves in recommending this *Loan* unto their People. The Perſon appointed to prepare theſe *Inſtructions* was Biſhop *Laud*; and I hope Mr. *Agate* will *pronounce* him a *true Churchman*. This Taſk he perform'd to the Satisfaction of the Court: Amongſt other Arguments to excite the *Generoſity* of the *Subjects*, the Neceſſity of putting a Check to the growing Greatneſs of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, and *King of Spain*, who had over-run almoſt all *Germany*, was principally inſiſted on: *Nor can it be thought* (ſays theſe Inſtructions) the Low-Countries *can HOLD OUT LONG AGAINST Him, if he once become Lord of the Upper Parts* *. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* had at this time been ſtruggling hard againſt the *Spaniſh* Power for more than 40 Years, with little Intermiſſion. And our *Biſhops* and *Clergy* were ſo far from thinking them guilty of a *Damning Sin*, that they exhorted the People to a *Liberal Contribution*, to enable them to *hold out long*, or, in other Terms, to perſevere in that *Reſiſtance* which they were then making to their *Hereditary Monarch*. It is further worthy our Obſervation, that *Sybthorp*, *Manwaring*, and the *Laudean Faction*, were moſt Zealous to *promote* this *Loan*, whilſt the *Puritans* and *Low-Churchmen* were more on the Reſerve, as diſliking the *Arbitrary Methods* made uſe of in raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament.

A little after this, a War broke out betwixt *England* and *France*; at the ſame time the *Reformed* in that Kingdom having received *Encouragement* from hence, and ſeeing the moſt ſolemn Treaties violated by their *perfidious Enemies*, endeavour'd to re-eſtabliſh their Affairs by Force of Arms. Upon this, the *King of France* laid Siege to *Rochel*, a populous and wealthy City, and ſo prodigiouſly ſtrong, that the Enemy could not reduce it but by Starving it into a Surrender. During this Siege, the *Engliſh* made great Preparations to relieve the Town, and ſeveral Fleets were ſent out to that purpoſe, though all without effect. The *Biſhop of Sarum* tells us, *That in the Year* 1628, *during the Siege of* Rochel, *there was a publick Faſt appointed upon that Account over* England; *and the Beſieged were prayed for as our Brethren, and* SUCCESS *to them was by that Form prayed for: I have* (ſays his Lordſhip) *the* Form of Prayer †. We are told by a *French Hiſtorian*, that whilſt the *Engliſh Fleet* lay before the Town, the *French* King did, in his own Perſon, every Day viſit thoſe *prodigious Works* which were built a good way out in the Sea, to hinder any Succours from being thrown into it ∴. The *Rochellers* at that time did certainly *reſiſt* their *King*, if *ſhooting of Muſquets* and *firing of Cannon* againſt him and his *Army* may deſerve that Term; and yet all the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* of *England* did beg of GOD to give them *Succeſs* in this very Enterprize. Certainly if our *Words* and *Thoughts*, ſhould at any time harmonize, 'tis

* Heylin's *Life of Archbiſhop* Laud, *p* 163. † *The Biſhop of* Sarum's *Vindication*, &c. *p* 70.
∴ Sa Majeſte n'en paſſa pas un jour, quelle ne Viſitaſt la Digue, & tous les Travaux, &c. Jean de Serres Inventaire general de l'Hiſtoire de France, p. 1063.

'tis when we lye proſtrate before the Supreme *Majeſty*, that *God* who ſees the ſecret Springs and Principles, by which we are moved, and whoſe Eyes can penetrate the dark Receſſes of human Souls. Did our *Clergy* look upon theſe *Reſiſters* engaged in a *Damning Sin*, when they prayed GOD to SUCCEED them in it? This would be ſuch a curſed *Hypocriſy*, ſuch a *Prophane Mocking* with the Almighty, that we cannot in Charity or Juſtice accuſe them of it.

To King *Charles* the Firſt ſucceeded his Son of the ſame Name; during whoſe Reign, the Doctrines of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, were recommended in ſome Pulpits as ſo many Articles of Faith.

However, tho' the *Courtiers* encouraged the Preaching up this Doctrine for *Reaſons of State*; yet, I think, it may be demonſtrated, that thoſe who ſat at the Helm did not themſelves believe one Word of it; and that, by their own Conduct, in Relation to other *Kingdoms*. Some Years before the *Reſtoration*, the *Portugueſe* revolted from the *King* of *Spain*, to whom they had ſworn Allegiance, and to whoſe Anceſtors they had been ſubject for 60 Years ſucceſſively; having ſhaken off the *Spaniſh* Yoak, they advanced *John* Duke of *Braganza* to the Throne, and inveſted him with the Royal Purple.

In the Year 1662 King *Charles* II. married the Princeſs *Katherine*, Daughter of King *John* lately deceaſed, and ſent over a ſtout Band of *Engliſh* Soldiers to the Aſſiſtance of his New Relations, * by whoſe Valour and Reſolution the *Spaniſh* Armies were entirely defeated, and the *Houſe of Braganza* eſtabliſh'd in the Throne.

If it be ſaid, *That in this Inſtance, the* Engliſh *did only aſſiſt the Right Heir againſt an Uſurper, I have theſe Two Things to offer:*

1. In the Year 1580. *Henry* King of *Portugal* having no Iſſue, and foreſeeing that after his Deceaſe there would be ſeveral Competitors for the Crown (of whom *Philip* II King of *Spain*, his Siſter's Son was one) with the Conſent of his *Cortes*, or Parliament, appointed a *Committee* of *Lawyers* and *Stateſmen*, to Govern the Kingdom upon his Death, and Declare the Right of Succeſſion. All Perſons were ſworn to ſtand to the Determination of theſe Judges, and the Duke of *Braganza* amongſt the reſt. † A little after this, King *Henry* died, and ſome time before his Death, declared himſelf publickly for King *Philip.*: After his Deceaſe, the Governors *gave their Definitive Sentence in Favour of the ſaid King*; *And the Dutcheſs of* Braganza, (from whom the preſent Kings of *Portugal* do claim) *ſurrender'd alſo all her Intereſt and Pretenſions to him.* † And all this was followed by a Peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom for Sixty Years ſucceſſively by the ſaid *Philip*, his Son and Grandſon, Kings of *Spain*. I muſt leave it to the *Civilians*, and *Dealers* in *Politicks*, whether all this will not give a Valid Title.

2. But ſuppoſing the *King of Spain* be never ſo much an Uſurper, yet the Family of *Braganza* (for whom our *Engliſh* fought) were not the next Heirs to the Crown; nor could they claim it by Virtue of the Right Line of Succeſſion.

* *Hiſtory of* Portugal, *p.* 503, 509, *&c.* † *Hiſt. of* Portugal, *p.* 352. ‡ Ibid. p. 353. * Ibid p. 357. † Heylin's *Coſmography, Edit.* 2. *p.* 279.

ceſſion. The Duke of *Braganza* was deſcended from *Katherine*, Second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, Fourth Son to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. On the other Hand, the Dukes of *Parma* are deſcended from *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter to the ſaid *Edward*. ∴ And every Perſon knows, that the Poſterity of the *Elder* Daughter ought to Inherit before that of the *Younger*; ſo that King *Charles*, and his Church-of *England* Council (for I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow that Character to the Earl of *Clarendon*, at that time Prime Miniſter) did *aid* and *aſſiſt* the *Portugueze*, in Setting up and Maintaining a King of their own Chuſing, who was not the next Heir to the Crown in the Right Line of Succeſſion. This is Matter of Fact, and undeniable.

In 1656, died *John* King of *Portugal**, leaving behind him Two Sons, *Alphonſo* and *Peter*, both Minors, under the Tuition of their Mother the *Queen Regent*. In 1663, King *Alphonſo*, the Elder, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands; but being of an extravagant Humour, and guilty of ſome unaccountable odd Actions, which I believe were aggravated by his Enemies, to make him Odious, he was Depoſed by the Aſſembly of *Eſtates* in 1668, and condemned to a *Perpetual Impriſonment*, whilſt his Younger Brother *Peter* was made Regent of the Kingdom, and at laſt King †.

In this mighty *Revolution*, (which was far from being ſo *Juſt* or *Neceſſary* as that in *Great Britain* ſome 20 Years ago,) the *King of England* was one of the firſt who acknowledged the *New Regent*; and by the Interpoſition of his Ambaſſadors, the Earl of *Sandwich*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, a Peace was preſently concluded between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; 'His *Bri-* 'tannick *Majeſty* being declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it †. So that if the *Spaniard* ſhould have attempted to reſtore King *Alphonſo* to his former Dignity, the *Engliſh*, by Virtue of this Guaranteeſhip, ſtood obliged to aſſiſt the Prince *Regent* againſt his Depoſed Sovereign and Elder Brother. This is a Demonſtration, that the Prime Managers in King *Charles* his Reign, who encouraged the Preaching up the *Abſolute Unlawfulneſs of Reſiſtance upon any Pretence whatſoever*, did never intend to govern themſelves by ſuch a Rigid Maxim. This is further evident, by their Demeanor towards his Brother and Succeſſor,

K. *James* II. whoſe Zeal for Popery, and Love of Arbitrary Power, tempted him to make large Breaches in the *Conſtitution* of the Kingdom, both *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical:* Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was invited over; who came with a well-appointed Army, and being aſſiſted by all ſorts of People, the late *Revolution* did enſue. But how is this reconcileable with Mr. *Agate*'s *Notions? Our Adverſaries* (ſays this *Eccho* of *Sacheverell* in his Declaration on *January* 30th) *object to us the late Revolution; but the* Prince *himſelf has anſwer'd this, for he declared againſt* Reſiſtance. Certainly this Gentleman muſt have a very Contemptible Opinion of his own *Auditory*, when he ſuppoſes them ſo deſpicably Credulous to believe his Idle Rant, before their

∴ Ibid *p.* 280. * *Hiſt. of* Portugal, *p* 563. † *Hiſt. of* Portugal, *p.* 563. † Ibid. *p.* 564. *Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 3 *p.* 270.

their own Eyes Are there not Thouſands ſtill living within the Walls, who ſaw thoſe Armed Legions which paſſed through the City; who ſaw the Church-yard crowded with Cannons and Mortars, and the River cover'd with Ships full of Warlike Stores and Ammunition? And can any of theſe be ſo abandoned of common Reaſon, as to imagine, that the *Prince* intended no Oppoſition to King *James*'s Forces? Beſides, had he *declared againſt Reſiſtance*, as Mr. *Agate* moſt *fooliſhly* and *falſly* affirms, would any *Gentlemen* have joined him, to be ſacrificed to the *Reſentments* of a *Bigoted Prince*, and that without Remedy? Would any have Liſted under his Banner, to be cut in Pieces without *Reſiſtance?* A Man muſt firſt ſhake Hands with *Humanity* it ſelf, before ſuch a ſenſeleſs Imagination can find any Harbour in his Boſom.

'Tis true, the *Prince* declared, that he came not to *Conquer and Enſlave the Nation*, as was ſuggeſted by his Enemies: *Nor can it be imagined* (ſays his *Highneſs*) *that thoſe who have Invited us, can join in a wicked Attempt of* Conqueſt, *to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Honours, Eſtates and Intereſts.*.·. The plain Meaning of which is only this; That his *Deſign* was not to make us *Vaſſals* to the *Dutch*, and divide the *Gentlemens Eſtates* amongſt his own *Troopers*, as *William* ſirnamed the *Conqueror* had done. But that he ſhould declare *againſt* Reſiſting King *James* and his Miniſters, who were at that time the *Higheſt Powers* in the Nation; this is a *groundleſs Fiction*, and I fear a premeditated wilful *Falſhood.*

The Truth on't is, tho' the very Word *Reſiſtance* be not found in his *Declaration*, yet there be other Expreſſions which do neceſſarily ſuppoſe and infer it. In his Firſt *Declaration*, dated *Octob.* 10. having enumerated thoſe Grievances in *Church* and *State*, which he came over to redreſs, *He invited and required all Perſons whatſoever to come and ASSIST him, in order to the Executing his Deſign, AGAINST all ſuch at ſhould endeavour to OPPOSE him**. And 'tis impoſſible this ſhould be done without Reſiſting ſuch *Oppoſers*. In a Second *Declaration*, which declaims a Deſign of *Conqueſt*, His *Highneſs* thus expreſſes himſelf: *After we had printed our Declaration, we have underſtood that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of theſe Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations to* ASSIST *the People* AGAINST *them, have begun to retract ſome of the Arbitrary Powers that they had aſſumed.* ——— *The Senſe of their Guilt, and a Diſtruſt of their Force, having induced them to offer to the City of* London *ſome ſeeming Relief from their great Oppreſſions* †. Now, it was King *James*, who had ſent for the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*, when terrified with the Noiſe of an *Invaſion*; and told them with his own Mouth, *That he would reſtore their Ancient Charters to them* *. 'Twas he and his *Council*, who had retracted their *Arbitrary Powers* in relation to the *Biſhop of London*, and *Magdalen*-College. Theſe are the *Subverters* of whom the *Prince* ſpeaks, and he declares to all the World, That he came to *aſſiſt the People of* England *againſt them.* But how could this be done *without* Reſiſting thoſe *Oppreſſors?* Should the *Queen*'s General in *Spain* declare, that he was ſent over by his Miſtreſs to *aſſiſt*

* *Hiſt. of* England, *Vol* 3. *p.* 493. * Ibid. † Ibid. * *Hiſt. of* England, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 490.

aſſiſt the well-affected People againſt the Duke of *Anjou* and his Faction; is not this the ſame thing as to declare for *Reſiſtance* againſt the ſaid *Duke?* The ſame may be ſaid in relation to the Prince of *Orange.*

Add to all this, that *Mens Intentions* may be as fully declared by their *Actions* as by their *Words:* When His *Highneſs* brought over an Army of 14000 Men, this was a more full and ample Declaration of his Deſign to awe King *James* into a Compliance, than any Words that he was capable of uſing. Beſides, there was *Reſiſtance* actually made by his *Troops* at *Wincanton* and *Reading*, where ſeveral Men were killed and wounded †. And when he came near *London*, the *Dutch* Guards marched through St. *James*'s *Park*, with lighted Match, and in a fighting Poſture, in order to relieve the Poſts at *White-Hall*; ‡ and would have cut King *James* his Guards in pieces, had they not diſlodged, or loſt their own Lives in the Attempt.

After all this, what can we think of this *Gentleman*, who in Defiance of this *Notoriety of Fact*, durſt tell his Congregation, *That the Prince of* Orange *declared againſt Reſiſtance?* Nothing can be more Aſtoniſhing than the *Confidence* of ſuch a *Declaimer*, unleſs it be the incorrigible Silline's of thoſe, who are reſolved to believe his Furious Rants before their own Senſe and Reaſon.

Upon this Occaſion, it may not be amiſs to conſider what was *ſaid* and *done* by our *Nobles* and *Gentry*, who Invited over the *Prince*, and who acted in Concert with him when he came. One of the *chief* of theſe was the *Earl* (afterwards *Duke*) of *Devonſhire*, who with divers of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* Rendezvouz'd at *Nottingham*; where they Subſcribed a *Declaration*, in which they thus expreſſed themſelves: *We own it Rebellion to reſiſt a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to* RESIST *ſuch an One we juſtly eſteem no Rebellion, but a neceſſary Defence*, &c.* A few Days after this, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, (now our moſt Gracious *Queen*) the preſent *Biſhop of London*, with others of the Firſt Rank, retired to *Nottingham*, and actually joined thoſe *Gentlemen*, who declared their Reſolution to *reſiſt* in the moſt expreſs and formal manner.† Fain would I aſk our *profound Caſuiſt*, Whether the *Princeſs* and *Biſhop* were guilty of a Damning Sin in that Affair? For he muſt neceſſarily condemn his *Doctrine* or his *Sovereign.*

Whilſt the *Prince* was in *Exeter*, he was joined by the *Gentlemen* of the *Eaſtern Countries*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Col. *Lutterel*, with many others of great Eſtate and Intereſt, who were never in their Lives ſuſpected of *Whiggiſm*, much leſs of *Fanaticiſm:* Theſe *Gentlemen* entred into an *Aſſociation*, in which they *did engage to God, and one another, that if any Attempts were made upon His* Highneſs's *Perſon, we will purſue* (ſay they) *not only thoſe that made them, but all their adherents, and all we find in Arms againſt us, with the utmoſt Severity of juſt* REVENGE, *in their Ruin and Deſtruction.* ∴ Certainly this is declaring for *Reſiſtance* with a Vengeance.

† Ibid. *p.* 498, 499. ‡ Ibid. *p.* 503 * *Hiſtory of K.* Will. 3d. *V.* 1. *p.* 358.
† Ibid. *p.* 369. ∴ *Hiſtory of* England, *V.* 3. *p.* 496.

About the ſame time the Lord *Lovelace*, coming with a Train of *Gentlemen* to join the *Prince*, was intercepted and taken Priſoner at *Cirenceſter*, but not before he had *reſiſted unto blood*; there being Ten or Twelve Men killed in the Scuffle. ††

During theſe Tranſactions, the Citadel of *Plymouth* was ſecured for the *Prince*; the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, who had King *James*'s Commiſſion, being made Priſoners. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe* forced the Duke of *Beauford* to ſurrender to them the City of *Briſtol*.* The Earl of *Danby* (now Duke of *Leeds*) wreſted *York* out of the Hands of the Duke of *New-Caſtle*. *Hull* was ſurprized by Col. *Copley*, and the Governor made a Priſoner. † And to conclude all, the Two Archbiſhops, *Sancroft* and *Lamplugh*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *St. Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, met at the *Guildhall*, *London*, with ſeveral Temporal Lords, where they declared for the Prince of *Orange*; telling the *Lord-Mayor* and *Aldermen*, *That he had undertaken to reſcue them from Popery and Slavery*.* Which how it could be done without *reſiſting* ſuch as would enſlave them, is hard to be conceived. They alſo turned Col. *Skelton*, who had K. *James*'s Commiſſion to be *Lieutenant of the Tower*, out of his Place, and put the Lord *Lucas* in his room †. If Mr. *Agate* will conſult our Law-Books, or Lawyers, they will tell him, That the holding a *Fort* or *Caſtle* againſt the *King*, [much more then the wreſting of them out of his Hands] is a *Levying War* againſt him. ∴ And ſure the *levying War* againſt the *King* is *reſiſting* him, if there be any ſuch thing in Nature. And this is what Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, with many of his Brethren, were guilty of, and that before the *Abdication*. But will Mr. *Agate* therefore *prononce* them to be no true Churchmen? This may ſerve for a Specimen of what was *done* and *ſaid* by the Prince of *Orange*, and his Adherents.

If it be demanded, *Whether our* Engliſh *Clergy were merely* paſſive *in that great Turn of Affairs?* We are aſſur'd of the contrary by Dr. *Atterbury*, Dean of *Carliſle*, againſt whoſe Teſtimony Mr. *Agate* durſt make no Exception. Speaking of the Lords of the *Articles* in *Scotland*, he tells us, 'This was 'thought a Badge of Slavery by the *Scotch*; and therefore towards the Be'ginning of this *Revolution*, when the Chains were knocked off every where 'from His *Majeſty*'s Subjects, this Committee was aboliſhed. And had the '*Engliſh* Clergy then lain under any undue Reſtraint, they too might have 'hoped for a Relief from it, as ſoon as any Men; ſince none had been more 'Inſtrumental than they in PROMOTING the *common Deliverance* †. But how did they *Promote* it? Was it by Preaching up *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-Reſiſtance?* By telling the People, that 'twas not lawful, upon *any Pretence whatſoever*, to take up Arms againſt their Lawful King, or thoſe that were Commiſſioned by him? And that they that did ſo ſhould receive to themſelves *Damnation?* Had this Doctrine been preached and believed then, inſtead of *knocking off the Nations Chains*, it would have rivetted them the faſter on

us;

†† *Hiſtory of K.* Will. 3d. *V.* 1. *p.* 358. * Ibid. *p.* 367. † Ibid. *p.* 368. * *Hiſtory of* England, *V.* 3. *p.* 500. † Ibid. *p.* 501. ∴ *Vid.* Hales *Plea of the Crown. p.* 14 ‡ *The Rights*, &c. *of an* Eng. *Convocation*, &c. *Edit.* 2. *p.* 392.

us; and King *James*, with one Troop of his dear *Iriſh Joys*, might have cut the Throats of all ſuch as ſtood in the Gap to prevent a Deluge of *Popery* and *Slavery* from breaking in upon us.

That Learned *Dean*, who gives us this Account of the *Clergies* Conduct, wrote a Book in the laſt Reign, to prove, that, according to our *preſent Conſtitution*, the *Convocation* has a Right of *meeting* and *ſitting*, as often as a New *Parliament* is ſummoned, as alſo of Deliberating about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, without Licenſe under the *Great Seal*. He urges, amongſt other Things, 'That the *Convocation*, ſitting with the *Parliament*, might be uſeful to the 'State, as well as to the Church; that ſo they [the *Lower Houſe of Convoca-* 'tion] may be in Heart, and always at Hand, to ſtand up with them, [the 'House of Commons,] in behalf of Liberty, when it ſhall be attacked, and to 'RESIST a growing Tyranny either in *Church* or *State*, as it may hap-'pen. For Arbitrary Government is a ſpreading and contagious thing * I 'don't think there is any *Doctor* in *England* ſubtil enough to let us know, how we may *reſiſt Tyranny*, without *reſiſting the Tyrant:* Which is all that Mr. *Hoadly*, or any of his Principles contend for. From the general Approbation that this Book hath met with amongſt the *Clergy*, I may reaſonably infer, that ſeeing one great Uſe of *Convocation* is to *reſiſt Tyrants*, that therefore the *Clergy* cannot look upon all *Reſiſtance* to be unlawful, for ſure they cannot be fond of Liberty to *damn* their own *Souls*, nor yet be angry when they are denied it.

If we croſs over into *Ireland*, to ſee how Affairs were managed there; 'tis known to all the World how *Londonderry* defended it ſelf againſt King *James* in Perſon, the Garriſon being commanded by Mr. *Walker*, a Clergyman. In the Year 1690. King *William*, Pr. *George*, abundance of the Nobility and Gentry, with a gallant Army, were wafted over into that Kingdom, where, on *July* 1ſt. they fought that memorable Battle at the *Boyne*, when King *James*, who commanded the *Iriſh* Army in his own Perſon, was entirely defeated, and ſo driven out of all his Dominions. † I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow this to be a *reſiſting* of him. I have now by me the Form of Prayer that was uſed *March* 12. 1689. being a publick Faſt-day, appointed, *To implore God's Bleſſing in the Preſervation of His* Majeſty's *ſacred Perſon, and the Proſperity of His Arms in* Ireland. There is one Collect bearing this Title, *A Prayer for the King, to be conſtantly uſed during His Majeſty's Expedition:* In which are theſe Expreſſions, 'Almighty and moſt Gracious God, who haſt 'been pleaſed to raiſe up thy Servant King *William* —— Vouchſafe thy Gra-'cious Preſence with him throughout his Expedition; cover his Head in the 'Day of Battle; bleſs him with VICTORY and all good SUCCESS; 'bring him back in ſafety to our Comfort, *&c.* So that whilſt our *Engliſh* Soldiers were ſhooting their Muſquets, and firing their Cannon againſt King *James* and his Army, all the *Clergy* in *England*, except the *Nonjurors*, were at the ſame time begging God to give them *Victory* and *Succeſs* in that very Enterprize.

* *Rights of Convocation, Ed* 2*d p.* 137. Note, *through the* Printer's *Error, there be in this Book two Pages marked* 137. *at a little Diſtance, my Quotation is in the firſt.* † *Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 558, &c.

terprize. If they believed this *Reſiſtance* lawful, then Mr. *Agate*'s ſlaviſh Principles were not the *Doctrine* of the *Church* at that time: If they thought it Unlawful, how could they pray to God for its *Succeſs?* This would be ſuch a ſcandalous Hypocriſy, that I cannot be ſo Uncharitable as to accuſe them of it.

Nay, to this very Day, God is praiſed in the Church of *England*, for the *ſucceſsful Expedition* of the *Prince of Orange*. Since the Year 1692. ſome Additions have been made to the *Forms of Prayer* uſed on the Fifth of *November*; and in the *Communion* Service of that Day there is this Petition: *We bleſs thee for giving his late Majeſty* [*King* William] *a ſafe Arrival here, and for making all* OPPOSITION *fall before him, till he became our King and Governor.* I hope it will not be pretended, that there was *Oppoſition* without *Reſiſtance*, or that there could be *Oppoſition* on one part, without any on the other. Mr. *Agate* has told the World in Print, that *Reſiſtance upon any pretence whatſoever, is an accurſed Principle* †. And yet this very ſame Gentleman can publickly *bleſs* God, for ſending over the Prince of *Orange* to reſiſt King *James*, and make all Oppoſition fall before him. See! ſee here the Conſcience, Honour and Sincerity of a High-Flyer! And what little Reaſon he has to object *Occaſional Conformity* to other People! See here the bleſſed Harmony betwixt the *Principles* and *Prayers* of that Faction, which has filled the Nation with Uproars and Tumults!

There is one Whimſey more, which Mr. *Agate* made uſe of on *January* 30. as well as at other times, to perſuade his credulous Diſciples, that the True Sons of the Church did not *reſiſt* King *James*, and that is, *That he voluntarily Abdicated the Throne.* As if he, good Man! were ſo tired with the Weight of a Crown, that he was very willing to throw that Burden upon his Son-in-Law: For this is the Senſe this *Gentleman* would put upon the Word *Abdication.* But can any Man in his Wits believe, that that Unfortunate Prince was really *willing* to Relinquiſh Three Flouriſhing Kingdoms, with a ſtanding Revenue of Two Millions a Year, to be a Penſioner to the *French* King, and depend upon a Stranger's Courteſy for his Subſiſtence? On the other Hand, did he not write Letters to the Privy-Council, to both Houſes of Parliament in *England* and *Scotland*; in all which he manifeſted his great Deſire to Return, and laid Claim to the Allegiance of his *quondam* Subjects.* But I can hardly think any Man ſo void of Reaſon as to imagine, that King *James* left his Dominions with a full Conſent of Will.

I confeſs, that it was voted by the *Convention*, *That he had Abdicated the Government:* But as the Word *Abdicate* was ſeldom made uſe of before that time, and it being firſt introduced by the *Lower Houſe*, 'tis all the Reaſon in the World we ſhould have recourſe to them, to underſtand the *Meaning* of it, and in what *Senſe* they took it.

The *Lords* and *Commons* had ſeveral Conferences about this very Word; the Managers for the latter were Mr. *Somers*, at this Day *Lord Preſident* of Her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and *Serjeant Holt*, late Lord Chief

† *Hiſt. of K.* Will. *V.* 1. *Appen. p.* 7. * *More plain Truth*, p. 6.

Chief Juſtice of the *Queen's-Bench:* Both Men of Renown and Eminence, upon the account of their great Abilities. But let us hear the Interpretation which they have given; 'The Word *Abdicate* (*ſays the firſt of theſe great Men*) ſignifies entirely to renounce, throw off, diſown, relinquiſh any thing, 'whether it be done by Words, or in Writing, or by doing ſuch Acts as are 'inconſiſtent with the holding or retaining of the thing; which the *Commons* 'take to be the preſent Caſe*. Concluding his Learned Oration in theſe Words: 'By avowing to Govern by a *Deſpotick Power*, unknown to the 'Conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with it, he (King *James*) hath renounced to 'be a King according to the Law, ſuch a King as he ſwore to be at the 'Coronation, ſuch a King to whom the Allegiance of an *Engliſh* Subject is 'due; and hath ſet up another kind of Dominion, which is to all Intents an '*Abdication*, or Abandoning of his Royal Title, as fully as if it had been 'done by Expreſs Words†.

To the ſame purpoſe the late Lord Chief Juſtice delivered himſelf in that Famous Conference: "If your *Lordſhips* (ſays he) mean a voluntary expreſs "Act, or formal *Deed* of Renunciation, I confeſs I know of none in this "Caſe. Your *Lordſhips* may pleaſe to obſerve, the Government and Mag-"iſtracy is under a Truſt, and any acting contrary to that Truſt, is a *re-*"*nouncing* of the Truſt, though it be not a renouncing by formal Deed; for "it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, though not in *Writing*, that he, "who hath the Truſt, acting contrary, is a *Diſclaimer of the Truſt*. This is "ſo plain (ſays he) that I need no more but repeat it, and leave it with your "*Lordſhips*, that the doing an Act inconſiſtent with the Being and End of a "Thing or that ſhall not anſwer the End of that thing, but quite the "contrary, that ſhall be conſtrued an *Abdication* and formal *Renunciation* of "that Thing‡.

This was the *Interpretation* given by the *Commons*, and in this the *Lords* acquieſced. And by this it is evident, that by King *James*'s *Abdication*, the *Parliament* did not mean a *voluntary Relinquiſhing*, or *willing Reſignation* of his *Crown*, but his taking thoſe Courſes which were deſtructive of the very *Ends* of *Government*, and inconſiſtent with the *Truſt* repoſed in him as Supreme *Magiſtrate*. And had they intended any thing further by that *Vote*, they had made themſelves Ridiculous in the Eyes of all Mankind. And ſo much for King *William*.

To him ſucceeded her preſent *Majeſty*, and that upon the *Revolution*-Bottom; who is ſo far from deſiring to make her Subjects *Slaves*, that it has been the great Deſign of Her *Triumphant Reign* to *knock off* thoſe Chains, which the mighty *Nimrod* on t'other ſide the Water hath been endeavouring to *rivet upon* his own Subjects, as well as on his Neighbours. There was ſcarce any thing made a greater Noiſe in the World, a few Years ago, than the *Inſurrection* of the *Proteſtants* in the *Cevennes*, a Mountainous Country in the South Part of *France:* Who being harraſs'd and worn out by the *intolerable Vexations* of the *Popiſh Clergy*, and their Adherents, took Arms, and ſtood upon their Guard againſt

* *Hiſt. of* Eng. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 511. † Ibid. 512. ‡ *Hiſt. of* Eng. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 512.

againſt their *inhumane bloody Perſecutors*. And being befriended by thoſe difficult and narrow Paſſes, which gave acceſs to their craggy Habitations, they defended themſelves againſt the *French* King's Troops with unparallel'd Bravery, and for ſome time with aſtoniſhing Succeſs. If we conſult the *Annals of Queen* Anne, we ſhall find, that during theſe Commotions, it was reſolved by *Her Majeſty* and *Council*, *That ſince all Ways to relieve the* Cevennois *were ſhut up by Land, the Fleet that was to go into the* Mediterranean, *under the Command of Admiral* Shovel, *ſhould endeavour to carry them a Supply of Arms, Ammunition and Money**. Accordingly ſeveral *French Refugees* were ſent into *France*, to acquaint theſe *poor diſtreſſed People* with the *Queen's good Intentions*. But being for the moſt part intercepted, they could not deliver their Meſſage. Only Mr. *David Flotard* had the good Fortune to return ſafe, after he had ſtaid Six whole Days among the *Cevennois*, 'And acquainted them with the Signals 'that the *Engliſh* Fleet would make, and how they ſhould anſwer them by 'Signals†. Theſe Meaſures being concerted, there were 3 *French Gentlemen* ſent on Board the *Engliſh* Fleet, to be Witneſſes of the *Queen's good Intentions* to relieve their Brethren. In order hereunto, the Admiral detached Two Men of War from the main Body, the *Pembroke* and the *Tartar*, with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition and Money; who entred the Gulph of *Narbonne*, and approaching as near to the Shore as they were able, 'They there 'made the Signals, as they were directed from Court, under the LORD '*NOTTINGHAM*'s OWN HAND.'.' But the Signals were not anſwer'd by the *Camiſars*, for the *French Court*, having Intelligence of their Deſign, had taken effectual Meaſures to prevent it.

I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow the Noble Peer juſt now mentioned to be a *true Son of the Church*; I am therefore very willing to be informed by him, Whether that *Lord*, with the reſt of *Her Majeſty's Council*, were guilty of a Damning Sin, when they did all that poſſibly they could to *abet*, *ſupport* and *aid* thoſe very Perſons, who were then defending themſelves againſt their Perſecuting *Monarch*, and his Bloody Agents?

In the Year 1706 A Reſolution was taken by the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, to diſtreſs the common Enemy, and attempt the reducing his *Exorbitant Power*, by making a Deſcent on the *French* Coaſts: To this end a fine Body of Troops, with a vaſt quantity of Arms and Ammunition were embarked, under the Command of the Earl of *Rivers*. But the Fleet lying Wind-bound for Two Months in *Torbay*, and the Winter Seaſon advancing, that Expedition was laid aſide, and the Forces otherwiſe employ'd. However, we have upon Record the *Manifeſto* intended to be publiſh'd by the Earl of *Rivers* upon his Landing on the *French Coaſts*; in which are theſe following Expreſſions——— "We therefore make known by theſe Preſents, "That the High *Allies* have no manner of Purpoſe to make Conqueſts or "Commit Devaſtations; but on the contrary, that they deſign to employ "their Forces, only for the Protection of ſuch of the *French* Nation, as ſhall "*take up Arms*, in order to reſtore the *Parliaments* of the ſaid *Nation*, the *Nobility*

* *Annals of Q.* Anne, *V.* 2. *p.* 11. † Ib. *p.* 102. ‡ Ib. *p.* 104.

" *Nobility* and *People*, to their *Ancient Rights*, and make those of the *Re-*
" *formed Religion*, enjoy the Privileges ſtipulated by the Edict of *Nants*.——
" For theſe Reaſons We moſt earneſtly exhort all thoſe whoſe Heart is truly
" *French*, and wiſh to ſee their Country delivered from the hard Slavery in
" which it has groan'd for ſo many Years paſt, to improve the Opportunity
" that now offers, by *JOINING* themſelves with the Troops of the High
" Allies*. This *Manifeſto* was drawn up by the Order of Her *Majeſty*, with an intent to be publiſh'd in *France*, had not the Deſign been diſappointed.

Upon this, I would willingly be inform'd by Mr. *Agate*, what he will *pronounce* of the *Queen* and Her *Council*; and whether he will allow them to be *Members* of the *Church of* England? For certainly, they would never have invited and encouraged the Poor *Proteſtants* in *France*, and others of that Nation, to defend themſelves againſt the *Violences* and *Cruelties* of their *grand Oppreſſor*; had they look'd upon *Non-Reſiſtance* in that Abſolute and Unlimited Senſe, in which 'tis preach'd up by Mr. *Agate*, to be an indiſpenſible Duty. Did they look upon all Arms in a Subject's Hands to be unlawful, beſides Prayers and Tears, when they ſent 'em over Swords and Muſquets? If the Taking up of Arms in Defence of their Religion and Civil Liberties be a Damning Sin; then they that prompt them to, and aſſiſt them in it, muſt be the Authors of their *Ruin*, and the Cauſes of their Damnation, But will the Gentleman draw up ſo black a *Charge* as this againſt his Sovereign? I never heard that any of our Biſhops did ever remonſtrate to Her Majeſty, that Her Deſign to relieve the Poor *Hugonots* in ſuch a manner, was a Conſpiracy againſt *Chriſt*'s *Laws*, and deſtructive to the Souls of Men.

Thus have I made good the Province I undertook, and demonſtrated, That in every Reign, the moſt Eminent Members of the Church of *England* have, in Caſes of extreme Neceſſity, allow'd Subjects to defend their Liberties and Religion, againſt the Unjuſt Invaſions of their own *Natural Princes*. In performing of which Taſk, I have only acted the Part of an Hiſtorian. Nor do I think my ſelf obliged to Vindicate every Matter of Fact I have related; only I beg the Reader to take notice, that the Authors I have produc'd are of a moſt Eſtabliſhed Reputation; not like thoſe *Grubſtreet* Pamphleteers who have furniſhed my Adverſary with ſo much Scandal, and who are aſhamed to ſet their Names to their own *Libels*. By what I have produc'd it plainly appears, either that thoſe Rigid Notions, of which I have been ſpeaking, were not the Standing Doctrines of True Churchmen, or elſe that they never practiſed their own Doctrine; and Mr. *Agate* ſhall take his Choice.

'Tis inſinuated, indeed, by ſuch as have a mind to foment Jealouſies, and create Diviſions in the Nation, That the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* do embrace Republican Principles, and would fain reduce the *Britiſh* Monarchy to a new-fangled *Commonwealth*. But is there any real Ground for ſuch a *Calumny*? Not the leaſt Shadow of a Reaſon, as far as I can ſee. I have proved in a former Treatiſe, that both the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh Preſbyterians* did earneſtly proteſt againſt the Subverſion of the Government by *Cromwel*, and did contribute

* Appendix *to the Annals of Q.* Anne, *Vol.* 5. *p.* 72.

tribute their good Offices to Reſtore the *Royal Family*. But we have a freſher Inſtance, which muſt ſilence this *Obloquy*, would Men but act as becomes Reaſonable Creatures. When King *James* broke the Original Contract, and left the Kingdom, this Queſtion was ſtrenuouſly debated in the Houſe of Peers, Whether, the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent, or a King? If the Reader conſults the *Records* of the Time, he will find thoſe Noble Peers arguing for a Regent, who are at this Day look'd upon as at the greateſt Diſtance from Whiggiſh Principles; 'And of all the [*then*] Biſhops, 'none but thoſe of *London* and *Briſtol*, were for a King. As for the Houſe 'of Commons, I find the late Sir *Edward Seymour*, at the Head of thoſe *Devonſhire* Gentlemen, who Voted for a Regent †, On the other Hand, the Low Churchmen and Diſſenters were Unanimous for a King. Yet, now ſee the Modeſty of our *High-Flyers!* That very Party which were againſt Filling up the Vacant Throne with a Monarch, will pretend forſooth to be the only Friends to Monarchy: Whilſt thoſe who were Hearty and Zealous for a King, muſt be ſtigmatized with the Odious Name of Republicans, and Enemies to the Kingly Government. This is a Myſtery I am not able to unriddle; unleſs it be, that they who have a mind to get themſelves In by turning others Out, muſt offer ſomething that is Popular, tho' they know it to be Falſe. So much I am certain of, that I may avouch for all the Diſſenters of my Acquaintance, and believe for all others, that they look upon a Mix'd Monarchy, as Ours is, to be the Beſt Form of Government in the whole World.

'Tis objected further by our *Paſſive-Obedience Men*, *That the* Whigs *and* Diſſenters *pretend a Power of Calling their* Sovereign *to Account for every Miſmanagement, and to have Recourſe to Arms on every frivolous Pretext.* But theſe are Principles we do as much deteſt and abhor as Mr. *Agate*. We count no *Curſes*, no *Execrations* too bitter for him who ſhall involve the Nation in *Blood* and *Confuſion*, becauſe his Ambitious Expectations are not gratified, or even becauſe there may be ſome Miſtakes in Government. We look upon *Magiſtrates* as *God*'s *Vicegerents* upon Earth; and that they ought to be Reſpected and Obeyed by us in Lawful Things. We think nothing but *Extreme Neceſſity* can juſtify *Reſiſtance* to them. I have been certainly informed, That even Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Council did acknowledge, at the Bar of the *Lords*, That in *ſuch Caſes* 'twas *Lawful for Subjects to Reſiſt*; and that this was the Caſe of the Late *Revolution*. And I know no *Diſſenter* that pleads for more than what theſe Learned *Gentlemen* have granted on that Head.

What I object to Mr. *Agate*, is, his Affirming in the Pulpit, *That tho' a Prince ſhould endeavour to bring in* POPERY, *he muſt not be Reſiſted; and that under Pain of Damnation.* By which Aſſertion, he DAMNS the Late *Revolution*, and all concerned in it, the *Queen* Her ſelf not excepted. By a Statute made 1 *W.* and *M.* Seſſ. 2. Cap. 2. 'tis enacted, 'That if any Per-'ſon ſhall profeſs the Popiſh Religion, or marry a Papiſh, he ſhall be for 'ever uncapable to Inherit or ENJOY the Crown and Government of this 'Realm; and in every ſuch Caſe, the People of theſe Realms ſhall be, and

'are

† Appendix *to Hiſt. of K.* William, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 21,

* are hereby absolved of their Allegiance. Thus says the Statute. On the other Hand, this *Gentleman* pronounces *Damnation* on those that shall *resist* such a *Prince*. So that we are come to a fine Pass, when an *Act of Parliament* shall be blown off by the Breath of a bold *Pulpiteer*.

The *Protestant* Religion is like to be hopefully secured, when those *Barriers* which the Wisdom of the Nation hath raised to keep out *Popery*, shall be thus overthrown by one Seditious Blast. The truth on't is, the Doctrines which our *High-Flyers* preach up, and the Tumults which they raise, seem calculated to this very End, even to pave a way for the *Pretender*, with all the blessed Appurtenances of *French* Politicks and Religion, to make his Triumphant Entrance into these Kingdoms.

Though my Business be only to give an Historical Relation of Matters of Fact, yet, lest Mr *Agate* should complain that I have taken no Notice of his Argument, it may not be amiss to make a few Reflections on that Text, on which he builds his harsh ill-favoured Doctrine, viz. Rom. 13. 2. "Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that "resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.

On which I would crave leave to remark,

1. The *Greek* Word ἐξουσία, which in this Chapter is translated Power, most properly and commonly signifies Lawful Authority; to resist which, I account a Damnable Sin as well as Mr. *Agate*. But the Question is, Whether this condemns all Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever? 'Tis doubtless a Sin to oppose the Mayor of a Corporation, in the Legal Execution of his *Office*; but should this Person fall a Cutting of Throats, Firing of Houses, and Ravishing of Wives, no Man doubts but in such Cases he may be resisted. And this would be no Resistance to that Authority of which St. *Paul* speaks, because he has really no Authority to play such mad Pranks as these are. So when the Nation opposed King *James* in his Attempt to bring in *Popery*, they did not resist St *Paul*'s Lawful Powers or Authority; because he had no Authority to destroy GOD's True Religion to erect Idolatry and Superstition on the Ruins of it.

2. If this *Text* forbids Resistance to the Powers in Being upon any Pretence whatsoever, it renders it unlawful to resist an *Usurper*, as well as a Lawful *Prince*; which may be thus demonstrated: 'Tis agreed on by the great Patrons of *Passive Obedience*, that this Epistle was written by St. *Paul* to the *Romans* during the Reign of *Nero*; and they strengthen their Argument by this Consideration, That Submission was enjoyned by the *Apostle* to such an inhuman bloody *Tyrant*. As for this Monster's Pedigree, he was the Son of *Ænobarbus* and *Agrippina*. His Father dying when he was young, his Mother had Charms enough to engage the Affections of the Emperor *Claudius*, who married this Widow: But in a little time was poisoned by the Contrivances of his Wife and Son-in-Law *. The Emperor being dead, the Crown of Right should have descended on *Britannicus*, his Son, who was then but a Lad †. But *Agrippina* had another Game to play, and so cajoled the Officers of the Army,

* *Vid* Sueton *in Vit.* Ner. *cap* 33 † *Vid.* Corn. Taciti *Annal. l.* 12.

that they paſſed by their dead Maſter's Heir, and made her Son Emperor †. So that *Nero* got the Empire by Treaſon, Bribery and Murder. I would therefore demand of Mr. *Agate*, Whether the *Romans* might have Lawfully oppoſed *Nero* in Defence of the Right Heir? If they might, then *Reſiſtance* upon any *Pretence* whatſoever, was not forbidden by St. *Paul* in this *Text*. If they might not, then ſucceſsful *Uſurpation* gives a Man a good Title: And thoſe Gentlemen who reſiſted *Oliver Cromwel*, (who got the Government as *Nero* did, by the Aſſiſtance of his Soldiers, and uſed it much better) inſtead of being Martyrs for Loyalty, will deſerve a quite contrary Character.

3. Let us compare St. *Paul* with our *Saviour*, who lays this Command upon us, Mat. 5. 39. *I ſay unto you, that you reſiſt not Evil* By which we are not to underſtand an Evil thing, for that muſt be reſiſted; but an Evil Perſon, τῷ πονηρῷ. This Prohibition is expreſſed in as abſolute and unlimited Terms as that of the *Apoſtle*: I demand therefore of Mr. *Agate*, Whether ſuch Evil Men as Robbers and Rebels may not be reſiſted? I preſume he will anſwer me, That there is an Exception or Limitation implied, tho' not expreſſed. But then why may not the Words of St. *Paul* be taken in a limitted Senſe, as well as thoſe of our *Saviour*? Why may not a Nation defend its Conſtitution againſt a Publick Tyrant, as well as a particular Man his Purſe againſt a Private Robber; the one (for aught any thing appears in the Text) being as much forbidden by *Chriſt*, as the other by St. *Paul*. Nor does it any more follow, that a Juſt *Prince* muſt be unſafe in the Throne, becauſe a *Tyrant* may be oppoſed, than that an Honeſt Man may not ſafely travel our Roads becauſe an *Aſſaſſin* or Robber may be knocked on the Head by any Man that meets him, when in his own Defence.

But it not being my preſent Buſineſs to argue, I ſhall only add, that I think it a very Heinous Crime, to deſpiſe Dominion and ſpeak Evil of Dignities, and much more to raiſe Tumults and Rebellions, to gratify Mens Ambition or Revenge, or even to redreſs Tolerable Grievances. Upon the whole; As Mr. *Agate*'s Seditious Doctrine on the 30th of *January*, in which he denounced Damnation againſt ſuch as ſhould reſiſt a Prince endeavouring TO BRING IN POPERY, gave Birth to this little Treatiſe; So, I only think my ſelf obliged to maintain the Contrary Poſition, That in Caſes of extream Neceſſity, People may defend their Religion and Liberty: In this I ſhall be countenanced by the Law of the Land, the Conſtant Practice of the *Church* of *England*, without being contradicted by *Reaſon* or *Scripture*.

† Ibid.

A Letter concerning ALLEGIANCE, *Written by the Lord* BISHOP *of* London, *To a Clergyman in* Eſſex, *Preſently after the* REVOLUTION.

To which are added Some QUERIES, *occaſion'd by the* late ADDRESS *of his* LORDSHIP *and the* CLERGY *of* London *and* Weſtminſter. 1710.

SIR,

I Am extreamly ſorry, ſo unhappy a Spirit ſhould reign at this time of the Day, that, after ſo miraculous a Deliverance as we have had, may endanger our Return again into *Ægypt*. I pray God our Wantonneſs with ſo gracious a Providence doth not bring an harder After-Game upon us. It is my Misfortune that I cannot come down juſt now to clear this Matter. In the mean time take my Thoughts upon it.

1. Our Caſe differs much from that of the *Primitive Chriſtians*. They had nothing but meer Points of Religion to contend for. All the Laws of the ſeveral Nations were againſt them; ſo that they cou'd pretend to no *Civil Right*.

2. I acknowledge that in ſuch Circumſtances, there is no Remedy but Prayers and Tears, where the *Magiſtrate* preſſes beyond Conſcience. For Spiritual Rights and Privileges muſt be defended with Spiritual Weapons, not with the Arm of Fleſh. *Dominium funditur in Gratia*, is a *Popiſh* as well as *Fanatical Principle*, and abhorrent of true Religion.

3. And yet the *Primitive Fathers* have taught us one Practice which wou'd conduce very much to our Peace, ſhould we think fit to follow their Example, *viz.* whatever *Revolutions* happen'd in the *Roman Empire*, they ſtill paid their Obedience, and offer'd up their Prayers for thoſe that were in Poſſeſſion of the Government, not taking upon them to judge of the Civil Rights.

4. But our Caſe is of a quite different nature from that of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, and from that of many of our Neighbours. Our Religion, Liberty and Property, are ſecur'd by the Civil Conſtitutions, and *Fundamental Laws* of the *Kingdom*. There is a *mutual Obligation* between *King* and *People*, the one to protect, the others to obey. Both *Protection* and *Obedience* are preſcrib'd by, and confin'd to, the Laws, as *Forteſcue*, *Bracton*, and all the beſt Lawyers have taught us, under the greateſt Kings; beſides, the Statute of *Henry* VII. juſtifies our Obedience to a *King de facto*, tho' he is not *de jure*.

5. Now then I would fain know, who is to decide our Civil Rights, when Diſputes ariſe between *King* and *People*, and who then is to [illegible]e of thoſe Laws? *No doubt the Body of the Nation aſſembled in the beſt manner, the preſent Exigencies of Affairs will permit.* For if we will not upon ſuch Occaſion ſubmit to their Determination, we ſet up that private Spirit in *Civil Policy*, which by Experience we have ſo juſtly condemn'd in *Eccleſiaſtical*.

6. But when I reflect upon what has paſs'd amongſt us, how the chiefeſt and leading Sticklers amongſt us, for the abus'd Notion of *Allegiance*, *which is in Truth nothing but Legal Obedience*, have caſt off, and that avowedly, all the Subſtance of it to the late King *James* II. I cannot but wonder at the thankleſs Adherence only to a bare Title, which hath neither Ground in any Reaſon to ſubſiſt by, nor can be in the leaſt grateful to him, to whom we acknowledge it, otherwiſe than to do Miſchief, by dividing us, and expoſing us as a Prey to our Enemies; which is all at preſent from him that has all imaginable Tenderneſs for every Soul in his Dioceſs, and is

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

H. LONDON.

N. B. This laſt *Paragraph* I take to relate to *Archbiſhop Sancroft*, and others, who had *caſt off all the Subſtance of* their *Allegiance* to King *James* II. by inviting the Prince of *Orange* with an *armed Force*; and yet afterwards fell off, and adher'd to *bare Title*, &c. I need not make any Application.

An *Extract*, out of the Biſhop of *London's* Seventh Letter of the Conference with his Clergy, held in the Year 1686.

IF we exalt the *King's Prerogative* above the *Law*, we do as good as tell the People, that, notwithſtanding their Rights, the *King* may raviſh their Wives, ſpoil their Goods, and cut their Throats at Pleaſure. And thus we ſhould purſue a Method as contrary to the Mind of God as could be. For it would prove a Doctrine that might do much Harm, and could *never* do Good. Either it would alarm the People with an Apprehenſion that ſome Deſign were working againſt their juſt Rights; (for which *pernicious Strain of Courteſy*, we may be ſure, a *wiſe Prince*, as ours is, would give us ſmall Thanks; ſince the leaſt Miſchief we could expect would be Diſſatisfaction, Murmuring, Jealouſy, and a Readineſs to rebel:) Or, if it ſhould operate as we intend, if we intend any thing elſe by it, we ſhould thereby *make a Halter for our own Necks*, by diſpoſing Men to *avow a Principle* that ſhould *invite* their *King* to *put a Yoke upon them.*

He afterwards calls it *flattering our Prince into Tyranny.*

QUERIES.

QUERIES Relating to the foregoing *LETTER* and *EXTRACT*, and to the late *ADDRESS* of the *CLERGY* of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, publiſh'd in the *Gazette* of *Aug.* 24. 1710.

Query 1. WAS there ever a more open *Avowal* of the *Lawfulneſs* of *Reſiſtance* to a *King* of *England* not governing by *Law*, than in the foregoing Letter; which plainly allows of other Arms, beſides *Prayers and Tears*, for the Defence of *Legal Rights* againſt the Invaſion of the *Prince?* Did any of the *Managers* at the *late Trial*, or any of thoſe who have lately been ſtil'd Republicans, ſay any thing more upon that *Subject*, than what is there ſaid?

2. Is not the ſpeaking ſo of the *Royal* Prerogative as to infer, and imply, and declare an *unlimited abſolute Subjection* in all Caſes to be the indiſpenſable *Duty* of *Subjects:* Is not this *exalting the Prerogative above Law?* And have not our *late Addreſſes* from all Parts of the *Kingdom* done this, if ever it were done in this World?

3. Is it not therefore a juſt Reaſon for not ſubſcribing an Addreſs, that it hath not only paid Honour in general to thoſe Addreſſes which have done this; but particularly ſet a Seal to what they have ſaid upon the *Head* of the *Royal Prerogative?* And would it not much better have become ſo *conſiderable* a *Body*, to have openly given their own Thoughts, than thus to have made themſelves anſwerable for as ſtrange *Inconſiſtencies*, and *Abſurdities*, as have ever yet been vented?

4. Could thoſe Perſons poſſibly ſubſcribe it, whoſe Hearts were ſo far from accompanying thoſe Addreſſes in what they ſay upon the *Points mention'd*, that they have *all along gone againſt them*, and look'd upon them as the *Voice* of an *infatuated People*, calling down *Slavery* upon themſelves and their *Poſterity* after them; as in the Paſſage juſt now quoted, their *Biſhop* himſelf taught them to eſteem every thing of that nature?

5. Beſides the *Two Reaſons* mention'd by that Right Reverend *Prelate*, againſt thus exalting the *Prerogative*; is there not another of very great Force, peculiar to our *Eſtabliſhment* ſince the *Revolution*, viz. That the doing it condemns that glorious Tranſaction, and all that is built upon it; and teacheth Men to think ill of that *Deliverance* which was wrought, by withdrawing our *Allegiance* from a *Prince* carrying his *Prerogative* above *Law?*

6 Is not the Doctrine of *unlimited Nonreſiſtance* accompany'd with the ſame *Evils*, or rather, Is it not the ſame thing in other Words? Doth it not tend to make a People ſuſpicious of *Deſigns?* and to invite a *Prince* to put *Yokes* upon them, as my *Lord* expreſſeth it? And doth it not likewiſe tend to confirm the old Prejudices of *ſome*, and to raiſe new ones in *others*, againſt the *Reſiſtance* at the *Revolution*, and againſt all that is built upon it?

7. Is

7. Is it not plain from the *foregoing Letter*, that the *Revolution* was, at the very firſt, put upon this Foot, that the Legal Rights of a Nation might be defended by Force; and that a *King* ſetting up a *Prerogative* above *Law*, had no Title to *Allegiance* and *Subjection?*

8. Is it not therefore a juſt Reaſon for not ſubſcribing an Addreſs, that ſuch Words are uſed, as, (whatever be the Intent of them) will certainly be generally interpreted ſo as to bring a Diſgrace upon the *Reſiſtance* practis'd at the *Revolution?*

9 Is it not manifeſt that the *Indignation* of our late Addreſſes at imaginary Attempts to undermine all *Government*, is pointed at thoſe Principles of limited *Subjection*, which are the only Defence of the late *Revolution*, and our only *Bulwark* againſt *Tyranny?*

10. Is it not therefore a little too much for any, to give Teſtimony to all the *foul Miſrepreſentations* of thoſe Addreſſes upon this Head, who are tender of the Honour of the *Late Revolution*, or have any regard to the foregoing *Letter*, and *Extract?*

11. Is it not the *general Notion* both of *Friends* and *Foes* to thoſe worthy Addreſſes, that their *Inſinuations* of Attempts, &c. were deſigned againſt many of the *greateſt Men* in the *Kingdom*, and againſt the *Houſe* of *Commons* particularly: And could it be expected, that any ſhould ſubſcribe an applauſe to theſe, who have a juſt regard left to the *judicial* Proceedings of the *Higheſt Court* in our *Kingdom*; or any Gratitude to thoſe *Repreſentatives*, whoſe Glory it is, that they have openly avowed, that we are not *Slaves*, but *Freemen?*

12. Can any thing be more abſurd, than what hath been ſaid in ſome of our Addreſſes, concerning the *Royal Title?* Hath not *Hereditary Right* been, in ſome, diſtinguiſh'd from, and oppos'd to, the *Parliamentary*, and preferr'd before it? And hath it not in *others* been ſo ſpoken of, as that no one in the World can tell what is mean't by it? And is it not very hard, that Men ſhould be called upon to applaud what either ſtrikes at our whole Foundation, or is beyond the reach of *Human Interpretation?*

13. Is not this *firſt Paragraph*, which confirms the *Extravagancies* of our Late *Addreſſes*, a ſufficient Proof of what thoſe who penn'd this *Addreſs* mean't by *irreſiſtible Authority* in a following *Paragraph*, even all that the *Higheſt Aſſerters* of *Abſolute Non reſiſtance* could ever deſire in their greateſt Zeal againſt the *Late Revolution?* And is not this ſomething of a Reaſon againſt ſigning this *Addreſs*, to thoſe who underſtand the Concluſion of this Argument; that if any of our *Princes* have an *irreſiſtible Authority*, then the Late *King James* likewiſe had?

14 Is it not yet more certain, how this *Phraſe* was intended to be underſtood by *Friends*, from hence, that there hath been publickly maintain'd by Perſons not unconcern'd in this *Addreſs*, an *Authority* in the *Executive Power* without *Right* and *Law*; nay, that this very Word *Authority* hath been ſo defined by them, as to make it conſiſt in *Acts* and *Decrees*, void of *Right* and *Law?* And is not this a ſtill greater Prejudice againſt that Expreſſion, to all who are willing to juſtify the *Revolution?*

15. Is

15. Is it not another Confirmation of this intention, that they ſpeak here of that *irreſiſtible Authority*, which is repreſented as favouring the *Pretender?* Since the making our *Princes* Government by Law *irreſiſtible*, never was, and never could be ſo repreſented; but only the making the Regal *Power*, in all attempts *Irreſiſtible*; which indeed is condemning the *Revolution*, and favouring the Pretenſions of the *Popiſh Line*. Is not this a plain Proof of what is mean't here by *irreſiſtible Authority?* And as plain a Proof, that by making uſe of the Expreſſion of *withſtanding Arbitrary Power*, they have carefully avoided the Word *Reſiſtance*, and left room for ſome to ſatisfy themſelves, that the *withſtanding* here intended, is only ſuch a Doctrinal Declaration as is conſiſtent with the *Higheſt* and moſt *Abſolute Paſſive Obedience?*

16. Suppoſing it not thus intended, yet, ſince it is certain that, generally ſpeaking, it is, and will be, ſo underſtood, as it ſtands in an Addreſs penn'd in Confirmation of our late Addreſſes; and ſince few diſtinguiſh ſo well, as to underſtand it otherwiſe; is not this a tolerable Reaſon againſt *Subſcription*, for all who deſire that ſo important a Point ſhould not be wrapt up in ambiguous Words?

17. As for *Her Majeſty's Hereditary Right*, what Man of common Senſe ever affirm'd, that the thinking Her the *true Heir* at this time; or the thinking the *Pretender Illegitimate*, were things favourable to the Perſon of the *Pretender?* And why then is this repreſented ſo, as to lead Men into a wrong Notion of the Caſe? But, notwithſtanding this, let me aſk,

18. Since *Hereditary Right* hath been by many, and for a long time, uſed in a Senſe, irreconcileable to our preſent Settlement, which is founded upon an excluding *Act* of *Parliament*; ſince it is at preſent uſed by our *Papiſts* and *Jacobites*, to ſerve their Cauſe; ſince the *Popiſh Line* hath no other Claim, but by *Hereditary Right*; is it not evident, that the ſpeaking of this *Title* after ſo high a manner, and that without explaining it, muſt, in its conſequences, do ſervice to the future Pretenſions of the *Popiſh Line*, whatever becomes of the Perſon of the *Pretender?*

19. Nay, muſt it not do *Him* ſervice likewiſe, amongſt all who are ſo weak as to think him Legitimate, or to imagine that there not being a Legal Diſproof of his Legitimacy, ſtill leaves *Him* a claim to *Hereditary Right*, as it hath been uſually underſtood?

20 Whatever be the meaning of the Addreſſers; and ſuppoſing them truly (which I do not doubt) on their own Parts to declare againſt the *Pretender*; yet can that *Declaration* alter the Nature of things, or the Tendency of ſome Words and Principles? Let them be never ſo ſincere, yet ſtill, doth not a Noiſe of *Hereditary Right* ſeem to threaten ſome miſchief to a Settlement entirely *Parliamentary*; and doth not *irreſiſtible Authority* tend to teach Men to condemn a *reſiſting Revolution?*

21. In ſuch an *Eſtabliſhment* as ours, Is it not in the laſt Degree proper and uſeful, openly to mention and avow the *Parliamentary Title*, upon the *Validity* of which all our Hopes depend?

22. Would it not have been vaſtly more ſatisfactory to have openly own'd thoſe Principles, upon which the *Popiſh Line* is excluded, than to ſeem to own the

the Principles, by which *Nonjurors* ſerve their Cauſe, even though we profeſs to have another *Cauſe* at Heart?

23. In a matter of ſuch Univerſal *Importance*, ſhould not Ambiguous Words be avoided? Should the Words which the *Enemies* of our *Eſtabliſhment* uſe, be choſen and applauded? Or, if Words, either Ambiguous, or hitherto uſed, and ſtill generally underſtood, in a bad Senſe, muſt be made uſe of; is it not highly neceſſary, that they ſhould be plainly and fairly interpreted, before they are ſubcribed, eſpecially by a Body of Men, whom it peculiarly becomes to be open and ſincere, in the uſe of Words upon ſuch an Occaſion?

24. May it not be ſome ſhock to Men who are concerned for our preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, and ſome *Apology* for their not Subſcribing this Addreſs; that *Hereditary Right* is not at all explain'd, and that the plain mention of the *Parliamentary Title* is avoided, as if it were a ſhame to *Britains* to uſe the Word?

25. Or rather, Is not *Hereditary Right* too much, though obſcurely, explain'd? Is it not that *Hereditary Right* which is repreſented (as they complain) as favouring the *Pretender?* And can this be the *Right* (as ſome in private pretend) accruing from the late *Act* of Settlement? Who-ever repreſented that which eſtabliſhes the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, as favouring the *Popiſh?* And is it not plain from this complaint, that the *Hereditary Right* here mentioned with Satisfaction, is not the *Right* by the late *Act*, of which they have no ground to make any ſuch complaint?

26 If they mean by *Hereditary Right*, a *Right* by the laſt *Act* of Settlement (as ſome pretend) why is it not plainly ſaid? Or, how can it be expected, that all Perſons ſhould preſently join in putting upon a good *Queen* a *Compliment* which ſeems to have ſomething peculiar in it; but in truth hath nothing, but what is common to *Her*, with Her *Proteſtant Succeſſors?*

27. If any thing elſe be mean't by it, is it not worth while to ſolve the following *Problem*, whether, ſuppoſing *Her Majeſty*'s Claim to the *Crown*, by a *Right* diſtinct from that of the *Act* of Settlement, be undeniable, and indeed preferable to that (as we have been told by ſome;) this will not unluckily, after Her *Death*, make the Claim of thoſe *Popiſh Branches*, which are certainly Legitimate, much more juſt than the Claim of the *Proteſtant Branches*, which muſt be entirely *Parliamentary?* Is it not reaſonable to dread the Force of ſuch a *Queſtion* as this, if *Hereditary Right* be a juſt Claim in one, why not in another?

28. Were it only, that the Word is generally underſtood in the Senſe that hath the worſt influence upon our *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*; is not this ſome Reaſon for not ſubſcribing to it, without a ſound Interpretation, leſt it ſhould miſlead our Fellow-Subjects, or give a handle to *Jacobites* to miſlead them?

29. What *Acts* of *Parliament* are they that affirm, and recognize *Her Majeſty*'s *Title* by Deſcent? For affirming, and recognizing, will probably, by moſt Readers, be look'd upon as Terms peculiar to *Acts* of *Parliament*.

30 In what Senſe can it be ſaid, that the *Crown* comes to *Her Majeſty* by Deſcent? Did *She* ſucceed immediately to Her *Father?* Did *She* ſucceed immediately

mediately to Her *Elder Sister?* Did not *She* succeed, and that by *Act* of *Parliament*, to *King William*, who poſſeſs'd the *Crown* ſome time after *Queen Mary*'s, and after *King James*'s Death? Nay, I may aſk, would it not have been *High Treaſon* for any one to have ſet up Her *Title*, before his Death? Doth it not rather from hence appear, that the *Crown* came to *Her* by *Aſcent*, than by *Deſcent*; ſince She was *Higher* in the *Royal Line* than *Her Predeceſſor?* Is it not therefore ſome *Reaſon* againſt *Subſcribing*, that this *Term* of *Deſcent* is uſed without ſufficient Explication?

31. Since all the World knows, that my Lord Biſhop of *L——n* was in Arms at the *Revolution*; ſince the foregoing Letter ſhews that he defended a forcible *Reſiſtance* to *Arbitrary Power*; ſince in this Addreſs, an equal Zeal is faithfully promis'd; and ſince there cannot be an equal Zeal, unleſs it extend to the ſame *Reſiſtance:* Would not one take this for a Proof, that by *withſtanding* muſt be mean't, *withſtanding* by Force of Arms, if there be Occaſion? And yet, on the other Hand, is not the firſt *Paragraph* of the Addreſs, in Confirmation of all our other late *Slaviſh* Addreſſes; and the *irreſiſtible Authority* in another *Paragraph*; and the avoiding the Word *Reſiſtance*, a Stronger Proof that they deſign'd, at leaſt at preſent, to be underſtood to join in condemning *Reſiſtance* in all poſſible Caſes? And is it not ſome excuſe for not Subſcribing, that upon ſo conſiderable a Point, one either knows not what it is that is to be Subſcribed, or one knows it to be ſomething which is a full Condemnation of the Late *Revolution?*

32. Is there not Reaſon enough from the foregoing *Letter*, to believe, what is very credibly reported, that this Addreſs was drawn up, and fix'd, before the *Biſhop* had the ſmall Honour paid *Him* of being let into the Deſign?

33. Was it not the Right Method of proceeding with ſuch an Addreſs, to offer a Paper to *ſome* to ſet their Names to, without ſhewing the *Thing* itſelf; to amuſe *others*, before they had time to think, with a plauſible Diſcourſe of *Union* and *Reconcilement*, and ſolemn Aſſurances, that it was an Addreſs ſo well deſign'd, and contriv'd, that no one, of what Opinion ſoever, could take any juſt Exception at it; and at the ſame time, not to *Summon* others, or give them the leaſt notice of the Matter? Was not this the Right way to Work upon *ſome*, whoſe *honeſt good Nature* is too unguarded, and too free from *Suſpicion?* And which is moſt to be admired; the Art that was ſhewn in putting ſo many *ambiguous unexplain'd Words* into Order, or the Art that was us'd in getting Hands to them, when it was done?

34. What Occaſion was there for *them* to ſubſcribe, who had never declar'd themſelves upon *Hereditary Right*, or *irreſiſtible Authority*, ſo as to incur the leaſt Suſpicion of favouring the *Pretender*, or being *Enemies* to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion?* ſince the main Deſign ſeems to have been to clear thoſe who have ſpoken higheſt upon thoſe Points, from that Calumny; in which (it ſeems) they *look upon themſelves as deeply involv'd.*

35. Upon the whole, Is there any Reaſon for thoſe who refuſed to ſubſcribe this Addreſs, to be aſham'd of their Conduct; or afraid of the pitiful and malicious Miſrepreſentations of a *Popiſh*, or *Jacobite News writer?* Shall it

be esteem'd their *Dishonour*, that they are unwilling to seem to favour those *Doctrines* and *Terms*, which alone carry forward the *Interest* of the *Popish Line* here at Home; that they cannot think it becoming to set their Hand to *doubtful Expressions*, which have been generally understood in a Sense Destructive to the *Protestant Succession*; that they have so deep a Sense of the Mercy, and Importance of the *late Revolution*, as not to be willing to put any *Slur* upon it; that they are content to be thought of the same *Principles* which all wise Men openly profess'd at the *Revolution*; and cautious of signing such Declarations concerning *Titles*, and *Prerogative*, and *Submission*, as were, at that time of *Danger*, exploded by their *Bishop*; and detested universally by the *whole Nation?*

The Earl *of* SUNDERLAND's Letter *to a Friend in the* Country, *Plainly discovering the Designs of the* Romish *Party, and others, for the subverting of the* Protestant Religion, *and the Laws of the Kingdom.*

Licensed and Entred, *March* 23, 1689.

TO comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which we talked of before I left *England*. I have been in a station of great Noise, without Power or Advantage whilst I was in it, and to my Ruin now I am out of it. I know I cannot justifie my self by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much mischief; for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the Service: Neither is it an excuse that I have got none of those things which usually engage Men in publick Affairs: My Quality is the same it ever was, and my Estate much worse, even ruin'd, though I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, though not so much as if I had encreased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: The pretence to a Dispensing Power being not only the first thing which was much disliked since the Death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with that, which I had so little to do with, that I never heard it spoken of till the Time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion; that the King told some of the Council, of which I was one, that he was resolved to give Employments to *Roman* Catholicks, it being fit that all Persons should serve who could be useful, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: that Party was so pleased with what the King had done, that they persuaded him to

mention

mention it in his Speech at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates whether it was proper or not, in all which I oppoſed it, as is known to very conſiderable Perſons, ſome of which were of another opinion, for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give ſuch offence to the Parliament, that it was thought neceſſary to prorogue it. After which the King fell immediately to the ſupporting the Diſpenſing Power, the moſt chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and muſt be ſo till the Government here is as abſolute as in *Turkey*, all Power being included in that one. This is the ſenſe I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawyers defend it, I never changed my opinion or language; however it went on, moſt of the Judges being for it, and was the chief buſineſs of the State, till it was looked on as ſettled. Then the Eccleſiaſtical Court was ſet up, in which there being ſo many conſiderable Men of ſeveral kinds, I could have but a ſmall part; and that after Lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the high Commiſſion Court, I can moſt truly ſay, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended *Magdalen* College purely by care and induſtry, and have hundreds of times begg'd of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the regular courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which he often thought reaſonable, and then by perpetual importunities was prevailed upon againſt his own ſenſe, which was the very Caſe of *Magdalen* College, as of ſome others.

Theſe things which I endeavoured, though without Succeſs, drew upon me the anger and ill will of many about the King The next thing to be Try'd, was to take off the Penal Laws, and the Teſts, ſo many having promiſed their concurrence towards it, that his Majeſty thought it feaſible, but he ſoon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholicks deſire it might be Diſſolv'd, which I was ſo much againſt, that they complained of me to the King, as a Man who ruined all his Deſigns by oppoſing the only thing could carry him on; Liberty of Conſcience being the Foundation on which he was to build. That it was firſt offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the work, even in the Late King's Time, if it had not been for his weakneſs, and the weakneſs of his Miniſters: Yet I hindred the Diſſolution ſeveral weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in Being would do every thing he could deſire, but the taking off the Penal Laws and the Teſts, or the Allowing his Diſpenſing Power; and that any other Parliament, though ſuch a one could be had as was propoſed, would probably never Repeal thoſe Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the ſupport of the Government, whatever exigency it might be in. At that time the King of *Spain* was ſick, upon which I ſaid often to the King, that if he ſhould die, it would be impoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve the Peace of Chriſtendom; that a War muſt be expected, and ſuch a one as would chiefly concern *England*; that if the preſent Parliament continued, he might be ſure of all the help and Service he could wiſh; but in caſe he diſſolv'd it, he muſt give over all thoughts of Foreign Affairs, for no other would ever aſſiſt him, but on ſuch Terms as would ruin the Monarchy; ſo that from abroad, or at home, he would be deſtroy'd, if the Parlia-

ment were Broken, and any Accident ſhould happen, of which there were many, to make the aid of his People neceſſary to him. This and much more I ſaid to him ſeveral times privately, and in the hearing of others; but being over-power'd, the Parliament was Broke, the Cloſetting went on, and a new one was to be Choſen; who was to get by Cloſetting, I need not ſay; but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them ſuffered, who I would fain have ſaved; and yet I muſt confeſs with grief, that when the King was reſolved, and there was no remedy, I did not quit, as I ought to have done, but ſerved on in Order to the calling another Parliament. In the midſt of all the preparations for it, and whilſt the Corporations were Regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be Read in all Churches, of which I moſt ſolemnly proteſt, I never heard one Word, till the King directed it in Council; that drew on the Petition of my Lord the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Biſhops, and the Proſecution, which I was ſo openly againſt, that by arguing continually to ſhew the Injuſtice and Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman* Catholicks upon me to ſuch a Degree, and ſo unanimouſly, that I was juſt ſinking; and I wiſh I had then ſunk: But whatever I did fooliſhly to preſerve myſelf, I continued ſtill to be the Object of their Hatred, and I reſolved to ſerve the Publick as well as I could, which I am ſure moſt of the conſiderable *Proteſtants* then at Court can teſtify, and ſo can one eminent Man of the Country, whom I would have perſuaded to come into Buſineſs, which he might have done, to have helped me to reſiſt the Violence of thoſe in Power; but he deſpaired of being able to do any good, and therefore would not engage. Some time after came the firſt news of the Prince's deſigns, which were not then look'd on as they have proved, no body foreſeeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage; for the greateſt thing which has been undertaken theſe thouſand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Virtues hardly to be imagined till ſeen nearer hand. Upon the firſt thought of his coming I laid hold of the opportunity to preſs the King to do ſeveral things which I would have had done ſooner; the chief of which were to reſtore *Magdalen* College, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which had been diverted from what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion, to put the Countries into the ſame hands they were in ſome time before, to annull the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and to reſtore entirely all the Corporations of *England*: Theſe things were done effectually, by the help of ſome about the King; and it was then thought I had deſtroyed my ſelf, by engaging againſt the whole *Roman* Catholick Party, to ſuch a highth as had not been ſeen; they diſperſed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him by perſuading him to make ſuch ſhameful Condeſcentions; but moſt of all by hindering the ſecuring the chief of the diſaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was propoſed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Meaſures; and by adviſing his Majeſty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon Foreign aſſiſtance. It is true, I did give him thoſe Councils which were called weak to the laſt moment he ſuffered me in his Service; then I was accuſed of holding Correſpondence

dence with the Prince, and it was every where ſaid amongſt them, that no better could be expected from a Man ſo related as I was to the *Bedford* and *Leiceſter* Families, and ſo allied to Duke *Hamilton*, and the *Marqueſs* of *Halifax*. After this Accuſations of High Treaſon were brought againſt me, which, with ſome other Reaſons relating to Affairs abroad, drew the King's Diſpleaſure upon me, ſo as to turn me out of all without any Conſideration, and yet I thought I eſcaped well, expecting nothing leſs than the loſs of my Head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwiſe; nor had it been otherwiſe, if my Diſgrace had been deferred a day longer; all things being prepared for it, I was put out the 27th of *October*, the *Roman* Catholicks having been two Months working the King up to it without intermiſſion, beſides the ſeveral Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unuſual Aſſiſtance they obtained to do what they thought ſo neceſſary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembred by any who were then at *London*. But you deſired I would ſay ſomething to you of *Ireland*, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true.

My Lord *Tyrconnell* has been ſo abſolute there, that I never had the Credit to make an Enſign, or keep one in, nor to preſerve ſome of my Friends, for whom I was much concerned, from the leaſt Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, though I endeavoured it to the utmoſt of my Power; but yet with Care and Diligence, being upon the place, and he abſent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was deſigned to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, and Baron *Rice*, were ſent over with a draught of an Act for that purpoſe, furniſhed with all the preſſing Arguments could be thought on to perſuade the King, and I was offered forty thouſand Pounds for my Concurrence, which I told to the King, and ſhewed him at the ſame time the Injuſtice of what was propoſed to him, and the prejudice it would be to that Country, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he reſolved not to think of it that year, and prehaps never: This I was helped in by ſome Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin*, who knows it to be true, and ſo do the Judges before named, and ſeveral others.

I cannot omit ſaying ſomething of *FRANCE*, there having been ſo much talk of a *League* between the two Kings. I do proteſt I never knew of any; and if there were ſuch a thing, it was carried on by other ſort of men laſt Summer. Indeed *French* Ships were offered to join with our Fleet, and they were refuſed; ſince the noiſe of the Prince's Deſign more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they ſhould be commanded if ever deſired. I oppoſed to death the accepting of them, as well as any aſſiſtance of Men, and can ſay moſt truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of ſome Lords, with whom I conſulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice if not ruinous to the Nation. If the Report is true, of Men, Ships, and Money, intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon ſince I was out of buſineſs, or without my knowledge; if it had been otherwiſe, I believe no body thinks my Diſgrace would have happened. My greateſt Misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of thoſe things I oppoſed and deteſted, whilſt ſome I could

could Name have been the Inventors and Contrivers of what they have had the art to lay upon others; and I was often foolishly willing to bear what my Master would have done, though I used all possible Endeavours against it. I lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect on the occasion of them, the loose, negligent, unthinking Life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts by Pleasure, Idleness, the Vanity of the Court, or by business: I hope, I say, that I shall overcome all the Disorders my former Life had brought upon me, and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God that he will please either to put an end to my Sufferings, or to give me strength to bear them, one of which he will certainly grant to such as relie on him, which I hope I do, with the submission that becomes a good Christian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think something else to be the reason of it, besides a true sense of my faults, and that obliges me to restrain my self at present. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this Account, but I cannot the doing what you desire of me.

MICHAEL SERVETUS *de Circulatione Sanguinis.*

HIspanus. Med. doctor, vir miri ingenii, cujus fætura tantum famæ parenti in foro medico conciliat, quantum in theologico detrahit, nam contra ineffabile mysterium triunius Dei libros septem in conspectum publicum emisit, quorum licet plerique Genevæ, alibique flammis damnati fuerint, aliqui tamen extant etiam in Anglia ubi occurrit locus notatu dignissimus de circulatione sanguinis.

Ipse auctor, instigante Calvino, Genevæ ad ignem condemnatus fuit, an. 1553.

De Trinitatis erroribus, lib. 7. Basil. 1531.

Christianismi restitutio. Basiliæ, 1553.

In hoc opere, omnes ipsius tractatus Theologici continentur, in quorum quinto, qui de Sancto Spiritu agit, habentur loca illa quæ circulationi sanguinis ut auctori abundè cognitæ commonstrandæ conducere videntur.

Tres vult esse Spiritus in corpore humano, ‘ Naturalem scil. animalem & ‘ vitalem, qui verè non sunt tres sed duo spiritus distincti; vitalis est spiritus, ‘ qui per anastomosin ab arteriis communicatur, in quibus dicitur naturalis. ‘ Primus ergo est sanguis, cujus sedes est in hepate & corporis venis: Secun- ‘ dus est spiritus vitalis, cujus sedes est in corde & corporis arteriis: Tertius ‘ est spiritus animalis, cujus sedes est in cerebro & corporis nervis.

Ut

'Ut autem intelligatur quomodo ſanguis ſit ipſiſſima vita, priùs cognoſcenda 'eſt ſubſtantialis generatio ipſius vitalis ſpiritus qui ex aere inſpirato & ſub-'tiliſſimo ſanguine componitur & nutritur: Vitalis ſpiritus in ſiniſtro cordis 'ventriculo ſuam originem habet, juvantibus maximè pulmonibus ad ipſius 'perfectionem, eſt ſpiritus tenuis, caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, igneâ 'potentiâ, ut ſit quaſi ex puriore ſanguine lucens Vapor, ſubſtantiam continens 'aquæ aëris & ignis. Generatur ex facta in pulmone commixione inſpirati 'aëris cum elaborato ſubtili ſanguine, quem dexter ventriculus ſiniſtro com-'municat.

'Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis mediam, ut vulgò 'creditur, ſed magno artificio à dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones 'ductu, agitatur ſanguis ſubtilis: A pulmonibus præparatur, flavus efficitur, '& à vena arterioſa in arteriam venoſam transfunditur; deinde in ipſa arteria 'venoſa inſpirato aëri miſcetur, & expiratione à fuligine expurgatur: Atque 'ita tandem à ſiniſtro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per Diaſtolen attrahi-'tur, apta ſupellex ut fiat ſpiritus vitalis.

'Quid ita per pulmones fiat communicatio & præparatio, docet conjunctio 'varia & communicatio venæ arterioſæ cum arteria venoſa in pulmonibus.

'Confirmat hoc magnitudo inſignis venæ arterioſæ, quæ nec talis nec tanta 'facta eſſet, nec tantam à corde ipſo, vim puriſſimi ſanguinis in pulmones 'emitteret, ob ſolum eorum nutrimentum, nec cor pulmonibus hâc ratione 'ſerviret, cum præſertim antea in Embryone ſolerent pulmones ipſi aliundé 'nutriri, ob membranulas ſeu——cordis uſque ad horum nativitatem, ut docet 'Galenus.

Paulo infra, 'Ille itaque ſpiritus vitalis à ſiniſtro cordis ventriculo in arterias 'totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita ut quæ tenuior eſt ſuperiora petit, 'ubi magis elaboratur, præcipué in plexu retiformi ſub baſi cerebri ſito, ubi 'ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem ac-'cedens.

The following *Tranſlation* we find in *Wotton's* Reflections on Antient and Modern Learning.

THERE are Three Spirits in Man's Body, *Natural*, *Vital*, and *Animal*; which (ſays he) are really not Three, but Two diſtinct Spirits. The *Vital* is that which is communicated by *Anaſtomoſes* from the Arteries to the Veins, in which it is called *Natural*. The *Blood* therefore is *Firſt*, whoſe Seat is in the Liver and Veins, The *Vital Spirit* is *Second*, whoſe Seat is in the Heart and Arteries: The *Animal Spirit* is *Third*, which is like a Ray of Light, and has its Seat in the Brain and Nerves.

We muſt firſt underſtand the ſubſtantial Generation of the Vital Spirit, which is compounded of, and nouriſhed by inſpired Air, and the ſubtileſt part of the Blood: The *Vital Spirit* has its original in the left Ventricle of the Heart, by the aſſiſtance of the Lungs, which chiefly contribute to its generation. It is a *ſubtile Spirit* (ſo I render *tenuis* here) wrought by the force of

of Heat; of a florid Colour, having the power of Fire: ſo that it is a ſort of ſhining Vapour made of the purer part of the Blood, containing within it ſelf the ſubſtance of Water, Air and Fire. It is made in the Lungs, by the mixture of Inſpired Air with that Elaborated Subtile Blood which the Right Ventricle of the Heart communicates to the Left. Now this Communication is not made through the *Septum* of the Heart, as is commonly believed, but the ſubtil Blood is very artificially agitated by a long paſſage through the Lungs from the right Ventricle of the Heart, and is prepared, made florid by the Lungs, and transfuſed out of the *Arterious Vein* into the *Venous Artery*, and at laſt in the *Venous Artery* it ſelf it is mixed with the inſpired Air, and by exſpiration purged from its Dregs. And thus at length the whole Mixture is attracted, by the *Diaſtole* of the Heart, into the left Ventricle, being now a fit Subſtance out of which to form the Vital Spirit.

Now that this Communication and Preparation is made by the Lungs, is evident from the various Conjunction and Communication of the *Arterious Vein* with the *Venous Artery* in the Lungs; the remarkable largeneſs of the *Arterious Vein* does likewiſe confirm it: Since it would never have been made of that Form and Bulk, nor would it have emitted ſo great a quantity of very pure Blood out of the Heart into the Lungs, if it had been only for their Nouriſhment: nor would the Heart have been this way ſerviceable to the Lungs, ſince the *Fœtus* in the Womb are otherwiſe nouriſhed, by reaſon of the cloſeneſs of the Membranes of the Heart, which are never opened till the Birth of the Child, as *Galen* teaches. So that the whole Mixture of Fire and Blood is made in the Lungs where there is a Transfuſion out of the *Arterious Vein* into the *Venous Artery*, which *Galen* took no notice of.

That this *Vital Spirit* is tranſmitted from the left Ventricle of the Heart into the Arteries of the whole Body, ſo that the more ſubtile Parts get upwards where they are yet more refined, eſpecially in the *Plexus Retiformis*, which lies in the Baſe of the Brain, where, from *Vital*, it begins to become *Animal*, and approaches to the proper Nature of the Rational Soul.

F I N I S.

Pl q 33